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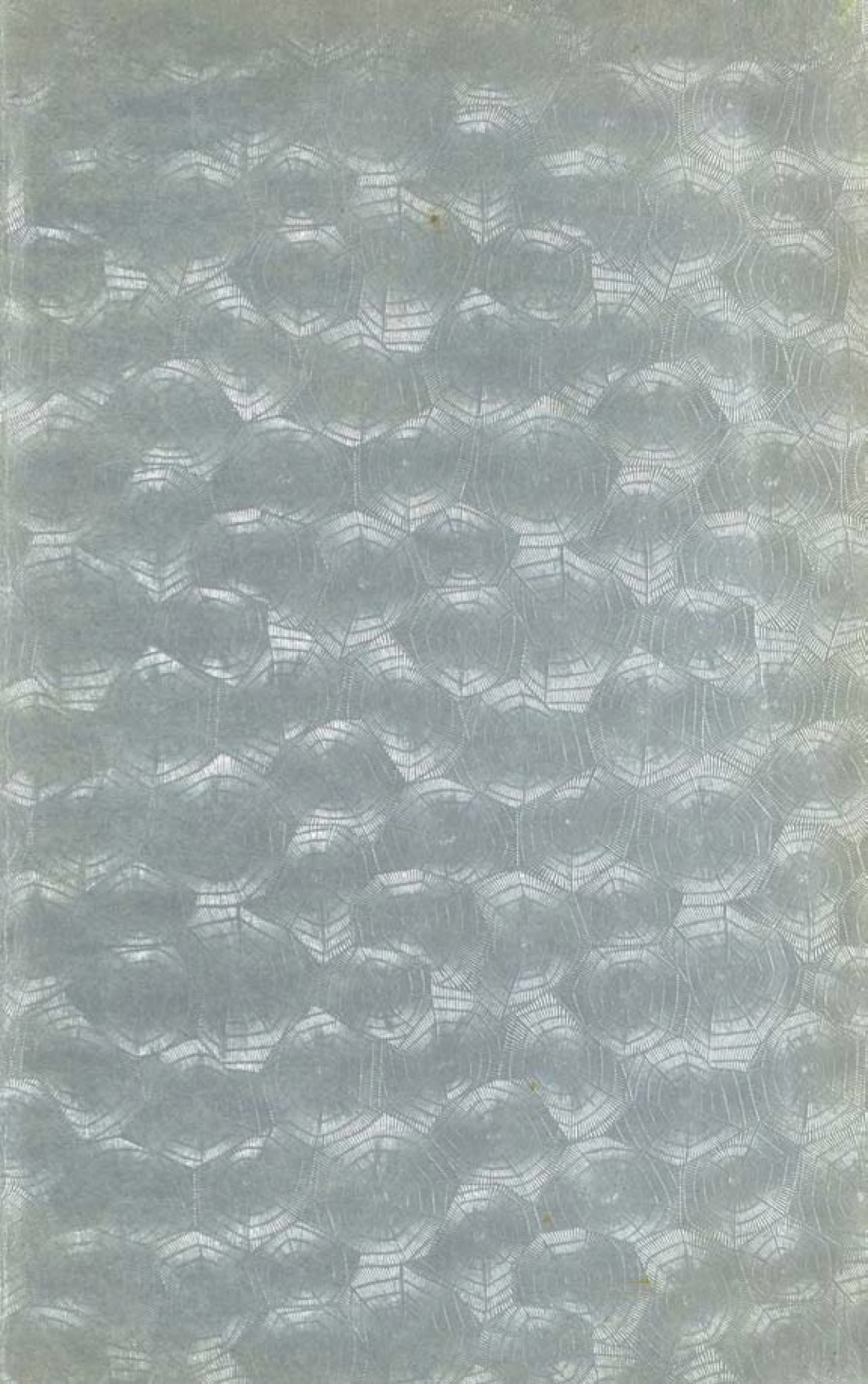
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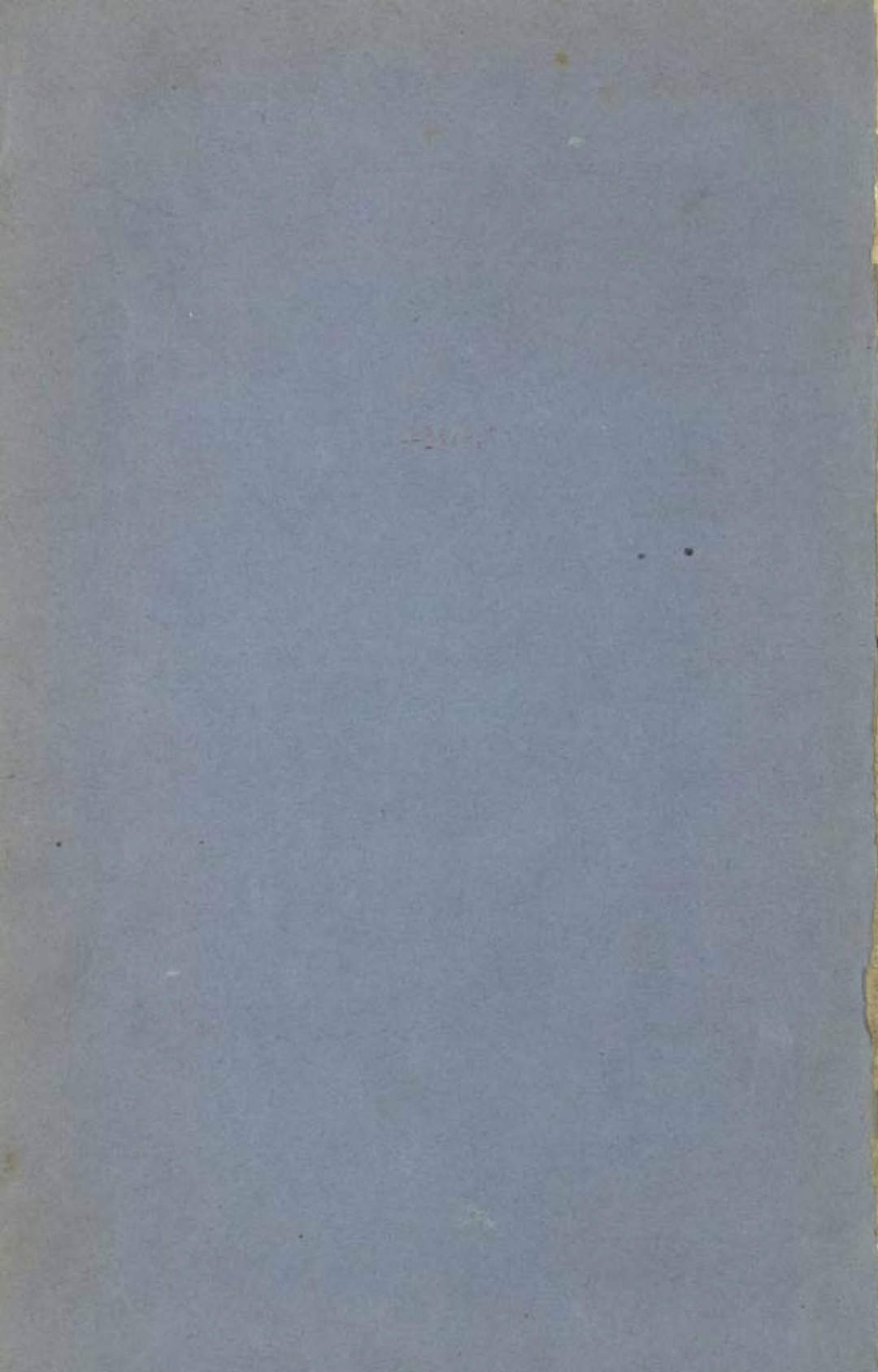
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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

BY
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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words :—

(a) *ṁ* has been replaced by *m̐*,

(b) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

Āśvina, 5, Śakābda 1879.

Subhadra Jhā

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I. INTRODUCTION.

A. The Prākṛit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word *prākṛta* from *prākṛti*, "element", "basis", and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemacandra, 1, 1, *prākṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam ; tatra bhavaṁ tata āgataṁ vā prākṛtam*, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākṛit". Likewise Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 1: *prākṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam ; tatra bhavaṁ prākṛta-mucyate*; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prākṛter āgataṁ prākṛtam ; prākṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam*; Śiṁhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra, 2, 2: *prākṛteḥ saṁskṛtā-dāgataṁ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in PETERSON, Third Report 343, 7: *prākṛtiḥ saṁskṛtam ; tatra bhavaṁ vā prākṛtam smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṁha, Prākṛta-śabdapradīpikā, p. 1: *prākṛteḥ saṁskṛtāyāstu vikṛtiḥ prākṛtiḥ matā*, and Prākṛtasahjivānī in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11: *prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṁskṛtam yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see § 16.

§ 2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda, 5, 2, teaches—*saṁskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣṭam tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākṛit, whence the Apabhraṁśa language". A quotation, in Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 10¹; limits in this view, *saṁskṛtāt prākṛtam śreṣṭhaṁ tato 'pabhraṁśabhāṣaṇam*, "from Sanskrit originated the best Prākṛit, and from which the Apabhraṁśa language". According to Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākṛit: *māhārāṣṭrārayaṁ bhāṣāṁ prakṛṣṭaṁ prākṛtaṁ viduḥ*. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākṛit. When the Indians speak about Prākṛit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī². According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākṛit languages³, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākṛits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī: *śeṣaṁ māhārāṣṭrīvat*. So do the other grammarians.

1. FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 1.—2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 7, 11 f.; MUIR, OST. 22, 49 ff.—3. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; but compare MUIR l. c.

§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vr. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Paisāci, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī as Prākṛit. Hc. would include in it also Āṛṣa (§ 16), Cūlikāpaisāci, and Apabhraṁśa. He is followed by Trivikrama, Śiṁharāja, Narasiṁha and Lakṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trivikrama excludes Āṛṣa, while Śiṁharāja, Narasiṁha and Lakṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākṛit into four classes, *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṁśa, paisāca*. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī and Māgadhī under *bhāṣā*, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,

is nothing but a form of Māgadhi, that is not very much different from Śaurasenī, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, which has no special characteristic, and Bālhiṁki which belongs to Māgadhi. Under the *vibhāṣāḥ* he includes the following five dialects: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīriki, Śākkī, and denies the status of being considered as a *vibhāṣā* to Oḍrī and Drāviḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṁśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Vṛāḍa, and Upanāgara, the 11 Paisācī dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcāla². Rāmatakavāgiśa³, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, and Paisācī as the different Prākṛit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the *Vibhāṣāḥ* is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17,49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākṛitacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita, in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatakavāgiśa in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīvara 5, 99, and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṁśa at all (§ 3). It would, however, be wrong to conclude therefrom, as was done by LASSEN¹, that this dialect is younger than Vr.² Therefore, with Bloch³, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṁśa to be Prakrit. As Nāmīsādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvvalāmkāra 2,11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prākṛit, Saṁskṛit and Apabhraṁśa: *yaduktam kaiścid yathā | prākṛitam saṁskṛitam ca itadapabhraṁśa iti tridhā*. To this group belongs Daṇḍin, who in his Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prākṛit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṁśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (*miśra*)⁴. Under Apabhraṁśa Daṇḍin includes the language of the Āhīras etc., when used in literary works (*kāvyeṣu*): in treatises (*śāstreṣu*) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṁśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol.2 in a citation includes the language of the Āhīras under the *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṁśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāñcāla, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kāliṅgya, Kārnāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṁśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this, Rāmatakavāgiśa holds that Apabhraṁśa should not be included under the *vibhāṣāḥ*, in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṁśa. According to him, Māgadhi, as a literary language, is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṁśa as a popular language⁵. Ravikara, in BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṁśa. The one is based on Prākṛit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (*deśabhāṣā*)⁶. While Sanskrit and Prākṛit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṁśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṁśa. In Vāgbhaṭalāṅkāra 2,1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Bhūtabhāṣa i. e. Paisācī (§ 27) and under 2,3 he remarks that Apabhraṁśa is the pure language of the different states: *apabhraṁśastu tacchuddham tattaddeṣeṣu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alāṅkāratilaka 15,3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhī, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skilfulness shown by

him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit. Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa⁷. I. A. 10,284 (Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṁśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: *ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṁśaḥ*. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvya-kalpala-tāvṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 2², 1169.—2. WEBER, IStr. 2, 57; FISCHER, KB. 8, 145.—3. Varaurci und Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.=KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavicaandra in Kāvya-candrikā, in LASSEN, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa 2,7 ff., p. 56.—5. LASSEN, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.—6. Somadeva in his Kathā-aritsāgara, 6,148 mentions *saṁskṛtam, prākṛtam* and *deśabhāṣā* as the different languages; *bhāṣātrayaṁ yam anuṣṛjeṣu saṁbhavet*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Brhat-kathāmañjarī, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṁśa the popular languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra 17,46 declares that the place of Apabhraṁśa in a drama is as important as that of Śaurasenī, inasmuch as beside Śaurasenī, a provincial language could be used in it, and that optionally: *śaurasenāṁ samāśṛtya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṣṭake'athavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhīḥ*. We need not take into consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, rather of the popular theatres of the type of *yātrā* of Bengal¹ or that of the musical plays of Hindusthān² and the popular theatres of Almora³ and Nepal⁴, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandraṇṭyam⁵. This Apabhraṁśa, has never been called Prākṛit, but probably Apabhraṁśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākṛit (§ 4), to which it can be traced back ultimately (§ 2). It is presented before us in some of the Prākṛit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṁśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by the term Prākṛit, the literary languages. Pṛthvidhara, in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v., edited by STENZLER=p. 493 of GODBOLE's⁶ edition, says expressly: *māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvyā eva prayujyante*. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by the earlier poets (*pūrvaiḥ kavibhīḥ*) in Prākṛit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa 1,35 remarks that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the kind are used in conversation under the name Prākṛit, and Rāmatar-kavāgīśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṁśa in the *vibhāṣāḥ*, when they are used in dramas etc. (§ 4). We have, therefore, to differentiate between the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from which evolved the modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī⁷ and Śaurasenī Prākṛit, the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and that on the model of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyrics and of artificial epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: Ap. *kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu radie*, thus in Śaurasenī Pkt. would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kidam radie*, but in Māhārāṣṭrī, with the elision of *d* it would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kaam raie*. Erroneously Hc. lays down that Apabhraṁśa generally follows Śaurasenī Prākṛit (§ 28). Similarly be

it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa, whence has developed the modern Marāṭhī⁹, in addition to Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians, as well as Māgadhā-Apabhraṃśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭa-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal⁹ and a Māgadh Prākṛit, i. e. Māgadhī of the grammarians¹⁰. For Paisācī see § 27, and for Aṛṣa see § 16.

1. WILSON, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus 2^a, 412 ff.; NISIKĀNTA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883) p. 1 ff.—2. F. ROSEN, Die Indarabhaḥ des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung.—3. S. v. OLDENBURG, Zapiski Vostochnago Oudelnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obsščestva 5, 290 ff.—4. KLATT, De trecentis Cānakyaē poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873) p. 1 ff.; FISCHER, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG. (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5 ff.—5. Das Hariçandranṛtyam, An old Nepalese Dance, published by A. Conardy (Leipzig 1891).—6. From this springs the quotation from Lalitadikṣita in GOBBOLE, p. 1.—7. FISCHER, Academy 1873, p. 398; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxv.—8. GARREZ, JA. VI, 20, p. 203 ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxii.—9. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxiv. In Academy 1. c. I have wrongly designated Pālī as Māgadhā-Apabhraṃśa, against which E. KUHN, Beiträge zur Pālī Grammatik (Berlin correctly 1875) p. 8. I corrected the mistake in Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 316.—10. The theory enunciated by me in the Academy, 1873, p. 379 f. has been here improved upon on various points. HOERNLE, Comp. gr. p. xvii ff. is substantially in agreement with me. On so many details I differ from him, as is shown in the following paragraphs. SHANKER PĀYDURANG PANDIT has confused Apabhraṃśa with Prākṛit in Gaṇḍavaho p. 4 lv. ff.

§ 6. So the Prākṛit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets¹. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākṛit dialects², which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium³. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākṛit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOEFER⁴, LASSEN⁵, BHĀṆDĀRKAR⁶ and JACOBI⁷. All the Prākṛit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in saṁdhi rules, the change of the intervocalic *ḍ*, *ḍh* to *l*, *lh*; the suffix -*ttana*=Ved. -*tvana*⁸, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in -*āc*=Ved. -*āyai*; the ins. plur. in -*chim*=Ved. -*ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā, jā, ē'ttha*=Ved. *tāt, yāt, itthā*; *te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* "eye"=Ved. *paśo*; AMg. *vaggūhim*=*vagnubhiḥ saddhim*=*sadhrīm*; A. *dive* *dive*=Ved. *dīdē dīdē*; J. Ś A. *kidha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*, Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nākim*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*¹⁰; Mg. -*āha*, -*āhu*, A. -*ahō*=Ved. *āsah*; M. JM. A. *kuṇai*, JŚ. *kuṇadi*=*kṛnoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śasvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṃsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukha* "tree"=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sō'ccham* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the (AMg.) infinitive in -*ae*, -*ttae*=Ved. -*tavai*; the absolutive (A.) in -*ppi*, -*pi*, -*vi*=Ved. -*tvī*, in -*ppiṇu*=Ved. *tvīnam*, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākṛits impossible¹¹.

1. BRAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 201, 223; SØRESEN, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (København 1894), p. 220 ff. FISCHER De gr. Pr. p. 30 ff. should be corrected accordingly.—2. FRANKE, BB, 17, 71. I doubt if ever there was a

living language for the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. XLII, note 7.—3. In GGA. 1884, p. 512, I had suggested that classical Sanskrit was based on the dialect of Brahmāvarṇa. Cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* p. XXVI, note 11, for further literature on this topic.—4. De Prākṛita dialecto § 8.—5. *Inst.* p. 25 ff.; *IAlt.* 2^a, 1163, note 5.—6. *JBoAS.*, 16, 315.—7. *KZ.* 24, 614, wherein he says that Pāli and Prākṛit are essentially a later form of Sanskrit.—8. v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40, 673.—9. FISCHEL and GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* 1, p. XXXI, note 2.—10. *Ved.* 2, 235 f.—11. WEBER goes too far when he (*IS.* 2, 111) does not see in Prākṛit anything, but a degenerated old Vedic dialect. Cf. § 9.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prākṛit languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Aśoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stūpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. SENART has designated the language of these inscriptions the “monumental Prākṛit¹”. This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with KERN², that Pāli is an artificial language, though both Pāli and Prākṛit, like Ārṣa (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prākṛit dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as *Leṇa dialect*, after *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* “hole”, which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of *Lāṭa dialect*, from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* “pillar”. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prākṛits. Some examples from the concluding portion of Aśoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of *likh*, in Gīrnār as *likhāpītā*, in Shāhbāzgarhī as *likhapitu*, in Jaugḍa as *likhāpītā*, and in Mansehra as [*l*]ikhapita, a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (SENART 2, 597). The *Leṇa*-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: *ba[m]dhāpayati*, *kiḍāpayati*, *piḍāpayati*, *va[m]dāpayati*, (*Hātbigumphā* Inscription p. 155. 158. 160. 163)³, likewise Pāli: *likhāpeti* that is very often found also in Prākṛit (§ 552); Aśoka’s *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāviya* (*Erz.* 63, 31), Aśoka’s *likhāpayisaṃ* (*Gīrnār.* 14, 3), Mg. *lihāvaiśsaṃ* (*Mycch.* 136, 21).—*Gīrnār prajāhitaṇḍam*, from *hu* (to offer a sacrifice) with *pra*⁴, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Pāli and Prākṛit.—In *Gīrnār*, *samājamhi* and *mahānasamhi*, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khālsī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, that is *mahānasamsi*, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect are found *ja[m]budipamhi* (*Karle* Inscription, No. 1)⁵ *thuvamhi*=*stūpe*⁶, *anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6^a)⁷, *tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11^b. 19)⁸, also *tiraṇhumī*, that is to say *tiraṇhummi*⁹. To these correspond in Prākṛit M. JM. JŚ. AMg. the locative forms in *-mmi*, AMg. *-m̐si*. One notices further the use of *asti* in the plural, as in Prākṛit *atthi* (§ 498), and that of *se*, that is exactly so found in AMg. I shall, from the *Leṇa*-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in *i-* and *u-*, whereof the gen. sing. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, i. e. *-ssa*; it is so in Prākṛit, where the gen. sing. even of the *n*-stem ends in *-sa*. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 488. He is followed by SØRENSEN, l. c. p. 187.—

2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14 f.—3. *Actes*

du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885), 3, 2.—4. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, 132 f. — 5. Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By JAS. BURGESS and BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (Bombay 1881) p. 28.—6. SENART, l. c. 2. 472.—7. Arch. Survey of Western India 4, 101.—8. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 106. 114.—9. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is no more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 5, 21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations (*apabhraṃśāḥ*); thus for example, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), the *apabhraṃśāḥ* are *gāvi*, *goṇi*, *gotā*, *gopotālikā*¹. Of these, in Prākṛit, the most usual form is *gāvi*, that in JM. is *goṇi*, which has as its masculine, the form *goṇo* (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1, 3, 1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions *ānapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṣṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressedly considers all such verbal forms as *Apabhraṃśa*². The inscriptions of Aśoka (SENART 2, 559) and the Lepadialect (Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 104. 110) have *ānapayati*; to it corresponds Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi* (§ 551), whereas Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. KIELHORN has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for *vaṣṭati*, *vaḍḍhati* and *supati*. The Prākṛit equivalents to these are: M. AMg. JM. *vaṣṭai*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṣṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 289. 291), M. *suvaī*, suai JM. *suyai* (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Prākṛit words into three classes: 1) *saṃskṛtasama*, "Sanskrit-like" (C. 1, 1; Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as *tatsama*, "that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)", (Triv. in FISCHEL, l. c. p. 29; Mk. fol. 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32; Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālmkāra 2, 2; and *saṃānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); 2), *saṃskṛtabhava*, "originated from Sanskrit" (Sr.), commonly designated as *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin.; Dhanika), also as *saṃskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *taija* (Vāgbhaṭa), and *vibhraṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); and 3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśi* (Deśin. p. 1. 2; Daṇḍin.; Dhanika), also *deśiprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 37)³. The words that have the same form both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit are *tatsama* words. Thus for example, *kara*, *komala*, *jala soma*, etc. The *tadbhava* words are classed as *sādhya* *mānasasakṛtabhavāḥ*, and *siddhasaṃskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the former class belong the Prākṛit words, that presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (*sādhya* *māna*). BEAMES has appropriately called them "early *tadbhavas*"⁴. They are the independent basic elements of Prākṛit. The latter class includes the Prākṛit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit words, like AMg. *vandittā*=Skt. *vanditvā*. Although a large number of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskritic origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

1. WEBER, IS. 13, 365.—2. KIELHORN, ZDMG. 39, 327. SØRENSEN l. c. p. 180 f.—3. Cf. also BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 11 ff; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 30 f.; BB. 3, 235; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. XXXVIII ff. Designated as the fourth class by Bhuvanapāla in WEBER, IS. 16, 59 are the words that depend upon the *sāmānyabhāṣā*.—4. Comp. Gr. 1, 17. 5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 1.

§ 9. The Indians include under the *deśya* or *deśī* class very heterogeneous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymologising that some of them call a word to be *deśya*, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhavas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as *deśī*, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6,104) or *pāsam* (Deśin. 6,75), is connected to AMg *pāsai*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivī* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. in BB. 3,260), Skt. *siṅyati*. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākṛit is not to be found in that language: thus *acchivādanam* (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13,5)=*akṣi*+*palana*; or *sattāvisamjōṇo* (the moon; Deśin. 8,22; C. I, 1 p. 39)=Sūmahadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭā-lamkāra 2,2)=*saptāvimsati*+*dyotana*¹. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus *jōḍam* (constellation; Deśin. 3,49), *jōḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13,17 f.); or *tuppo* (anointed Pāyāla. 233; Deśin. 5,22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāṭhī *tūpa* (clarified butter; ghee)². Lastly there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus *gaharo* (vulture; Pāyāla. 126; Deśin. 2,84; Triv. in BB. 6,93), what is rightly equated as=*grdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihunḍuo* (Rāhu; Deśin. 7,65; Triv. in B B. 3,252)=*vidhūmtudaḥ*³. Among the *deśya* words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as *dhātuvādeśa* "root substitutes" by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars (Vr. 8,1 ff.; Hc. 4,1 ff.; Kī. 4, 46 ff.; Mkt. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous⁴. As the name indicates, by *deśya* people have come to understand also "provincialisms". In Hemacandra's Rāyaṇāvalī (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the *dhātuvādeśa* have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākṛit. Many such *deśī* words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākṛit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāṭhas also⁵. It is possible that stray non-Aryan words may have been got included in the *deśī* words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Aryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmisaḍḍhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, gives an etymology of the word Prākṛit, according to which the basis (*prakṛti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākṛit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākṛit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭrī of artificial poetry, such as Gaṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according to the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of *deśī* words is diminishing, while⁷ they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with SENART⁸, that all the Prākṛits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.

1. Not=*yajana* The 24 *nakṣatras* are meant.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,335.—3. Cf. *Desin.* I, 3; BÜHLER, *Pāṇiyalacchī* p. 11 ff.; SØRENSEN l. c. 225 ff.—4. Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in WEBER's, observations on Hāla.—5. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p.53 ff. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. LI ff.—6. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* § 140, 2; FISCHER, BB. 3, 236, 264; 6, 84; BÜHLER, WZKM. 8, 17 ff.; 122 ff.; FRANKE, *ibid.* 321 ff.—7. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 326, wherein it has been remarked that in the notes on Rāvaṇavaho, there is much valuable material. SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. LVI.—8. *L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde*. Extracts from the reviews of the *Séance de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris 1886), p. 17 ff.; *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi* 2. 530 ff. SENART has not, however, as already mentioned under section 7 above, taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense.

§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Prākṛit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman¹, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka. The first one was published by BÜHLER, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by LEUMANN, *ibid* 2,483ff. and by FISCHER, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.=Pallava Grant. BÜHLER has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravējjā*, *vaṣṣeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto*; the more frequent change of dental *n* into a cerebral *ṇ*: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus *kassava*, *aṇuvaṣṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kaḍa*; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *saṇattha*, *ruṭṭhika* etc². All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other inscription in the Lepādialekt³. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Prākṛit. But it no way is absolutely pure Prākṛit. *ya* stands beside *ja*: *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: *sivakhaṇḍavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike* etc⁴. The following are gross irregularities against Prākṛit: *kāmcīpurā*; (5, 1) for *kaṃcīpurā*; *ātteya*^o (6, 13) for *atteya*^o *vatsa*^o (6, 22) for *vaccha*^o; *cāttāri* (6,39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *vitānāma* (5,7) for *vitāraṃ*; *dūḍha* (6, 31) for *duddha*, *dattam* (6, 12) for *diṇṇam*; *dattā* (7, 48), i. e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial⁵ one. For a history of Prākṛit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Lepa-dialect and the so called-Gāthā dialect⁶ are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munsiff DEBI PRASĀD, JRAS. 1195, p.*513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

1. Published by FLEET, IA. 9, 100 ff. Almost unusable. Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,2, note.—2. BÜHLER, l. c. 2. ff.—3. SENART, *Piyadasi* 2, 489 ff. 518 ff.—4. BÜHLER l. c. p. 2 ff.—5. To it applies even more accurately what SENART l. c. 2,494, says on the Lepa-dialect: this language is, then, neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated.—6. That this name is not appropriate has been remarked correctly by SENART, l. c. 2,469 ff. His suggestion to call the language "mixed Sanskrit" would, however, meet with little approval. Further references have been given in WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. xxxix f.

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbharājanāṭaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ajmīr. They have been published by, KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Prākṛit dialects, Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, and Māgadhī. KONOW has shown, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study

of Prākṛit³, that the Prākṛit forms closely agree with the rules of Hemacandra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolute in-*dūṇa* in Śaurasenī; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭrī form in-*ūṇa*; Hc. 4,280 requires *yveva*, whereas Somadeva has *jjeva*; in consonant-groups in Māgadhi, Somadeva has *ś*, whereas Hc. 4,289, prescribes *s*; the former lays down *śta* for *rth*, against *st* of Hc. 4,291 and *śka* for *hka* against *ska* of Hc. 4, 296. 297³. Hence it follows that the absolute in-*ūṇa* may be an error committed by Somadeva himself; even-*dūṇa* may be wrong (§584); *śta* for *rta* as well may be an error committed in course of transmission inasmuch as in 566,9 we find *yahastam*=*yathārtham*. But as regards *śka* for *hka*, *ska* could hardly, with KONOW⁴, be considered to be a slip on the part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript. The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by KONOW l.c. p. 479, I add the following: Ś. *tujja* (554, 4; s. §421); *jjeva* (554,4; 555,18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ṇimmāya* (554,13; s. § 591); the passive *viloiijanti*, *pekkhijanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jampijjadi* (568,6), the forms that are admitted by Hc. for *viloianti*, *pekkhianti*, *kariadu*, *jampiadi* (§535); *kitti* (555,4) for *kim ti*; *rayaṇāim* (555,15), *raaṇa* (560,19) for *rada-ṇāim* and *radana*; *gihida* (560,20) for *gahida*; *edrisam* (563,3) for *edārisam*. The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhi are:—*peṣkiyyamdi* (565,13) *peṣkianti*, *peṣkiyyasi* (565,15) for *peṣkiasi*, *yāṇiyyadi* (566,1) for *yāṇiadi*, *pacakkhikadam* (566,1) for *paccaski*⁵; *yahastam* (566,9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9.11) for *ṇiyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567,1) for *yeva*. These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as *tama-pasara* (555,11), *pacakkhāim* (555,14), *śśalūvam* (565,9). Moreover, most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolute in-*ūṇa*, and the passive in Ś.-*ijja*, and Mg.-*iyya*, may be mistakes committed by the author himself, as even Rājasekhara, (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of *n* in place of *ṇ*, and interpolation of *y*⁶ suggest Jaina influence. A second fragment found in Ajmīr, of Harakelināṭaka, is ascribed to Vighraharājadeva himself, and is dated November 22, 1153⁶. The grammar of Hemacandra, at the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197⁷, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhi, that, here only has been handed down to us in a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians, (§ 23).

1. GGA. 1894, 478ff.—2. IA. 20, 204.—3. KONOW, l. c. p. 481.—4. l. c. p. 482.—5. KONOW, l. c. p. 480.—6. KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201.—7. BÜHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

§ 12. When one refers to the Prākṛit language in general terms it is the Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), that derives its name from Māhārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prākṛit. As shown by GARREZ (§ 5) Māhārāṣṭrī, no doubt, has unmistakable points of contact with the Marāṭhī language.¹ No other dialect has been phonetically, modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen nowhere else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite different have assumed the same form. Thus :—M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *kṛta*;

kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti ; *kāa=kāka, kāca, kāya* ; *gaā=gatā, gadā, gajāh* ; *maa=mata, mada, maya, myga, mṛta* ; *vaa=vacas, vayas, vrata, pada* ; *sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.² Therefore, it was not without reason that BEAMES designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.³ It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the *Gāhās=Gāthās*, that are, for us, collected in the *Satasai* of Hāla, and the *Vajjālagga* of Jayavallabha⁴, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as *Gāhā*, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708, 709. 815 ; *Vajjālagga* 3.4. 9.10 ; p. 326,6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in *Mudrār.* 83,2,3, and is addressed by Virādhagupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Śauraseni in dramas, and that in their songs (*āsameva tu gāthāsu*) they should speak Māhārāṣṭri. Priyadvadā calls the stanzas, 55, 15. 16 of Śak. *gidaam=gītakam* in 54, 8 ; Śakuntalā calls it *gīdā=gītikā* (55,8) ; the verses recited by the spy in *Mudrārākṣasa* (34,6ff.) are called, after 35,1, *gīdāim*, "songs". The actress sings (*gāyati*) her song in M. : thus for example Śak. 2, 13 ; *Mallikām.* 19, 1 ; *Kāleyak.* 12, 6 (*vīṇām vādayanti gāyati*) ; *Unmattar.* 2, 17 ; cf. *Mukund.* 4, 20 ff ; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said *nepathye gīyate* ; e. g. Śak. 95, 17 ; *Viddhaś.* 6, 1 ; *Kāleyak.* 3, 6 ; *Karṇas.* 3. 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.⁵

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. KUHN (KZ. 33, 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.—2. Some examples have been given by SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gāṇḍavaho* p. LVI. LVIII.—3. *Comp. Gram.* I, 223. 4. BHANDARKAR, *Report* 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5 ; (p. 326, 9) from which originated *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5). The word is derived from *vajjā=vrājyā* (B. R. s. v.) ; WEBER, *Hāla*², p. XXXVIII ; FISCHER, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and *lagga* (indication, mark ;. *Defin.* 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. Its translation by *Padyālaya* is wrong.—5. WEBER, I. Str. 3, 159 f. ; 279 ; *Hāla*² p. xxx

§ 13. For a knowledge of M., the most essential work is the *Sattasai* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were already published by WEBER, under the title "Über das Saptasatakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1870.¹ WEBER brought out the addenda and corrigenda to his edition of the work in ZDMG. 26, 735 ff ; 28, 345 ff., which were followed by a complete edition with a German translation and word-index. *Das Saptasatakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1881.* WEBER dealt upon Bhuvanapāla's commentary on *Chekokivīcāralilā* in IS. 16, 1ff. DURGA PRASAD and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB, have, besides, furnished us with an edition of the work that is indispensable on account of the complete printed commentary and several good readings, under the title *The Gāthāsaptasatī of Sātavāhana with the commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥaṭṭa*, Bombay, 1889 (*Kāvya-mālā* 21). WEBER fixes as the earliest limit to the date of the collection, at the 3rd. century A. D., and in any case, according to him, it was compiled earlier than the 7th century, and he has, in the introduction to his complete edition, dealt elaborately with the six different recensions of the work, of which the recension of Bhuvanapāla is the seventh (p. xxxvii ff.). We observe from the *Sattasai* that there was in M. a literature that was very extensive. Originally, the name of the author of each of the stanza was appended to it (H. 709). Of these names unfortunately, we know only a few, many, whereof are in corrupt

form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Sātavāhana, Śālīvāhana, Śālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Harivṛddha (Hariuddha) and Pōṭṭisa were mentioned also by Rājasekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuddha = Nandiṽṛddha and Hāla as well,¹ and in the v. l. Pālittā, Campaarāa and Malaa-sehara are also named.² By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittā is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālittā is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by WEBER³; this Pālittā might be identical with Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśin. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśi (*deśiśāstra*). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. l., with certainty, to be Mallasehara in KONOW's edition and Malayasekhara, i.e. °sekhara in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhimāna, whose full name was Abhimānaciḥna, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a *deśiśāstra*, that had a *ṛtti* to each *sūtra*, and in which Abhimāna gave his own examples, (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12.17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220. 369, and according to Deśin. 6. 58. 72 ; 8, 17, was a writer on Deśi, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśi in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājita, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājasekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājita did never use Sanskrit : because it is likely that Rājasekhara himself might have translated into Prākṛit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣitāvalī, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 1024, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Anandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūdāmaṇi, fol. 7^b (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr. 265).⁴ In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravaraṣena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvaṇavaho or in Gaṇḍavaho. Because this Vākpatirāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahamahaviāa according to G. 69, and Madhumathanavijaya, according to Anandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, fol. 31. (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, p. 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūdāmaṇi fol. 7^b) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasaī presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.⁵

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by GARREZ in JA. VI, 20, 197ff. —2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v. l. of Karp. 19, 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 316.—5. The two editions by WEBER are respectively indicated as H¹ and H²; H, however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākṛit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjalagga of Jayaballabha (§ 12), a Jaina belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to BHANDARKAR, l.c. p. 17, it is divided

into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2 = H. 2 ; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H. ; an immediate publication of Vajjālagga is very much desirable. A *chāyā* thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallahaṃ, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that WEBER collected in the supplement to H.¹, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Kāvyaaprakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasāi, so that H.² p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2 ; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4^b and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 *aṇṇaṃ laḍahattapaṇaṃ* (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruyyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarśinī fol. 24^b (Ms. BÜHLER, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāraratnākara fol. 20 (Ms., BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also are the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 *jo* (so it is to be read) *parharium*, 988 *taṃ tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989, *tāta jānti*, and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viśamabāṇalīlā, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12.20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (*kavivṛtṭattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaadarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., KIELHORN, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā, fol. 65 (Ms. BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇalīlā ; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111. 62¹ ; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; and it is noted by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viśamabāṇalīlā. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍāi*. The stanza no. 243, 20² proves that he wrote also in Apabhraṃśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time³. The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas; they number nearly 350, according to ZACHARIAE⁴, of which nearly 150, and according to JACOB⁵ nearly 113, are taken from Sattasāi, nearly 30⁶ are from Rāvaṇavaho; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of BOROOAH⁷, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satyabhāmāśatvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas *kuvī ca sacchāmā*, 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam*, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmiṇī according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9 ; 369, 21 ; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpatirāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

1. 989 also Jayanta, l.c. fol. 25 ; cf. PISEHEL, BB. 16, 172, ff.—2. It is very much mutilated in the Kāvya-mālā edition. On the evidence of the mss. it approximately reads *as mahu mahu tti bhaṇantiaho vajjai kālū jaṇassu to ti ṇa deu japaḍḍapaṇā goarīhoi maṇassu*.

3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. i. 59, s. v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.—4. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—
 5. JRAS. 1897, p. 304. AUFRECHT in WEBER, Hāla, 2 p. XLIII, note 1, has identified
 no. 78.—6. ZACHARIAE, l. c.—7. In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface p. iv f.

§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaṇḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean¹ king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi². The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.³ But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)⁴. A new edition, based upon that of SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena. Bombay 1895 (=Kāvyaṃālā 47). The author of Gaṇḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁵ He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanāmītra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvya, the Gaṇḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryā-metre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.⁶ The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaṇḍavādhasāraṭīkā.⁷ Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaṇḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaṇḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)⁸ by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahumahavīa. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatīk. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yairuti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasāi in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaṇḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mṛcchakatikā⁹ as well. The Gaṇḍavaho, the Sattasaī of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī. Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H¹ (§ 13, note 5) p. 29 ff., WEBER has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far as it was possible with the parts of Sattasaī published till that time.

1. MAX MÜLLER, *Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1884) p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa was the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based entirely on recent sources.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Rāvaṇavaho*, Introduction p. v. ff.—3. Annual Report of DMG. of the year 1845, (Leipzig 1846) p. 176 : *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by PSCHEL, GGA. 1886, p. 321 ff.—5. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho*, Introduction p. LXIV ff. The research of JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 68 f., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829 that took place in 733 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yaśovarman is wrong. The context does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yaśovarman's defeat. The type of description is very common with the writers of mahākāvya and is of not of any historical value.—6. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. viii f; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explanations are given in PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. vii f; JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8. Review by JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vākipatirāja is very much overrated by PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho*, p. li ff, and JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jains are usually considered to be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭrī. They have, from one another, been differentiated by JACOBI¹ by calling them Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Prākṛit. By Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (JM.) he means the language of the commentators and the poets² and by Jaina Prākṛit the language of the older books of the Jaina canons³ and that of the older Sūtras.⁴ The name Jaina Prākṛit that was first used by E. MÜLLER⁵ is not a happy one, and the assertion that this Jaina Prākṛit is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī is wrong.⁶ The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old Jainasūtras Ārṣa, i. e. "the speech of the ṛṣis". Hc. 1, 3, announces that for Ārṣa, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good for Ārṣa, and there all the types of forms are permissible. Trivikrama⁷ excludes Ārṣa, like Deśya (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*, i. e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (*svatantratvācca bhūyaś*). In a quotation in Premacandra Tarkavāgiṣa on Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa 1, 33, two types of Prākṛit are distinguished : the one is that which originated from Ārṣa, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as Ārṣa: *ārṣottham ārṣatulyaṁca dvividham prākṛitaṁ viduḥ*. Nāmisadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaalankāra 2, 12, thus derives the word Prākṛit : that its basis (*prākṛitih*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called Prākṛit because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *prākṛta* stands for *prākṛtā*, "created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*)", for it is called *prākṛta*. The Prākṛit of the Ārṣa canon, i. e. the Ardhamāgadhā, is the language of gods: *ārisavyaṇe siddham devānām addhamāgadhā vāṇi*. Accordingly Prākṛit is the language that is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has come to be known as Sanskrit and other languages mentioned by Rudraṭa 2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, Prākṛit has been made the source of Sanskrit as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the Buddhists, the Māgadhī⁸, the Jains consider Ardhamāgadhī, the Ārṣa of the grammarians,

the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvīra is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyaṅgasutta 98⁹ *bhagavaṃ ca naṃ addhamāgahī bhāsā dhammaṃ āikkhaṃ 1 sāvī ya naṃ addhamāgahī bhāsā bhāsijjamaṇi tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ duppayocāḥpayamiyapāsupakkhisarivānaṃ appappaṇo hiya-sivasuhadāya bhāsātiāe pariṇamaī*. "The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhi language : this peace, happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhi undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tamed animals, the birds and the worms". Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṅkāratilaka 1, 1 : *sarvārdhamāgadhiṃ sarvabhāṣāsu pariṇāminim 1 sāvīyām*¹⁰ *sarvato vācāṃ sāvajjāṇim prapīdadhmahe* "we salute Vāc that is fully Ardhamāgadhi and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient". In the Pannavapāsutta 59f. the Aryans are divided into nine classes ; of them the sixth one is the *bhāsāriyā*, "those that are Aryans by language". About them it is said, p. 62¹¹ : *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā | bhāsāriyā je naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jattha vi ya naṃ bambhī llo pavattaī*, "what is meant by 'Aryans by speech' ? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhi language, and who use the Brāhmī alphabet". That Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyaṅgasutta, also in the Ovavāiyasutta § 56; it runs thus : *tae naṃ samaṇe bhagavaṃ mahāvīre—addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsai | arihā dhammaṃ parikāhe | tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ agūlē dhammaṃ āikkhaṃ | sāvī ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā savvesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṃ pariṇamaī*. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannattī, in WEBER, Bhagavati, 2, 245 ; cf. also Hc., Abhi-dhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsā¹² : *porāṇaṃ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayaṃ havi suttāṃ*. Thereon, remarks Hc. — although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhi follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhi.¹³ The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, *se tārise dukkhasahe jindie*=Dasaviyāliyasutta 633, 19, would read in Māgadhi as *se tālīse dukkasahe yidindie*.

1. Kalpasūtra p. 17 ; Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī (Leipzig. 1886), p. xi f.—2. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—3. Erzählungen p. xu.—4. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—5. Beiträge zur grammatik des Jaina-Prākṛit (Berlin 1876).—6. See under sec. 18.—7. First in FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 29.—8. D' ALWIS, An Introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo 1863) p. cvii ; MUIR, ost. 2^a, 54 ; FRYER, Proc. ASB. 1879, 155f.—9. The text has been published by WEBER also ; Index, 2, 2, 406 ; cf. further below the passage quoted from the Ovavāiyasutta.—10. So do the Mss. ; the printed edition (Bombay 1894=Kāvyaṃālā 43) reads *sarvopām*.—11. The text was published by WEBER also, IS. 16, 399, and Index 2, 2, 562.—12. LEUMANN, Das Aupapātika Sūtra (Leipzig 1883), p. 96 s. v. Addhamāgahā bhāsā suggests *niyayaṃ=niyaka*, "to hold". But Hc. himself explains it by *niyata*, and that is demanded by the sense.—13. Wrongly explained by HOERNLE. The Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇam or Chanda's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārṣha) Prākṛit (Calcutta 1880). p. xix, note.

§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhi are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina Suttas was Ardhamāgadhi¹, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from Dasaveyāliyasutta quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhi are :—change of *r* into *l* and *s* into *ś*, and the nom. sing. ending in *-e* instead of in *-o* of *a*-stems

as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to *a*-stems in declension. Ardhamāgadhi retains both *r* and *s*, but it has the nom. in—*e*; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98² and Uvās. p. 46 it derives its name "Half Māgadhi" on that account; *ardhamāgadhi bhāṣā yasyām rasor laṣau māgadhyām³ ityādikām māgadha-bhāṣālakṣaṇām paripūrṇām nāsti*. As already suggested by STEVENSON⁴, WEBER⁵ has proved that the contact of Ardhamāgadhi with Māgadhi is "not very close". Besides the nom. in—*e*, the only feature that is common to both is *ḍa* = Skt. *ta* in the past passive participle of roots in—*ṭ*, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of *ya* must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent *pluti* in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. *usiṇa* = Skt. *uṣṇa*, is equivalent to Mg. *koṣiṇa* = *koṣṇa* (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form *tava*, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāṭ-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in—*ṃsi*⁶ of *a*-stem. In poetry even in Ardhamāgadhi, in the nomin. sing. of *a*-stem, the forms in—*e* abound instead of those in—*a*; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Āyār. p. 41, 1, *abhiṇvayamiṇe*, but 2 *hayapuvvo*, 3 *lūsiyapuvvo*; p. 45, 19, *nāo*, but 20 *se mahāvire*, 22 against *aladdhapuvvo* and *gāmo*; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apadinne*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *samvude*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *aputtihe*, 15 *puttiho*, *aputtiho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faulty which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, *gāme*, 46, 6, *paḍisevamāṇe*, besides the forms in—*o*. Here, in all these places—*e* must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in—*o*, as in Āyār. p. 127ff.; instead of *maūde*, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written *maūdo*. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, in Uttarajjhayāṇasutta, in Dasaveyāliyasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without, coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word *mleccha* is written as *mīlakku* in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as *mēccha* (§ 84). AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form *kuṇai*, from *√kr* (§ 508). In AMg. the absol. forms in—*tupa* and—*upa* are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Sūyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīśvara, who in 5, 98, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhi *māhārāṣṭrī-mīśrārdhamāgadhi*.⁷ This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtlessly agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditional

Ardhamāgadhi (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned by the side of Māgadhi, Āvanti, Prācyā, Śūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇīyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers: *ceṣānām rājaputrāṇām śreṣṭhinām cārdhamāgadhi*. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkaṇḍeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhi as an independent dialect beside Māgadhi. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jains may appear, they speak AMg. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 410 ff. has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhi, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār., and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is Amg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78; 183-187; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jīvasiddhi, about whom Dhunḍhirāja, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—*kṣapaṇako jainākṛtiḥ*; in the dialect of this Kṣapaṇaka, the nominative sing. forms ending in *ḥ* agree with those of AMg.; thus *kuvide*, *bhadante* (178,4), also in the neuter *adakkhiṇe naḥkhalte* (to be read as *°hkk°*; 176.1.2); further therein occurs also the change of *ka* into *ga*, in *śāvagāṇam* (175,1; 185,1; 190,10) in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175,3; 177,2; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. *śāvage* (178,2; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in *hage* = **ahakaḥ* (§ 142. 191. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhi, and He 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapaṇaka, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāma-dāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhi is the language spoken by the Bhikṣus, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. WILSON, Select Works 1,289; WEBER, Bhagavati 1,392-2. Published by WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,406, note 8.—3 WEBER, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from some hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisaḍhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśākhā 2,12, also quotes it, but he reads *māgadhiḥkāyām* for *māgadhyām*. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as *māgadhiḥkāyām rasayorlasau*. WEBER's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7) that *ardhamāgadhi* "expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate" is wrong.—4. The Kalpa-sūtra, and Navatātva (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavati 1, 393 ff.—6. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by MÜLLER are found also in other dialects.—7. HOERNLE, Caṇḍa, p. xix, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhi = Māhā-sāstri = Āṣṭa.

§ 18. COLEBROOKE¹ called the language of the canons of the Jains to be Māgadhi, and opined that this Prākṛit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. LASSEN² considered it to be identical with Māhārāṣṭri, and HOEPER³ asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākṛit of the Jaina books, are generally foreign to the common Prākṛit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. JACOB⁴ finds it to be older or archaic Māhārāṣṭri,⁴ and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākṛit, particularly in its earliest available form, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākṛit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākṛit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākṛit,⁵ and that it is an old Indian

dialect, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it.⁶ Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL,⁸ and after him by JACOBI,⁹ that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI¹⁰ himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER¹¹ has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhī of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in *-e* alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectal peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much further to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhī under Devardhigaṇin or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhī particularly the influence of M.¹² might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *eca* (§ 68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§ 93), the dropping of *-i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna*, *paḍoyāra*, etc. (§ 163), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in *-ttāe* (§ 364), the instrumental in *-sā* (§ 364), the locative in *-āsi* (§ 366^a), the nom. sing. of the *t*-stem in *-m* (§ 396), the instrumental forms like *kammunā* and *dhammunā* (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like *āikkhaī* from *khya* (§ 492), *pāṇai* from *āp* with *pra* (§ 504), *kuovai* from *kr* (§ 508), the strong and the *s*-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in *-ittu*, *-ittu* (§ 577), the absolutes in *-ttā* (§ 582), *-ttānam* (§ 583), *-cā*, *ccānam*, *-ccāna* (§ 587), *-yānam*, *-yāna* (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel *-a* (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix *-tra* (§ 87), and in that of *kṣa* (§ 323), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), and of *pa* into *ma* (§ 248), etc. These, the *yaf-ruti*, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in *-e* shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābād.¹³ At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.

1. Misc. Essays 21, 213.—2. Inst. pp. 1, 42, 43.—ZWSpr. 3, 371.—4. Kalpasūtra, p. 18; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. xii; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7.—5. SBE. xxii, p. xli.—6. Avāraṅga Sutta p. viii.—7. Bhag. I, 396 f.—8. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen 1849, p. 912.—9. Kalpasūtra p. 17 f., Erz. p. xii.—10. Beiträge pp. 3 ff.—11. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15 ff.; SBE. xii, pp. xxxvii ff.; WEBER, IS. 16, 218.—12. Suggestion of JACOBI, Erz. p. xxii.—13. See §. 24.

§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211-479; 17, 1-90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Śvetāmbaras written in AMg. These essays were further

supplemented by the copious extracts that WEBER included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825 ; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works¹ as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions: many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Aṅga, the Āyār-āṅgasutta², which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Āyār. is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Samavāyaṅgā, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakahā, the seventh Uvāsagadāsā, the eleventh, the Vivāgasuya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension and conjugation than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovavāiyasutta and the Nirayāvaliyā, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajjhāyasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance ; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms : and of significance is the Dasaveyāliysutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases ; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākṛit dialects,⁴ because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was STEVENSON, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg. ; HOEFER, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional ; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yaṣurti, the anaptyctic vowels, the change of ka into ga, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of WEBER ; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866. 1867) = Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444 ; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that WEBER, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jaina manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavatī, is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar : it will be quoted simply as Bhagavatī whenever the reference is to WEBER's above mentioned essay. The work of E. MÜLLER, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon WEBER in respect of phonology. JACOBI in Āyār., pp. viii-xiv, gave a cursory resumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar.—2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become a customary that the Jaina texts like Kalpasūtra, Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only HOERNLE in his edition of Uvāsagadasāo made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned

who have named them as such, and this has been done with a view to avoid error.—3. The edition of HOERNLE (Calcutta 1890, Bibl. Ind.), remains up to the present day the only edition of a Jaina work with its text and the commentary critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries, the text often remains unintelligible.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 32, p. 95.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) JACOBI has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by JACOBI¹ earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. JACOBI² wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Śetubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gaṭṭavaho, Viṣamabāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jains also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the saṁdhi consonants, the nom. of *t*-stems in *-m*, the infinitives in *-ittu*, the absolutive in *-ttā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by ERNST LEUMANN, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch*, Herausgegeben von HERMANN JACOBI, Leipzig 1886. The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravātī, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Maṭhūrā SWA 137, the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 415 ff., and in the Kāvyaṁālā, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp. 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṁālā-kāra, 2, 19 cites a stanza.³

1. Kalpasūtra, p. 18.—2. Kalpasūtra, p. 19.—3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2, for Rudra read Hari.

§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not insignificantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of *ta* into *da*, and of *tha* into *dha*, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhi, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-

gambaras as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the Gurvāvalī, referred to by JACOBI,² and the extracts from Kundakundācārya's Pavayanāsāra, and Kārtikeyasvāmin's Kattigeyāṇupēkkhā, that has been published by BHĀNDĀRKAR³ (§ 203). Śaurasenī also observes the same phonetic law; and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in-*o*, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaina Śaurasenī. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of JM., so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Śaurasenī, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of *a*-stems ending in-*mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *ṇāṇammi*, *daṇṣaṇamhammi* (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of—*voa=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kr.* is inflected, always showing *da=ta*, partly like M. *kuṇaḍi* (Kattig. 399, 310. 319; 402; 359. 367. 370. 371; 403, 385; 404, 388. 389. 391), and partly like AMg. *kuṇvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and *kuṇvade* (403, 384), side by side with forms that are Ś. e. g. *karedi* (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M., JM. AMg. *karadi* (400, 332). The form of the passive is *kiradi* (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342. 350,) as in M. JM. The absolute mostly ends in—*ttā*, as in AMg. *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *jāṇittā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāṇittā* (Pav. 387, 21); *ṇamaṇsittā*, *nirūṇjhittā* (Pav. 386, 670); *nihaṇittā* (Kattig. 401, 339); also in—*ya* as in *bhaviya* (Pav. 380, 12; 387, 12); *āpiccha=āprechya* (Pav. 386, 1); *ādāya* (Pav. 386, 6); *āsijja, āsējja=āsāya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11); *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5); *gahiya* (Kattig. 403, 373); *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49), and in—*ccā* as in *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376); *thiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355); *sōccā* (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolute in—*dāna*; *kāḍḍāna*, *ṇedāna* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly⁴ also in—*ūṇa*; *jāi-ūṇa*, *gamiūṇa*, *gahiūṇa*, *bhuṇjāvūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in Ś forms in—*ttā* and—*dāna* and such other forms as are not found in Śaurasenī of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* occurs the commonly found *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); by the side of Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) is seen *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 3. 8, 302. 303; 400, 323) as well as *ṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25); moreover, here are used the forms like *mupadi* (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313. 316. 337), *mupedavoo* (the MS. has °*eva*°, Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMg. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JS. has much more of common characteristics with AMg. than with JM., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.

1. BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), pp. 106 ff.; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823 f.—2. Kalpasūtra pp. 30.—3. l.c. pp. 379-389; 393-404. The references are given according to page and verse; cf. also PETERSON, Fourth Report pp. 142 ff.—4. In the manuscripts, exactly as in those of the dramas, very often the M. forms are given in lieu of those of Ś.

§ 22. Among the Prākṛit dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Śaurasenī occupies the first place.¹ As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śūrasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā.² According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Śaurasena dialect, and according to 17,51, the heroines

of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Śāhityadarpaṇa, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Śūrasenī is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśarūpa 2,60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Śāhityadarpaṇa 173.4 ; Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcchakaṭikā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā³, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śūrasenī ; *prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ śaurasenīyāḥ*. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for *mūrkhā* should be used *murukkhā* ; the voc., sing. of *bhavadī* is *bhodi* ; for *vakra* is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś.⁴ : the voc. sing. of *a* stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses *hi*, *hī*, *bho* to express his joy,—*hī*, *māṇahe* to express wonder (*adbhute*) and *avida* to express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate *ṇam*, *eva*, and perhaps also for the future. Pṛthivīdhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285, *hī hī vidūṣakasya*, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, *hī māṇahe vismayanīrode*, is likewise recorded as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śūrasenī is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śūrasenī very briefly. Vr. 12,2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree,⁵ and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. *śeṣam mākārāṣṭrīvāt*. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads of *śeṣam prākṛtāvāt* and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śūrasenī of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śūrasenī of the dramas with the result that the Śūrasenī texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled.⁶ Even Kt. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BHĀNDARKAR'S edition of Mālatīmādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study.⁷ In every cases, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrāṅkṣa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdār's series and edited by TARANATHA TARKAVACASPATI (Calcutta Sarṇvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN'S edition of Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.⁸ Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākṛit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2,4 *bho kim tī tūe hākkarido hage mān kku eṇim* (text *eṇim*) *chuhā bāhei* contain three dialects : *hākkarido* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eṇim* and *bāhei* are M.; subsequently the

text is much more in M. than in Ś. In Mukundān. 58,14,15, both Ś., *kadua* M. *kāūna* stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājasekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājasekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramañjarī, 7,6 ed. KONOW=11,2 ed. Bombay, have *ghēttūṇa* in place of the only Ś. form *geṇhia.*, an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584): 9,5=13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form *suhāa*, that is wrong in Ś. (§ 361); further the following are the dialectical irregularities *tujjha* 10,9=14,7 and *majjha* 10,10=14,8 (§ 421.418), *va* 14,3=17,5 for *via* (§ 143), locatives like *majjhammi* 6,1=9,5 for *majjhe kavvammi* 16,8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§ 366^a), ablatives like *pāmarāhinto* 20,6=22,9 for *pāmarādo* (§ 365), etc. In Rājasekhara, we further find many dialectical errors in the use of *deśi* words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājasekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says *rājasekharasya mähārāṣṭryāḥ prayoge ślokeṣvapi drīyata iti kecit*, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of *da* for *ta* in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *da* in Ś. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvaśī,⁹ these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§ 203); in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JS. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in-*do* and the loc. sing. in-*e* are used: in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc.; the *i*- and the *u*-stems have in the gen. sing. only-*no*, and not also-*ssa*; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely: the opt. had only the endings-*eam* (1. sing.) and-*e*; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M.; the future is formed only from *i*-stems; the passive is obtained only in-*ia*; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in-*ia*=Skt.-*ya*, etc.¹⁰ In flexion and in vocabulary, in which Ś. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by Vr.

1. Even Śūrasenī is often wrongly called Śūrasenī.—2 LASSEN, IAlt. 1², 158, note 2; 796 Note 2 2², 512; CUNNINGHAM, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374.—3. FISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 16f.—4. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 26.—5. FISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That Hc. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, has been shown by LEUMANN, IS. 17, 133, note 1.—7. FISCHEL, Hemacandra, 1, xif. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakaṭikā, edited by STENZLER, Śakuntalā, edited by FISCHEL, and Vikramorvaśī, edited by BOLLENSEN; in the second line comes the Ratnāvalī edited by CAPPELLER, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW, when the present work was in the press. But Rājasekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for Ś.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. FISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Śācuntālī Pro Supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae 1874.—10. FISCHEL, Jenaer Li-

teraturzeitung 1875, pp. 794 ff.; JACOB, Erzählungen, pp. LXX ff. Further details have been furnished in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 23. Māgadhi has been transmitted to us in a worse condition than Saurasenī. According to Kohala, in MK. fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 8¹, eunuchs, Kīrātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhīras, Śakāras, and chamberlains; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatīk., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Śak. 93 ff.; Vikr. 37 ff., Veṇis. 17ff.; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvaṭp. 36 ff.; Priyad. 2f; 28ff.; Pratāpar. 132ff.) The following speak Mg.: in Mṛcch., the Śakāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhilaka, the servant of Vasantasenā, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cārudatta, the two Cāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Cārudatta²; in Śak. 113ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadamaṇa, the little son of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Orissa; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f., the servant who prepares seats; in 171-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger³; in 256-269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś., in another rôle at p. 567 f.; in Veṇis. 33-36 the Rākṣasa and his wife; in Mallikām. 143, 144 the elephant drivers; in Nāgān. 67-68, and Cait. 149f., the servant; in Caṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Cāṇḍālas; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāsyārṇava 31, Sādhuhimsaka; in Laṭakam. 12ff., 25ff., the Digambara Jaina; in Kaṁsavadhā 48-52, the humpbacked; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mṛcchakaṭikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of BROCKHAUS is worthless, and I have used the Pūṇā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians; among the other stray texts, like those of Mṛcch. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, *rasorlatau* is followed rigorously; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-e*; according to 4, 301, = Vr. 11, 9, *hage* is substituted for *aham*, and more rarely also for *vayam*. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4, 7, that prescribes the retention of *ya*, and substitution of *ya* for *ja*, of *yya* for *dya*, *rya* and *rja*. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement,⁴ on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Veṇis., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts

of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mṛcch. 22,4, for instance, in STENZLER's edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in GODABOLE's edition, occurs the passage *tava jjeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭadu*: according to the grammarians it should be read as *tava yyeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭhadu*. The MSS. DH in GODABOLE read *ṣṽva*, C. *jjeṽva*; almost all the MSS. have *haṣṭe* and *ciṣṭadu*, i. e. *ciṣṭhadu* as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār. 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) *yyeṽva*, and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *ṣṽva*; likewise Venis. 35. 7; 36,5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic *cha* is substituted *ṣca*, I have strictly observed in the Śakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mṛcch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of *stha* and *rtha* into *sta* (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of *ra* into *la*, of *sa* into *ṣa*, the retention of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja* and *rya* into *yya*, of *nya*, *ṇya*, *jña*, *ṇja* into *ñña*, of *ccha* into *ṣca*, of *tta* and *ṣtha* into *ṣṭa* etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of *a*-stem in *-e*; in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with Ś. with which it agrees also in the transformation of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*.

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāḥ*.—2. It is attested by Pṛthvidhara, in STENZLER, p. v and GODABOLE, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks Ś; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have *ale ale*, in 161,16, *māledha*, in 165, 25, *ale*, and in DH in GODABOLE, p. 449 g also there is *māledha*. In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=484, 12 ed. GODABOLE H, *deutte*. Wrongly analysed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 4. Cf. §42.—3. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. §24 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch., ed. STENZLER, p. V=p. 494, GODABOLE's edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Śākārī, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṁśa. It is mentioned also by Kī. 5,99; Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173.6. LASSEN, Inst., pp. 422 ff, has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Śākārī is a Māgadhī dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.; *māgadhyāḥ śākārī | sādhayatiṭi ṣeṣaḥ*. Further Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22, ed. STENZLER, p. 240 = p. 500 of GODABOLE's edition, has shown that in this dialect *y* was pronounced before the palatals, viz. *yeṣṭha=tiṣṭha* (§ 217). This *y* was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance from the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of *ta* into *ḍa* in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha*, beside in *-aṣṣa* (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in *-āhim* (366^a) and the voc. plur. in *-āho* (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Śākāra, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṁśa, and consequently the classification of Pṛthvidhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, and is rightly considered likewise by LASSEN, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhī. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be Ś., Mg. as well as Śākārī. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhī dialects belongs also Bāhlikī, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52 = Sāhityad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Piśāca countries. (§27).

Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *kṣa* sometimes as *ḥka* and sometimes as *ṣka*., of *rtha* sometimes as *sta* and sometimes as *ṣta* ; and of *ṣka*, sometimes as *ṣka* and sometimes as *ṣka*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *ṣ* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17. 18) that the boundary of the *-e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gaṅgā and the sea are full of *-e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. HOERNLE¹ has divided all the Prākritis into two groups : "the Saurasenī Prākrit tongue" and the "Māgadhi Prākrit tongue" and has drawn a line of demarcation between tow the groups from Khālsī, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahabad, and in the south through Ramgarh upto Jaugaḍa². GRIERSON³, who is in agreement with HOERNLE, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhi, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allāhābad and that of the Marāṭhās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa,⁴ there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps, was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south.⁵ Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khālsī, Delhi, and Mirāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhi is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg.⁶ and the old Mg.

1. Comp. Grammar, p xvii ff.—2. Canḍa, p. XXI.—3. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari Language, Part I (Calcutta 1883), p. 5. ff—4. SENART, Piyadasi 2,433 ff.—6. GRIERSON, Seven Grammars, Part III, (Calcutta 1893).

§ 25. In Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 29-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dhakkī, named after Dhakka that is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. LASSEN, Inst. p. 5, and Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. p. V=p. 493, ed. GODABLE, record Dhakkī, along with Śākāri, Cāṇḍālī, and Śābarī among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dhakkī was a transition dialect between Māgadhi and Apabhraṃśa. According to Pṛthivīdhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *la*, and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal *ṣ* ; *lakṣāprāyā*¹ *dhakka vibhāṣā saṃskṛtāprāyato dantyātālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā ca*. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *ṣa* into *sa*, which, as well as *ṣ*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading STENZLER reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 *are re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but GODABOLE reads in 82, 1; 84, 4 ; 85, 1, *ale*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in STENZLER (30, 16 ; 31, 4, 9. 15 ; 39, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *palivoida* = *parivepita* (30, 7), *kulu kulu* = *kuru kurn* (31, 16), *dhāledi* = *dhārayati* (34, 9 ; 39, 13), *puliso* = *puruṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in

more cases *ra* remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have *jūdiara* (29, 15 ; 30, 1. 12 ; 31, 12 ; 36, 18), but only in 36, 18 = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with *la* (v. l.); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Śaka 1792) at p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhipahāṇa* against *°reṇa* found in all others ; while all the editions in the following line have *ruhirapaham* *anusarēma* in stead of the expected reading *luhilapadham* *anusalēma*. In the verse 30, 4. 5, by the side of *salaṇam* for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has *salaṇam*, there is *ruddo rakkhiduṃ tarai* in lieu of *luddo lakkhiduṃ taladi*. Other cases are : *anusarēma* (30, 13) *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), *pidaram*, *mādarām* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjara* (34, 11, beside *puliso*!), *uaroḍhena* (36, 24), *ahareṇa rai* (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms *daśasuvannāḥa* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *daśasuvannam* (31, 4 ; 32, 3 ; 34, 9. 12 etc.), *°suṇṇu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like *jasam* (30, 9), *ādamsaāmi* (34, 25), *paḍissudia* (35, 5); the palatal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like *samavisāmam*, *sakaluśam* (30, 8. 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used *samavisamam*, *aikasamam* (read *adi*°); but in spite of this he has erred in using *kaiśa* (114, 9) for *kassa*, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With *la* and *sa* *ḍhakkī* becomes close to *Mg.*, and with the endings *u=ah*, and *-am*, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to *Apabhraṃśa*. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside *deulu* (30, 11) there occurs *deulam* (30, 12) ; by the side of *esu=esaḥ* (31, 12 ; 34, 17 ; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10); beside *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16 ; 30, 2) as well as *paaccha=prayaccha* (31, 4. 7. 9 ; 32, 8. 12. 14 ; 34, 14 ; 35, 7); by the side of the nom. in-*u*, as in *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *vippadīvu pādū=vipratipah pādah* (30, 11), *dhuttu, mādhhulu, niṇṇu=dhūto mādhuo nipuṇah* (32, 7), *vihavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-*o*, as in *baddho* (31, 12), *°ppāvudo puliso=°prāvertah puruṣah* (34, 12), *ācakkhanto* (§499) (34, 24), *°vutto=°vrttaḥ* (31, 3), and also in-*e*, such as *pādhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25 ; 31, 1), *laddhe goḥ=labdhaḥ puruṣah* (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectal peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word *baddho* (31, 14) in *Mg.* for the correct word *baddhe* that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is *tha* in *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), for for which should be read *mādhhulu*; as for *pāṭhe* found in all the editions (30, 25 ; 31, 1), and also in *Mg.* (31, 2), the manuscripts *DH* of GODABOLE, p. 88, read *pāḍe*, *K* has *pādhe*, a form which including the ending is correct only in *Ḍh.* Thus we have in 30, 16 *kadhām=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapaham=rudhirapatham*. The correct form would be *luddhilapadham*. As in *Ś.* and *Mg.*, so also in the case of *Ḍh.* as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect.³ Cf § 203.

1. So correctly reads STENZLER ; GODABOLE reads at p. 2 and p. 494 *vakkāraprāyā*.

—2. So correctly reads GODABOLE.—3. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 414 ff., holds that the gambler speaks *Dākṣiṇātyā* and *Māthura*, the *Āvanti* dialect. See § 26. BLOCH's decision is wrong, in *Vr.* und *Hc.* p. 4.

§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to *Pṛthivīdhara*, in *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, the two police officers, *Viraka* and *Candanaka*, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of *Avanti*. About this dialect all that he says is that it has *sa* and *ra*, and that it is full of proverbial expressions : *tathā*

śaurasenya-avantijā prācyā | etāsu dantyasakārātā | tatrāvanti-jā repnavatī lokokti-vahulā. The quotation from Pṛthivīdhara is = Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51 = Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the *dhūrtāḥ*, whereby according to the scholiast, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 36, are meant the dice-players. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvantī to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvantī as a *bhāṣā* and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence : *āvantī syānmāhārāṣṭrī śaurasenyaṣṭu saṁkarāt | anayoḥ saṁkarād āvantībhāṣāsiddhāsyāt | saṁkaraścaikaṣminneva vākya bodhavyaḥ.* In this dialect are found, for instance *hvi* = *bhavati*, *pēchadi* = *prekṣate*, *darisedi* = *darśayati*, etc. This description is in accord with the dialect of the two police officers, as it is given in the MSS. In the stanzas 99, 16. 17 there are found Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhēttūṇa* and *vaccaī*, side by side ; similarly in 99, 24. 25, Ś. *ācchadha* and M. *turiām, jatteha, karējjāha* and *pahavai*; in 100, 4 there is *darisedi* ; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* and Ś. *khudīto* occur side by side: again in 100, 19 ; 101, 7 ; 105, 9, is found *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccaī* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjai* (100, 15); in 103, 15 there is *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sāsijjai*; the second one is a pure M. form and the first one an admixture of M. *kahijjai* and Ś. *kadhīadi*; many other examples are to be found in prose and poem. Accordingly the definition enunciated by Pṛthivīdhara might appear to be correct. But so far as it respects Candanaka, the latter's own statement as given in 103, 5 goes against him: *vam dakkhiṇattā avattabhāṣiṇo. . . . mlecchajātīnām anukadeśabhāṣābhijñā yathasām mantrayāmaḥ* : we southerners speak unintelligibly; because we are expert in languages of many barbarian countries we speak just as we like. Candanaka, therefore, describes himself as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) that is proved also by his own statement found in 103, 16: *kaṇṇādakalahappaoam karemi*, "I proceed to fight in the manner of Karna. Therefore, it is very much improbable that the language in what he should have spoken is Āvantī, on the other hand, it is to be assumed that his language is Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 148 calls as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to 17, 52 = Sāhityad. p. 173, 5, is spoken by hunters and police officers in the drama. Mk., fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) rejects it as an independent language because it does not have any distinctive characteristic (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). LASSEN, Inst. pp. 414-416, assigns the Dākṣiṇātyā language to the unnamed gambler in Mṛcch. and he is inclined to believe that in the language of the police officers in Śak. pp. 113-117, there are vestiges of this dialect. Both of his views are wrong. The dialect used by the gambler is Dhakki (§ 25) and the language of the police officers in Śak. does not differ on any point from the common Ś, as already observed by BÖHTLINGER¹. As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show doubling of the aspirates, I believed earlier² that this must have been the distinctive characteristic of Dākṣiṇātyā. But the doubling is found also in Mg. in one of the manuscripts and it is in no way linguistically important, rather it is just an orthographical device (§ 193). So far as we have been able to see up till now it seems that Dākṣiṇātyā must have been very close to Āvantī which is spoken by Viraka, and that both of them were very much akin to Ś. Apart from the dialectical admixture, there are a number of forms that are against idiomatic usage in Ś. Thus: *vaam* for *amhe*, *do* = *dvau*, and remarkable is the change of *tya* into *ta* in *dakkhiṇattā* (§ 281). The form *darisaanti* occurs also in Ś. in Mṛcch. 70, 25.

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240. 2. GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.

§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is Paisāci. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Kī., 5, 96, and Śiṃhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called Paisācika, and Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaalamkāra, 2, 12 calls it Paisācika and in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name Paisācīkī: Hc. 4,303-324 deals with Paisāci and appends to it, 325-328, Cūlikāpaisācika. Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them call the second dialect Cūlikāpaisāci. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1) referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. *kāñcidesīyapāṇḍye ca pāñcālagaudamāgadham | vrācaḍaṁ dākṣiṇātyaṁ ca saurasenaṁ ca kaikayaṁ | śābaram drāviḍaṁ caiva ekādasa piśācakāḥ*. Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats only 3 Paisācis., namely Kaikeya, Saurasena and Pāñcāla; because they alone were used as literary dialects: *kaikayaṁ saurasenaṁ pāñcālaṁ iti ca tridhā | paisācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣitāḥ* — Kaikeya, according to Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and Saurasena upon Sauraseni: the only difference that Pāñcāla maintains in comparison with Saurasena consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of *ra* into *la*. RV., in LāsSEN, Inst., p. 22, recognizes only two classes of Paisāci: Kaikeyapaisācaṁ and the second one whose name has been handed down to us in the corrupt form Caska. In any case, in accordance with the grade of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according to LāsSEN, Inst., Appendix p. 6, Māgadha and Vrācaḍa (read thus for Brāvḍa) are called Paisācikas. Lakṣmīdhara, in LāsSEN, Inst. p. 13, derives the name P. from the countries, of the Piśācas, in which it is spoken, and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier age: these countries are Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in their corrupt forms: Sudeṣa, Bhota, Haiva, and Kanojana. These names point towards the north and the west of India. A nation is referred to as Piśācas in the Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by the word Piśāca only demons, (*bhūta*) of this name (Kathāsarit-sāgara, 7, 26, 27). Thus it is referred to by Bhāmaha in his commentary on Vr. 10, 1: *piśācānāṁ bhāṣā paisāci*, and, therefore, he calls it also *bhūtabhāṣā* "the language of the demons", (Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarṣa 1, 38; Sarasvatik. 95, 11. 13; Kathāsarit-sāgara 7, 29; 8, 30; HALL, Vāsavadattā p. 22 note) or even *bhūtabhāṣita* as well as *bhautika* (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 3, 1. 3), *bhūtavacana* (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 5=Sarasvatik. 57, 11). There is the popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a bhūta is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon CROOKE¹ assumes that like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians make no mention of this phonetic characteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg. was named as such after the name of some people or country and the name of this country or people was similar in sound to *piśāca* and that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as the dialect of the Piśācas, meaning demons. The nation of the Piśāca or Paisāca, except in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the Kekaya and Bāhlika, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a Mg. dialect (§ 24), Kuntala and Gāndhāra are mentioned very frequently. According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60, the Piśāca or Māgadha language is especially spoken by the Piśācas, the people of lowly origin, etc. According to Sarasvatik. 56, 19; Sāhityad. p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the Piśāca; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatik. 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by high class characters: *nāyullamopātrapravrajyā paisāci śuddhā*. The example

given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpaśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rôles, according to Sarasvatik. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Paśācī at the same time, by means of the popular play of words *bhāṣāśleṣa*, which is comparatively easier in Paśācī than in any other Prākṛit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Śaurasenī is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that, of CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do strictly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. *matana*=*madana*; *tāmotara*=*dāmōdara*; P. *patesa*=*pradeśa*; CP. *nakara*=*nagara*; *kiri*=*giri*; *mekha*=*megha*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *rācā*=*rajā*; *cīmūta*=*jīmūta* etc. (§ 190. 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including *na* into which is transformed also *ṇa* and the change *la* into *ḷa*. HOERNLE², on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to *ṇa* into *nā* and *la* into *ḷa*, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART³ was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadic cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Shābhāzgarhī⁴, in the Lāt⁵-dialect and in the Leṇa-dialect⁶; in the NIA. languages the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dardū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages⁷ and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the north-west in India.⁸ P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa (Kathāsārits. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Bṛhatkathā. 6, 52; Bālarāmaṇya 8, 4.5; Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by *grāmyabhāṣā*, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, Alaṁkāratilaka 15, 13, was composed Bhimakāvya. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Bṛhatkathā was written in P. by Guṇādhya,⁹ whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER¹⁰ as the first or second century A D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316. 320. 322. 323¹¹ and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa and Paśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibāṣikas, are said to have used Paśācī¹²

1. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Shābhāzgarhī 1, 172 ff.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*kamboca*), 376 (*paṣi-pāyacham*, etc.); 397 (*tuphe*, etc.) 6. HULTZ, ZDMG. 37, 549; 40, 66, note 5.—7. MIKLOSICH Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I, II (Wien 1874) p. 15ff.; IV. (Wien 1878) p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khāl*=Hindi *ghūr* in PSCHHEL, Beiträge Zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner (Halle a. S. 1894) p. 42 and Kalāṣa *khā*=Gyp. *khār*=Hindi *ghār*=Skt. *ghāṣa*.—8. PSCHHEL, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Guṇādhya was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir. as is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL,—Vāsavadatā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22f., note.; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 302ff., LEVI, JA., 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṁkāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. PSCHHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 33. I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāsārits. 11, 48. 49 agrees in

certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEW, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BENEKY) 1,248, note 3. (St. Petersburg, 1860).

§ 28. Apabhraṁśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one—, i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prakrit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-416, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms *dhruṁ*, *tram* (4,360) *tudhra* (4,372), *prassadi* (4,393), *brōppiṇu*, *brōppi* (4,391), *grhanti*, *grhēppiṇu*, (4,341. 394. 438), *vṛāu* (4,399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds *ka*, *kha*, *ta* *tha*, *pa*, *pha* generally become *ga*, *gha*, *da*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.¹ The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramorvaśi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognizes 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Pāśāci (§ 27). Similarly Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (*sūksmabhedatoṣāt*), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, *nāgara*, *vṛācaḍa* and *upanāgarra*, a classification that is adopted also in Ki. 5, where the second variety has been designated as *vṛācaḷa*. The chief variety of A. is Nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vṛācaḍa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: *sindhudeśedbhavo vṛācaḍopabhramśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of *y* before *c* and *j*, and the change of *ṣa* and *sa* into *ṣa*—the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Pṛthvīdhara to the dialect of Śākāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial *ta*, *da* into *ṣa*, *ḍa*, and as it seems, the retention of *ṛ*, with the exception of *bhṛiya*, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vṛācaḍa springs Upanāgara. Ki. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also *Śākkī* or *Śakkī* as an Apabhraṁśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ethu² je=ṣa yadi*, found in Piṅgala 1, 4^a, according to Ravikara in BOLLENSSEN on Vikra. 527, belong to Vārendri bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengal.³ On Dhakkī, see §25. Thus it is clear that A. extended from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prākṛit. Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahatṭhabhāṣā⁴=Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varnamarkaṭi, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prākṛitaiḥ avahatṭhakaiḥ*. Hc., in Deśin. 1,37 says that *avajjhāo=upādhyāyaḥ* has not been mentioned by him as it has *prākṛitam apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Apabhraṁśa word *āsiao* is equivalent to *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara, 17, 141, the pure

Māhārāṣṭrī words *eso tho' kkhu majjāro*⁵ are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A., therefore, actually is *prakṛto'pabhraṁśaḥ*, "Prākṛit—Apabhraṁśaḥ". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the inchedible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language not in a small measure (§ 6).

1. FISCHER, Hc. 1, IX.—2. BOLLESEN has *eho* in the text and *ēha* in the commentary; in the Bombay edition the text has *eo*.—3. B. R. s. v. Varendra and Vārendra.—4. The Bombay edition has everywhere. ⁶*haṭṭ*. Cf. Sarasvatik. 59,9.—5. BROCKHAUS gives the wrong form *majjhāo*; DURGA PRASAD and PARAB correctly read *khu*.

§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. 3,3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyutpattidīpikā of Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇā MSS¹. The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūṇḍhikā and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts² used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasāubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A.; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasāi. As already noted by ZACHARIAE³, the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatik p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11^a (p. 36), 4,330,2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17^a (p. 47), and in 2,27¹ (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420,5 is found also in Sarasvatik., p. 158, and Hc. 4,367,5 is found even in Śukasaptati, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovaśi pp. 55-72. Unfortunately SHANKAR P. PANDIT⁴ and BLOCH⁵ have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged,⁶ and, as shown by KONOW,⁷ are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Piṅgalachandaśūtra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by BOLLESEN in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśi, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT,⁸ who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India.⁹ The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvya-mālā (41), of Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakshminātha Bhaṭṭa by ŚIVADATTA and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Piṅgala of this edition with that of GOLDSCHMIDT upto 2, 140.¹⁰ In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of GOLDSCHMIDT was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the

critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by JACOBI, pp. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatik. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa 139, 11; 162,3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Ānandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by RICHARD SCHMIDT (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, edited by UHLE., p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Sūhāsanadvātrimśikā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248., and in BEAMES, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt than we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alaṅkāratilaka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abdhimathana as a work written in A.

1. SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR. A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.—2. Hc. 1-IX.—3. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—4. Vikramorvaśyam (Bombay 1879) p. 9 ff.—5. Vararuci und Hemcandra p. 15ff.—6. FISCHEL. GN. 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin 1875, 613. Even Pañcatantra and the Mahābhārata are abridged in the south Indian recensions, but they are by no means the oldest.—7. GGA. 1894, 475.—8. WEBER, Verzeichniss. 2, 1, 269ff.—9. AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 336 ff.; 2, 75, where it has been correctly remarked that in our texts spurious passages are found in quite a good number. Thus for example a quotation from Karpūramāñjarī p. 199. 200. 211. —10. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270, Nr. 1711.

§30. According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31-44¹; Daśarūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhityad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers' daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākṛit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākṛit; Mālatī and Madayantikā, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākṛit in Mālatīmādhava; the harlot Vasantasenā speaks mostly in Prākṛit in Mṛcchakatikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages:² *gaṇ'yā...cāusaṭṭhikatāpandīā cāusaṭṭhi gaṇ'yāguṇavay'yā...aṭṭhārasodesibhāsā-visārāyā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was concomitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Śiva and Pārvatī, in two languages, Śiva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvatī, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākṛit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5.3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and

usage", expresses his readiness to speak in Prākṛit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākṛit Pṛthivīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation : *strīṣu nā prākṛtaṃ vadet*. From all this it is gathered that Prākṛit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Mālatī in Mālatīm. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā p. 253; Sitā in Prasannarāghava, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalaharīśikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karnaś. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrīkā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardī, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāh. the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikām., Mallikā, pp. 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālikā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 78, 14; 251, 3; Kāliṇī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anaṅgaśenā, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddharaṣitā cites Mālatīm p. 242, Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Vidūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (*amhārisajanaṃ jagge pāudamagge*), in Karnaś. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Kaṃsa-vadhā p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas. p. 9, and in Hāsy. p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 73ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82, 2 he introduces himself as a Prākṛit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākṛit poem¹, and another one (H. 2=Vajjālagga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākṛit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarasvatik. 57, 8, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Sāhasāṅka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.² Notwithstanding the praise of Prākṛit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately "common", "general", "inferior" which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful.—2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāṭyadh. §121; and Rāyap. §291. In Kāmasūtra 33, 9 only the *deśabhāṣāḥ* in general are referred to.—3. PSICHEL, Hc. 2, p. 44, on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are=to Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rājasekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarasvatik. who has borrowed it from him.

B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākṛit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at

fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts¹, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratīyapāṭyaśāstra²; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākṛit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākṛit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Saṅgītanṭyākara.³ According to DEVIPRASĀDA⁴ this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nāṭyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Śākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Śākalya, beside *tujjesu* and *tumbhesu*, reads also *tujjhisu* and *tumbhisu*, which were not acceptable to many (*etat tu na bahusammatam*) and according to fol. 71, in Ś., beside *bhodi*, occurs also *hodi*⁵. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians⁶. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛtalakṣaṇa, a Prākṛit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikaṇṭhapāśa⁷ and Malayagiri⁸. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pātālavijaya and Jāmbavatīvijaya⁹. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms *grhya* and *paīyati* that go against Pāṇini's own rules 7, 1, 37, 81 KIELHORN¹⁰ and BHĀNDARKAR¹¹ are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed¹² to be. The word *grhya* is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in *-anti*, instead of those in *-anti*, are not rare.¹³ It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras,¹⁴ and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian¹⁵, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākṛit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākṛit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions also one Kapila.

1. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of ŚIVADATTA and PARAB (Bombay 1894=Kāvya-mālā 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pūnā; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of GROSSET (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhyāya only.—3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 396, 686.—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2, 3.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 130 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākṛit grammarian. Cf. also WEBER IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without any mention of its author (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 86: 2, 15). It is ascribed to Kedārabhaṭṭa by D'ALWIS; An introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. xxv. Cf. WEBER, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. WEBER, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 472; LEUMANN, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 2, 557 f.—9. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 366 ff; Halāyudha s. v. śkvan; PETERSON, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff., who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 95ff. 316.—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBoAS. 16, 343ff.—12. BÜHLER, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. BHĀNDARKAR I.c.—13. HOLTZMANN, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig. 1884); BÖHTLINGK, BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on WHITNEY § 449. 990.—14. LIEBIG,

Pāṇini Leipzig 1891) p. 47 ff. The conclusion drawn by him from the Bhagavadgītā, p. 32 ff., as shown above, cannot be proved.—15. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36,365ff; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 97f.

§ 32. The oldest of the Prākṛit grammars that we possess is Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name¹, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown² author of the commentary Prākṛtamañjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci.³ This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsarisāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Brhatkathāmañjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇāḍhya⁴ and reaches down upto Sāyaṇa⁵, and the lexicographers⁶ fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Saṁuktikarṇāmṛta contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikakāra⁷, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone⁸, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 (2,315 ed. KIELHORN) mentions *vāruṇaṁ kātyam*⁹. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikakāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali¹⁰ and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya¹¹. WEBER¹² has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, and he¹³, WESTERGAARD¹⁴ and BLOCH¹⁵ have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikakāra with the Prākṛit grammarian, that is against the view of COWELL¹⁶, MAXMÜLLER¹⁷, FISCHER¹⁸ and KONOW¹⁹. When even Vr. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikakāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigator of Pāṇini"²⁰. By the time of Hc. Prākṛit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vr., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vr., more particularly Māhārāṣṭrī, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāsika inscriptions proves nothing at all²¹. Because the Prākṛits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākṛit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasaī be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by JACOB and BLOCH, that Māhārāṣṭrī did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākṛit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology.²² The Gītagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṁśa²³; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākṛit²⁴. The assumption of

BLOCH that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of *Prākṛtamañjarī*, confused the two Vararuci, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan *Tārānātha*. Then there is the tradition that *Kātyāyana* was a *Prākṛit* grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name *Vārttikāṇṇavabhāṣya*, a work taken to be a grammar of *Prākṛit* and mentioned by *Appayadīkṣita*, *Prākṛitamāṇḍipā* 5, among his sources of information, immediately after *vārarucā granthāḥ*, corroborates it. The identity of *Kātyāyana* with *Vararuci* can not naturally be looked upon as certain.

1. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,551.—2. In OPPERT, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, (Madras 1880. 1885) 1,290, No. 3426 and 2, 371, No. 6341 *Kātyāyana* is mentioned as the author.—3. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. 10 f.—4. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 473.—5. COWELL, The *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*, Second Issue. Advertisement; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 9. Cf. also *Prakriyākaumudiprasāda* in BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report 1883/84. p. 362, 18.—6. B. R. S. v. *Kātyāyana*.—7. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 524.—8. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 98. The *Prākṛitamañjarī* speaks about *mahākavi Kātyāyana*.—9. In what respect does this sort of reference to this *kāyam* in the *Mahābhāṣya* warrant the statement, "that this reference to bhagavān Kātyāy, as the author of this *Kāvyā*, does not hold good for *Vararuci* as its author" WEBER, Istr. 3,227, I do not understand.—10. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 370.—11. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 474.—12. Istr. 3,378.—13. Istr. 2, 53 ff.; 3, 27 ff.—14. Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur (Breslau 1862) p. 86.—15. Vr. und Hc. p. 9 ff.—16. The *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*, p. VI.—17. HASL. p. 148, 239 ff.—18.—De gr. Pr. p. 9.—19. GGA. 1894, 473.—20. WEBER, Istr. 3,278.—21. WESTERGAARD I. c.; JACONI, Erzählungen p. xiv f.; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 12 f.—22. FISCHEL, Hefdichter p. 30.—23. FISCHEL, I. c. p. 22.—24. FISCHEL, Rudraja's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* (Kiel 1886) p. 13 note 1.

§ 33. In any case, if *Vararuci* is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest *Prākṛit* grammarians. The title of his grammar is *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL: *The Prākṛita Prakāśa*: or *The Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuci*, with the Commentary *Manoramā* of Bhāmaha. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in *pariccheda*s 1-9, M., in 10, P., in 11, Mg., and in 12, Ś. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity¹. The oldest of its commentators was Bhāmaha, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet². His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than *Udbhata*, who lived under the king *Jayāpīḍa* of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Bhāmaha³. Bhāmaha's commentary on the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* bears the title *Manoramā*⁴ and is lacking in *pariccheda* 12. Undoubtedly Bhāmaha misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14.⁵ It is uncertain if he had ever understood the *gaṇas*⁶ exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the *sūtras* and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of Bhāmaha from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2. 4-7. 9-17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given *hūm sāhasu⁷ sabbhāṣaṁ*=H. 453 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has *hūm*. According to *Bhuvanapāla* (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is *Viṣṇunātha*: under 9,9 occurs *kipo dhuvasi*=H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to *Bhuvanapāla* (IS. 16, 120) it is of *Devarāja*. I cannot trace the remaining ones: the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from *Bṛhatkathā*. In 9,4 the *Gāthās* are generally referred to. A later

commentary is the *Prākṛtamañjarī* of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character : it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London⁸ and is incomplete and extends upto Vr. 6, 18. The author evidently knew *Bhāmaha*. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller than that of those given by *Bhāmaha*, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there ; his text differs in many places from that of *COWELL*.⁹ The commentary is not of a high value.

1. *COWELL* p. 97 ; *PISCHEL*, *De gr.* Pr. p. 10, 13 ; *BÜHLER*, *Detailed Report* p. 75 ; *HOERNLE*, *Proc. ASB.* 1879, 79f.—2. *AUFRECHT*, *IS.* 16, 207f : *Cat. Cat.* 1.405f ; *PETERSON* *Subhāṣitāvalī* p. 79 ; *PISCHEL*, *Rudraṭa* p. 6f.—3. *PISCHEL*, *Rudraṭa* p. 13—4. *AUFRECHT*, *Cat. Cat.* 1. 360, wrongly calls it *Prākṛtamanoramā*. Wrong is also the statement that it is called *Prākṛtacandrikā* as well. Both the statements are based upon *KIELHORN*, *A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces* (Nagpur 1874) p. 84, No. 44. All the other sources quoted by *AUFRECHT* have *Manoramā*. The manuscript referred to by *HOERNLE*, *Proc. ASB.* 1879, 79f. ascribes it to *Vararuci* himself.—5. *BLOCH*, *Vr. und Hc.* p. 28.—6. It is not, therefore, certain that the gaṇas did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by *BLOCH*, *Vr. und Hc.* p. 31. As in Sanskrit, so in *Prākṛit* as well, the schools were differing from one another.—7. We must read as such in lieu *sādhusu* in *COWELL* and *kadhehi sāhusu* in *TAILANGA*, and in the translation it is to be changed into *sādhusu*.—8. Noted by *AUFRECHT*, *Cat. Cat.* 1.360.—The more important ones in *PISCHEL*, *De. Gr.* Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to *Caṇḍa*, whose *Prākṛtālakṣaṇam* has been published by *HOERNLE* : *The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Caṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit*. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. *HOERNLE* is of the view that *Caṇḍa* had treated *Ārṣa* (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts : he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known *Prākṛit* grammarians. Against this *BLOCH*¹ thinks "the grammar of *Caṇḍa* is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of *Hemacandra*." Both the views are incorrect. That *Caṇḍa* is not so old as he is considered to be by *HOERNLE* is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (*vṛddhmatāt*). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of *HOERNLE* as well as in *PETERSON*, *Third Report* (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in *BHANDARKAR*, *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency*. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot persumably be considered, in agreement with *HOERNLE*, p. 1, note to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B, C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMg. and JS' side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-*āṇam* is mentioned by the side of that in-*āham*; in 2, 10, the nominative in-*e* is taught close to that in-*o*; in 2, 19, the absolute in M., JM., AMg., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11. 12 the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one². This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26* (p. 42) occurs A. *haū* by the side of *ham* and *aham*; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolute of M. AMG., JM., JS' and

A; likewise in 2, 27^a, the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27^{b-k}, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11^a furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39^a is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear to be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning; 1, 11^a (p. 36) is = Hc. 4. 353; 2, 1^c (p. 37) is = Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11^a (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4, 325, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51) = Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspondences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by HOERNLE, p. XXII. There C. teaches that *se* is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc. 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of *se* in the genitive plural as well: *idantador āmāpi se ādeśam kaścit icchati*. BLOCH³, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form *kaścit* in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of BLOCH with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. and in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says *kaścit* thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by HOERNLE p. XXIII.⁴ I shall, however, just add the example *caṇḍiśam*, ... *pi* ... given under C. 2. 12^a (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1^b (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called *uddhṛta*, but in Hc. 1. 8 it is designated as *udeṣṭa*; C. 2, 10 has Visarjaniya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānushvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāśika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21. 22. 24; 3, 38. 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Śiṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 27^b and 2, 27^c (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Ārṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of *t*, *th*, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings *-ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.⁵ Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is note-worthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Paisācikī in 3, 38, Māgadhiḥ in 3, 39, Ārṣa in 2, 13^{a,b} (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Śaurasenī is mentioned 3, 39^a (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1^c (p. 37) is = Gaṇḍavaḥo (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26^a (p. 42) *teṇ*aham viddho* is clearly Hāla 441⁶. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and

was one of his authorities. The very fact that C. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (*vichaktividhāna*): in the second section he treats the vowels (*svaravidhāna*) and in the third, the consonants (*vyañjanavidhāna*). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39^a the fourth section and give to it the heading *bhāṣāntaravidhāna* "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prākṛit dialects like M., JM., AMg., and JŚ., and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work *Prākṛitabhāṣāntaravidhānā* as in BÜHLER (ZDMG. 42, 556) and BHĀṆḌĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); BÜHLER and BHĀṆḌĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candṛa.⁷ The extract quoted in BHĀṆḌĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀṆḌĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, *Prākṛitasāroddhāravṛttiḥ*, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to Ś. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 27^a (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prākṛit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Apabhraṃśa. It has to be read as:—*kālu, laheviṇa joiḍ jīva jīva mohu galei tīva tīva danyaru lahaī jo nīamēn oppu mupci*, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". *joiḍ* is not=*jāyāyah*, but=*yogikaḥ*=*yogi* from *yogin*.—5. On t cf. § 203.—6. cf. § 17, note 2.—7. Candṛa is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candṛa, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBIG, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Candṛa.

§ 35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapālā, whose dictionary of synonyms, the *Pāiṇalacchī*, that is *Prākṛitalakṣmīḥ*, has been published by BÜHLER: The *Pāiṇalacchī Nāmamālā*, a Prakṛit Kosha, by Dhanapālā, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166^a). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapālā composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakheta was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundarī.¹ In stanza 1, he calls his work a *Nāmamālā*, and in 278 he designates it as *Deśī*=*Deśī*. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the *Deśīs* constitute only a quarter of the words of the lexicon, all others are either *tatsamas* or *tadbhavas* (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value.² It contains 279 stanzas in the Āryā metre, and the first one is the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapālā is acknowledged by Hc., *Deśin*. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in *Pāiṇalacchī* (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapālā had written another work of the same³ type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*.

1. Details in BÜHLER p. 5 ff.—2. BÜHLER p. 13ff.—3. Vide §20; BÜHLER p. 9; KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see BÜHLER p 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36 Of the Prākṛit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Prākṛit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra¹, whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the Br̥hati—and the other, the Laghu-vṛtti²; of them the Laghuvṛtti bears the name Prakāśikā and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Saṁvat 1299, and PISCHEL : Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil I. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the Vṛtti, Udayasaubhāgyaganin wrote an etymological commentary, Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūndhikā, under the title Vyutpattidīpikā, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendracandrasūri wrote a running commentary named Prākṛitaprabodha³. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections : of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Śaurasenī in 260-286, Māgadhī in 287-302, Paisāci in 303-324, Cūlikāpaisācīkā in 325-328, Apabhraṁśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also JM. and occasionally even JS., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JS. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer⁴, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as *kāścit* (2,80 : 3,81); *kecit* (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 19. 25. 103. 153); *anyaḥ* (3, 103. 117); *anye* (1, 35. 98; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); *anyaiḥ* (4, 2); *anyeṣāṁ* (4, 327) *eke* (1, 35). JACOBI⁵ is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vr. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojidikṣita had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his Siddhāntakaumudī. The sūtras of Vr. were irrefutably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākṛit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vr. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong⁶, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH⁷. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vr. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the Deśināmamālā or the Deśīśabdasamgraha, that was designated as Rāya-ṇāvalī=Skt. Ratnāvalī, by the author himself (8,77). According to the evidence available at pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PISCHEL : The Deśināmamālā of Hemchandra, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880⁸. Like Dhanapāla (§35) Hc. also included tatsamas and tadbhavas under Deśī, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākṛit it is extraordinarily essential. The Deśināmamālā is divided into alphabetically

arranged eight Vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (*ekārthāḥ*), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (*anekārthāḥ*). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly : it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Deśis, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Deśi words⁹. Hc. has written a commentary to his Deśin. as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation from earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether *ambasamī* or *ambamasī* is the correct form to the learned, (*ambamasīti keci paṭhanti tatra keśāṃ cid bhramobhrahmo veti bahudṛṣṭvāna eva pramāṇam*) ; in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of *acchi-harullo* and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (*tad evaṃ granthakṛdvipratipattau bahujñāḥ pramāṇam*) ; in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words *avaḍāhia* and *avaḍakkia*, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Deśis (*asmābhis tu sāradeśinirikṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ*) ; in 1, 105 he firmly holds that *udduhia* in lieu of *uttuhia* remains due to scribe's error; likewise in 6, 8 *bora* occurs in lieu of *cora*. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Deśi in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12. 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Deśi and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (*kevalaṃ satyodayāḥ pramāṇam*). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1, 49 he does it for students. He refers by name to *Abhimānaci-hna* (1, 144; 6, 93; 7, 1; 8, 12. 17); *Avantisundarī* (1, 81. 157); *Devarāja* (6, 58. 72; 8, 17); *Droṇa* or *Droṇācārya* (1, 18. 50; 6, 7; 8, 17); *Dhanapāla* (1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17); *Gopāla* (1, 25. 31. 45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6, 26. 58. 72; 7, 2. 76; 8, 1. 17. 67) *Pādalipta* (1, 2); *Rāhulaka* (4, 4); *S'ilāṅka* (2, 20; 6, 96; 8, 40); *Sātavāhana* (3, 41; 5, 11; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125). Of them, *Abhimānaci-hna*, *Devarāja*, *Pādalipta* and *Sātavāhana* appear also as *Prākṛit* poets in the *Sattasāi* (§13) as well; about *Avantisundarī* *BÜHLER*¹⁰ conjectures that she might have been identical with *Sundarī*, the younger sister of *Dhanapāla*, for whom he wrote *Pāiyalacchī*. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Deśi it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with *Avantisundarī*, the wife of *Rājasekhara*, on whose inducement, according to Karp. 7, 1, the *Karpūramañjarī*, a drama wholly written in *Prākṛit*, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. *Rāhulaka* is referred to as a *Sanskṛit* poet in *Śaraṅgadharapaddhati* and *Subhāṣitāvali*. From among the writers in *Sanskṛit* Hc. refers by name to *Kālāpāḥ* (1, 6), *Bharata* (8, 72), *Bhāmaha* (8, 39), and without naming him he cites *Halāyudha* (1, 5; 2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus *anye* (1, 3. 20. 22. 35. 47. 52. 62. 63. 65. 66. 70. 72. 75. 78. 87. 89. 99. 100. 102. 107. 112. 151. 160. 163; 2, 11. 12. 18. 24. 26. 29. 36. 45. 47. 50. 51. 66. 67. 69. 77. 79. 89. 98; 3, 3. 6. 8. 28. 40. 41. 58. 59.; 4, 3. 4. 6. 7. 18. 22. 23. 26. 33. 44. 47; 5, 9. 30. § 3. 36. 40. 45. 50. 61;

6, 14, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 42, 48, 53, 54, 61, 63, 75, 81, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97, 99, 105, 106, 116, 121, 132, 134, 140, 145; 7, 2, 16, 17, 18, 21, 31, 33, 37, 44, 45, 48, 62, 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, 88, 91; 8, 10, 15, 18, 22, 27, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 59, 67); *eke* (2, 89; 4, 5, 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); *kasit* (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); *kecit* (1, 5, 26, 34, 37, 41, 46, 47, 67, 79, 103, 105, 117, 120, 129, 131, 153; 2, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 29, 33, 38, 58, 87, 89; 3, 10, 12, 22, 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 55; 4, 4, 10, 15, 45; 5, 12, 21, 44, 58; 6, 4, 55, 80, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 110, 111; 7, 2, 3, 6, 47, 58, 65, 75, 81, 93; 8, 4, 51, 69, 70); *pūrvācāryāh* (1, 11, 13); *yad āha* (1, 4, 5 [Halāyudha], 37, 75, 121, 171; 2, 33, 48, 98 [Halāyudha]; 3, 23, 54 [Skt.]; 4, 4, 10, 21, 24, 45; 5, 1, 63; 6, 15, 42, 78, 81, 93, 140, 142; 7, 46, 58, 84; 8, 1, 13, 43, 68); *yad āhuḥ* (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other expressions (1, 18, 94, 144, 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8, 58, 93; 8, 12, 17, 28). In spite of so much of care taken by him in utilization of the writings of his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in 2, 24 he says that *kaṇṭhadiṇāra* means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtīvivara*), and again in 6, 67 he teaches that *paero* also means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtīvivara*), in addition to "a particular ornament" (*kaṇṭhadiṇāra*). Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom. *kaṇṭhadiṇāro*, in lieu of the locative *re*, and with the help thereof he construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by him earlier. *kaṇṭhadiṇāra* is certainly an ornament made from Denar that is worn about the neck. *poālo* "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word as *vovālo* (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its preceding form.¹¹ As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the first rank"¹² that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākṛit.

1. BÜHLER, Ueber das Leben Das Jaina Mönches Hemachandra (Wien 1889) p. 15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 31.—3. In AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360 the author is said to be Naracandra. According to PETERSON, Det. Report (1883) p. 127, No. 300 and BHĀNDĀRKAR, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandrasūri. The MS. was lent out when I wanted to utilize it.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA, 1889, 995, note 1; Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kos's) (Strassburg 1897; Grundriss 1, 38) p. 7; Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Mañbhakṣa (Wien 1899) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1876, 797.—6. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 145.—7. Vr. und Hc. p. 21 ff.—8. Found by BÜHLER, l.c. 2, 17 ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the dictionary, FISCHER Deśin. p. 8.—10. Pāyālacchī-p. 7 ff.—11. Another example in SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadiśvara. Scholars have attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE¹ has correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Kī. lived later than Hc. and that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition that Kī. had written his grammar before Hc. Kī.'s grammar Saṁkṣiptasāra, like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.² As regards the antiquity of Kī. it is noteworthy that a quotation in his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited by him is Murāri,³ about whom we now definitely know that he was anterior to Ratnākara,⁴ the author of Haravijaya,⁴ who lived in about the middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit

to the age of Kī. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Kī. The chapter on the Root has been published by DELIUS: *Radices Pracriticae* (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the Prākṛtapāda is said to have been published by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA in the *Bibliotheca Indica-Series*.⁵ It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from *bhāduko* up to *saddāviadi*,⁶ and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of BLOCH, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in LASSEN. Kī. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in LASSEN. *Inst.*, App. pp. 40. ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A. is well in contrast to that of Vr. Kī. himself wrote a short commentary to his Saṁkṣiptasāra, wherof the *Rasavati* of Jumarānandin is a careful exposition and elucidation.⁷ The Prākṛtadipikā of Caṇḍidevaśarman⁸ is a second commentary on the Prākṛtapāda only. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁹ names a third one: The Prākṛtapādaṭīkā of Vidyāvinoda "son of Nārāyaṇa, grand'son of Vāṇśvara, and great grand'son of Jaṭādhara". He is followed by AUFRECHT,¹⁰ who, as already remarked elsewhere¹¹, calls the author Vidyāvinodācārya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the Saṁkṣiptasāra had, by then, not been printed.¹² The introduction, that RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of AUFRECHT, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bāṇśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother's name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinoda.¹³ It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the Prākṛtapāda is a commentary on Kī. In the subscripts the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya¹⁴ and his work Prākṛtapāda; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.

1. BB. 5, 26.—2. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 26. At the end of the eighth Pāda Kī. treats briefly Metrics and Rhetorics.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 58.—4. PETERSON, *Subhāṣitāvali* p. 91.—5. cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Part first. Grammar.* (Calcutta 1877) p. 75; BHĀṆḌĀRAR, *JBoAS.* 16, 250.—6. This note does not belong to the book proper, rather it contains a number of Prākṛit words quoted from Vr., Mreṇ., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn., Veṇis., Mālatīm., Uttar., Mahāv., Cait., Pīṅgalā., and Sāhityadarpaṇa.—7. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 15; ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 22 f.; AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—8. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 16; AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—9. *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* 4, 162 ff. (Calcutta 1878).—10. *Cat. Cat.* 1, 684.—11. *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181.—12. *De gr. Pr.* p. 19.—13. The introduction is very much obscure, and it is doubtful if the foregoing explanation is correct. Cf. AUFRECHT, *Cat. Oxon.* p. 181. In the *Cat. Cat.* 2, 212, AUFRECHT has the explanation quoted by me, and that clearly in following PETERSON's *Ullar Catalogue* that is not available. The work is there designated simply as Prākṛtavyākaraṇa.

§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his Prākṛtavyākaraṇa. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand'son of Ādityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell

Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004¹, that BURNELL had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarsanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar² Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work.³ From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc. whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc. I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Deśi; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated deśyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4⁴ Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A. D.⁵ In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (*purā kila*). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva,⁶ who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri,⁷ who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A. D.⁸ Thus we see that the hypothesis of AUFRECHT that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A. D.⁹ is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.

1. BURNELL, Classified Index 1,43.—2. Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras as well. In De gr. Pr. p. 29, I had wrongly interpreted *nija* in *nijasūtramārgam* as referring to Trivikrama himself. The title of the work is Prākṛtavākaraṇa and not ^ovṛtti as is shown by an inscription that occurs in the commentary itself.—3. Communicated by FISCHER, De gr. Pr. pp. 34-37.—4. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 38.—5. SEWELL, A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India (Madras 1883), p. 33.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 113.—7. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 616.—8. SEWELL, Lc. p. 113.—9. Cat. Oxon p. 113.

§39. Sīmharāja, the son of Samudrabandhayajvan, based his Prākṛtarūpāvatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayālam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Sīmharāja, following the style of Kaumudi, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (*saṃjñādivibhāga*, *paribhāṣādivibhāga*) and a *saṃhitādivibhāga* on the *saṃdhi* and *lopa*, immediately with declension (*subantavibhāga*; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (*tiṅantavibhāga*; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on *dhātuvādeśa*, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (*śaurasenyaḍivibhāga*; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: *vṛkṣa* for the *a*-stems, *agni* for the *i*-stems, *taru* for the *u*-stems, *kholapā* for the *ū*-stems and *bhrātṛ* for the *y*-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākṛit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns *yusmad* and *asmad*, the verbs whereof he gives *has* and *sah* as paradigms in the same manner.¹ The Prākṛtarūpāvatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-

times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthaśarman has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the Prākṛtānanda.² Similar is the treatment of Lakṣmīdhara in Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā³ and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in Ṣaḍbhāṣā-subantarūpādarśa, a "superficial tract"⁴ on declension.

1. Details in PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 39-43.—2. HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1888o, 100 ff.—3. BURNELL, Classified Index p. 43. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 11-15.—4. BURNELL l.c. p. 44.

§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. JM. AMg. JS'. important is the Prākṛtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgarī character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, foll 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed Piṅgalavyākaraṇa (Nāgarī script) and Pengale Prakrota Surva Bhala Vakaraṇaḥ (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as Pengala praukrota Surva Bhausha Vyacaranum. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgarī script: *śrīrāmaḥ¹ piṅgalaprākṛtasarvasvabhāṣāvyākaraṇam*. The second is the Oxford MS. mentioned in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopelessly so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for Ś. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between Ś. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of TAWNEY. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by AUFRECHT, l.c. it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. AUFRECHT conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to STERLING, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhāmaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, which, as assumed by COWELL¹ and AUFRECHT,² is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: *taduktam prākṛtasaṃjivinyām prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtaṃ yonih* (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja,³ the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema⁴, seems to me⁵ to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a Nāṭyaśāstra, Vasantarājīyam,⁶ hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.⁷ If the two Vasantarājas were identical in all events the age of MK. must have been later than the first quarter of the 15th century. Vasantarāja, who wrote Śākuna, is, with HULTZSCH,⁸ to be differentiated from the Prākṛit grammarian. MK. mentions in his work one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, Kapila, Piṅgala, Rājaśekhara, Vākpatirāja, the Saptaśatī and the Setubandha⁹ as well. Chronologically the youngest of the above-mentioned authors is Bhojadeva, the writer of Rājamrgāṅka, the famous treatise on Karaṇa. He lived in about Śaka-Saṃvat 964=1042-3 A.D.¹⁰ MK. begins with a preamble containing an introduction on the Prākṛit dialects from which all that is essential has been detailed in the foregoing paragraphs; in the beginning

he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 4^b—65^b). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vr., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65^b—72^b) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas. Prācyā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvantī and Bāhlikī in the 11th, and Mg. with a reference to AMg. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivecanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3¹), in 17-18 by A., and in 19. 20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Śaurasenī the language described most accurately is Apabhraṁśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vr. p. x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows EI. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly HULTZSCH, p. 327.—4. The name Kāṭeyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 1873, 201 f. AUFRICHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 changes the correct name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kātavema. The inscriptions, EI. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāṭeyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prākṛta-mañjarī, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; EI. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. HULTZSCH, EI. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. THIBAUT, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1899; Grundriß III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarkavāgiśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. LASSEN has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-23. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv. worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Laṅkeśvara, whereby is meant the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prākṛtalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa, or shortly also as Laṅkeśvara.¹ Of the Prākṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments². If this Laṅkeśvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvya-mālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares saṁvat 1928), cites³ its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.⁴ and later than that of Rāmatarkavāgiśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā of Narasiṁha, whereof the beginning⁵ has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Grantha-pradarśani Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Subhacandra wrote one Śabdacināmaṇi, which, according to HOERNLE⁶ contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Siṁharāja (§38. 39) he begins his grammar with a number of Saṁjñāsūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁷ as Audāryacināmaṇi and is ascribed to one Subhasāgara.⁸ An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which PETERSON, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛsiṁha, or according to 348, 21 Narasiṁha, whereby perhaps the author of Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (*śiṣuhitaṁ kurve prākṛtacandrikāṁ*), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Ārṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that

he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāradvāja p. 348. A Prākṛtacandrikā was written by Vāmanācārya, who calls himself Karañjakavisārvabhauma and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgala as well.⁹ A compendium for beginners is Prākṛtamañḍipā of Appayadikṣita,¹⁰ the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmidhara, Bhoja, Puṣpanātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikāṇṇavabhāṣya and also Appayajvan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3. 5. 6. 8-10. 13 in the Granthapradarśanī Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakaumudī,¹¹ a Prākṛtavvyākaraṇa of Samantabhadra¹², etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candrasekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhityadarpaṇa 174, 2: Candrasekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara in his commentary on Śakuntalā 175, 24, ed. PISCHEL, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākṛit. From Deśiprakāśa, quotes Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. STENZLER=40, 5 p. 503, ed. GODABOLE: *kāṇeli kanyakāmātā*. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākṛit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 9, 239. No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvaṇa, and the colophon reads as *iti rāvaṇakṛtā prākṛitakāmadhenuḥ samāptā*. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛitāṇḍīśvararāvaṇa. LASSEN, Inst. p. 9. considers according to COLEBROOKE, Prākṛitāṇḍīśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛitakāmadhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with LEYDEN, ascribes to Vidyāvinoda. In Rāmatarakāṅgīśa (LASSEN, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Ḍaṇḍīśvara. The author of Śivastuti and Kālāgnirudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvaṇa. That this Rāvaṇa "is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster" as he is usually believed to be can with RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA be easily accepted. 2. The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 238 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5, 6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhraṃśa of Piṅgala.—3. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAS, Kāvyaṃālā 1, 7, note 1.—4. Kāvyaṃālā 1, 91 note 1; EI. 4, 271.—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed.—6. I A. 2, 29.—7. Proc. ASB. 1875. 77.—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 952.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 337. 360. 564. From RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākṛitacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work.—10. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who has erred in respect of time. HURTZSCH, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinabhōmmabhūpāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21. 27.—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākṛit BLOCH has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose. 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is the latter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS. as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex

silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians." It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Śākāri and Dhakkī. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to BLOCH², for example, the circumstance that Rohasena, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthivīdhara, but Ś. in STENZLER, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadāmana, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15; 158, 15 cd. CHE'ZY. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. CAPPELLER³, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadāmana and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration⁴. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc.⁵ Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramas. LASSEN, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 48.—2. Vr. und Hc. p. 4.—3. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, 124.—4. JACOBI GGA. 1888, 71.—5. Hc. 2, p. vi.

§ 43. HOFER was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in *De Prakrita dialecto libri duo*, Berolini 1836¹. Almost about the the same time appeared LASSEN's *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, *die Radices Pracriticae* was published by DELIUS, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramas, the Mṛcch., Śāk., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālatīm., Uttarar., Mudrār, besides Kāvya-prakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, LASSEN was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śāk., and Prab. Under the conditions, LASSEN's work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places

in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the ground work on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of WEBER on M.A. Mg., of EDUARD MÜLLER on AMg., of JACOBI on JM. are devoted to individual dialects : they will be referred to in appropriate places. COWELL, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākṛit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prākṛit words, London 1875 is based upon Vr.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal². RISHIKESH (rather more correctly Hṛṣīkeśa) SASTRI, A Prakṛita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prākṛitakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. HAAO, in his *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. HOERNLE³ has given a general survey of the history of Prākṛit—Philology and WEBER⁴ of the recent publications (1870-1881).

1. Cf. BENARY, *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1856, 863 ff.—2. Cf. FISCHER, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1875, 794 ff.—3. A Sketch of the History of Prakrit Philology, Calcutta Review, October 1880. Cf. Centenary Review of the ASB. Calcutta 1885) II, p. 157 ff.—4. Hāla² (Leipzig 1881) p. vii f. with note.

§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prākṛit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to LASSEN, we have come to know of AMg. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. Ā. JŚ. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. Ś. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMg. Ś. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to Ś. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMg., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prākṛit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Aśokan dialects, the Lepa dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately

in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt. \tilde{e} , \tilde{o} , \tilde{a} (§226), and dialectically also the independent \tilde{n} (§237), \tilde{l} (§242) and the composite sounds $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ (§282), $\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$, $\tilde{y}\tilde{j}\tilde{a}$ (§217), $\tilde{y}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}$ (§331), $\tilde{l}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}$ (§330), $\tilde{s}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}$, $\tilde{s}\tilde{k}\tilde{h}$, $\tilde{h}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}$ (§§302.324), $\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$ (§310), $\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}$ and $\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$ (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds r , l , ai , au , $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ except in Mg. $\tilde{c}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{d}\tilde{i}$ = $\tilde{t}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ (§303), \tilde{h} , voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have r , na , ya , $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal.³ In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound ya , that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JŚ. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by $\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT denies the existence of \tilde{e} and \tilde{o} , Prākṛtica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBI, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; FISCHEL, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt. \tilde{a} has been retained only in the interjection \tilde{a} ! see §60.—3. C. 2. 14p. 18. 44; Hc. 1, 1; Triv. and Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344, 1 ff.; Kalpacūṛṇi in LEUMANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Pīṅgala 1, 2, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line $\tilde{b}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}$ for $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}$, besides $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}\tilde{d}\tilde{r}\tilde{a}\tilde{p}\tilde{u}\tilde{s}\tilde{t}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{h}\tilde{i}$ $\tilde{b}\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{v}\tilde{i}$, and in the sixth line something like $\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\tilde{s}$ $\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{i}$ for $\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{d}\tilde{a}\tilde{o}\tilde{s}$ $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ $\tilde{h}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ because very often $\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{i}$ stands for the plural $\tilde{s}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ (§498). Neither $\tilde{h}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ nor $\tilde{h}\tilde{ṇ}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ - $\tilde{b}\tilde{h}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ fits in metrically. In line 6 read $\tilde{b}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}$ for $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}$ and in line 7 read $\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$ $\tilde{a}\tilde{h}$ $\tilde{b}\tilde{a}$ $\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$. Accordingly $\tilde{b}\tilde{a}$ as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §201.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JŚ. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly expiatory. In Ś. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin.¹ The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff.; 35, 140 ff. Besides JACOBI, ZDMG. 47, 574 ff.; KZ. 35, 578 ff.; GRIERSON, ZDMG. 49, 395 ff.

A. SONANTS AND VOWELS

1. SONANTS

§47. r was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9); $\tilde{r}\tilde{n}\tilde{u}$ = $\tilde{r}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{m}$ (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmisādhū l.c.); $\tilde{s}\tilde{u}\tilde{k}\tilde{r}\tilde{d}\tilde{u}$ (Hc. 4, 329), $\tilde{s}\tilde{u}\tilde{k}\tilde{r}\tilde{d}\tilde{a}\tilde{m}$ (Ki. 5, 16) = $\tilde{s}\tilde{u}\tilde{k}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{m}$; $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ = $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$, $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ = $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$, $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{i}$ $\tilde{p}\tilde{p}\tilde{i}\tilde{n}\tilde{u}$ = * $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{n}\tilde{i}\tilde{t}\tilde{o}\tilde{i}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{m}$ (§588) = $\tilde{g}\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{i}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}$ (Hc. 4, 336. 341, 2. 394. 438, 1) $\tilde{k}\tilde{r}\tilde{d}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{h}\tilde{o}$ = $\tilde{k}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$ (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhraṁśa dialects r is unknown as in all the Prākṛit languages. CP. $\tilde{k}\tilde{h}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$ = $\tilde{g}\tilde{h}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$ in Ki. 5. 102 may be an incorrect reading for $\tilde{k}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$, as $\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{h}\tilde{i}\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}$ = $\tilde{d}\tilde{r}\tilde{d}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{h}\tilde{r}\tilde{d}\tilde{a}\tilde{y}\tilde{a}\tilde{k}\tilde{a}$ (5, 102) shows. In LASSEN Inst. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant r might be pronounced with a tinge of a —, i —and u —¹. Like the consonantal r (§287-295) the sonantal r is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter, r following a consonant is transformed into a , i , and u . On initial r , see §56. 57, and on \tilde{e} for r , §53.

1. MAHLow, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTEL, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 125 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a r -vowel.

§48. As the vowel pronounced with *r* was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of *r* to *a* as usual and they have enumerated under *gaṇas* the words that show a change of *r* into either *i* or *u* (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Ki. 1, 27, 30, 32; Mk. fol. 9. 10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5 p. 15. 43) in stead of into *a*. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from M., and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in conformity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. *a* develops for *r*, e.g. in M. *ghaṇa*=*ghṛta* (H. 22; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. *ghaya* (C. 2. 5) [read so with the variant reading]; Hc. 1, 126; Pāṇ. 123; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; 2, 6, 1, 9. 12; 2, 134; Vivāhap. 910; Uttar. 170. 432; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 12; T. 6, 4. 7; Erz.), but Ś. Mg. *ghida* (Mṛch. 3, 12; 117, 8; 126, 5 [read so for *ghia*]).—PG. *taṇa*=*tr̥ṇa* (6, 33, likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Ki. 1, 27; G. H. R.), AMg. (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 6; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 129. 810. 812; Vivāhap. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048; Jiv. 356. 464. 465; Paṇṇav. 33. 43 etc.), *taṇaga*=*tr̥ṇaka* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 18; Dasav. 623, 1), *taṇailla* (fatty; Jiv. 355); JM. (Kl. 12; Dvār. 502, 31; 504, 13; Erz.), Ś. (Śak. 106. 13), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 334. 339); but also AMg. *tiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 313), Ś. (Vikr. 15, 11), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 358. 2.—M. *kaa*=*kṛta* (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Pāṇ. 77; G. H. R.); PG. *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5, 5), *kaḍa* (7, 51); AMg. *kaja* (Uvās; Ovav.) and *kaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Sūyag. 46. 74. 77. 104. 106. 133. 136. 151. 282. 368. 465; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in *akaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6), *dukkakaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359; Uttar. 33), *viḍaḍa*, *viḍaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 7; Sūyag. 344; Uttar. 53), *sukaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; 2, 4, 2, 3; Uttar. 76), *saṃkhaḍa*=*saṃskṛta* (Sūyag. 134. 150; Uttar. 199), *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§ 306. 345), *āhakaḍa*=**yāthakṛta* (§ 335); JM. *kaja* (Erz.; Kk.), *dukkaja* (Pāṇ. 53; Erz.); JŚ. Ś. *kada* (Pav. 384, 36 [Text *kaja*] Mṛch. 3, 19; 41, 18; 52, 12; Śak. 36, 16; 105, 15; 140, 13; Vikr. 16, 12; 21, 9; 23, 8), Mg. *kada* (Mṛch. 40, 5; 133, 8; 159, 22) and *kaḍa* (Mṛch. 17, 8; 32, 5; 127, 23. 24 etc.), *kaja* (Mṛch. 11, 1; 40, 4); P. *kata* (Hc. 4, 322. 323); A. *kaa* (Hc. 4, 422, 10), *kaṭu*=*kṛtakah*=*kṛtah* (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in Ś. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often *kida*, e.g. Ś. (Mṛch. 2, 21; 36, 4; 63, 12; Śak. 124, 7; 154, 9; 161, 5; Vikr. 33, 11; 35, 6; 72, 16; 84, 21), Mg. (Mṛch. 112, 16; 121, 6; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where *kṛta* constitutes the second member of compounds, thus Ś. *siddhikida* (Mṛch. 6, 11. 13; 7, 5), *purākida* (Śak. 162, 13), *paccakkhikida* (Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. *duṣkida* (Mṛch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in *duhāia*=*duidhākṛta* (Hc. 1, 126; R. 8, 106), *doḥāia* (R.), whereas elsewhere *kia* in M. is incorrect. A. has also *i* beside *a* for *r*: *akia*=*akṛta* (Hc. 4, 396, 4), *kiāu*=*kṛtakam*=*kṛtam* (Hc. 4, 371), *kidu* (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—*vasaha*=*vyābha* (Bh. 1, 27; C. 2, 5 p. 43; 3, 13; Hc. 1, 126; Pāṇ. 151); So. M. (G. R.); AMg. Vivāhap. 225; Uttar. 338; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61; Nāyādh. § 47), also *vasabha* (Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 7. 11; Vivāhap. 1048; Paṇṇav. 122; Aṇuog. 502; Kappas. § 114. 118); JM. *vasaha* (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and *vasabha* (Erz.); JŚ. *varaha* (Pav. 382, 26. 43); but Ś. always has *vasaha* (Mṛch. 6. 7; Mālav. 65, 8; Bālar. 73. 18; 93, 10; 287, 15; Pras.

44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820.; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly *va*).—AMg. *ghaṭṭha*=*ghṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 126; Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 3; 2, 5, 1, 3; 2, 10, 5; Paṇṇav. 96, 110; Jiv. 439. 415. 447. 449. 453. 483 ff.; Ovav).—AMg. JM. *maṭṭhiā*, Ś. *maṭṭhā*=*mr̥tikā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 3; 2, 3, 2, 13; Vivāhap. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255; Thāp. 321; Paṇḥāv. 419.494; Uttar. 708; Nāyādh. 621; Rāyap. 176; Uvās.; Ovav; Erz.; Mṛcch. 94, 16; 9, 8. 9; Śak. 79, 1; 155; 10; Bhartṛharinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vr̥tta* (round; Hc. 2, 29; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; 2, 4, 2, 7. 12; Sūyag. 590; Thāp. 20; Vivāhap. 942; Uttar. 1022; Paṇṇav. 9 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—AMg. *vaṇhi*=*vr̥ṣṇi* (Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262), *andhagavaṇhi*=*andhakavṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33; Vivāhap. 1394; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects *r* is most frequently represented by *i*, which corresponds today to *ri*, the most usual pronunciation of *r* in India. Such words are grouped under the *ṛṣyādi* class in Vr. 1, 28; Kī. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 9 f.; Pkl. p. 31 and under the *kṛpādi* class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. *kīsa*=*kr̥śa* (Hc. 1, 128; H.; Uttar. 750; Uvās.; Śak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. *kivina*=*kṛpaṇa* (Hc. 1, 128; G. H.; Kappas.; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text *va*]; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18. 19).—AMg. *giddha*=*gr̥dhra* (greedy; Sūyag. 105; Vivāhap. 450. 1128; Uttar. 593; Nāyādh. 433.606); JM. Ś. Mg. (vulture; Vr. 12, 6; Mk. fol. 9; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 11; 79, 15; 80, 20; Mālav. 28, 12; Śak. 116, 3).—AMg. *giddhi*=*gr̥ddhi* (Hc. 1, 128; Sūyag. 363.371.406; Uttar. 933.939.944. 954 etc.), *giddhiya*=*gr̥ddhika* (Paṇḥāv. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. *diṭṭhi*=*diṣṭi* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Kī. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 3. 10. 17; 59, 24; 68, 22; 152, 25; Śak. 53, 8; 59, 7; 77, 10 etc.; Hc. 4, 330, 3).—M. *vimchua* (Bh. 1, 28; H. 237), *vimchua* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 1, 128; 2, 16. 89; Kī. 2, 63 [text *viñca*, ed. Rāj. vicuol]), *vimchīa* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 16); *vicchua* (Mk. fol. 10), AMg. *vicchūya* (Thāp. 311.312; Paṇḥāv. 47.537; Nāyādh. 755; Vivāhap. 522; Jiv. 257), *vicchīya* (Uttar. 1064)¹=*vr̥śāka*.—M. *siāla*=*siṅgāla* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Kī. 132; Mk. fol. 9); AMg. JM. *siyāla* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Sūyag. 296; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Jiv. 356; Kk.), *siyālaṅga* (Nāyādh. 511), *siyālatāla* (Thāp. 296), *siyālī* (Paṇṇav. 368); Ś. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 72, 22; Śak. 25, 9); Mg. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 22, 10; 113, 20; 120, 12; 122, 8; 127, 5; Śak. 116, 3), *siālī* (Mṛcch. 11, 20).—M. AMg. JM. A. *siṅga*=*siṅga* (Hc. 1, 130; Pāyāl. 210; G. H.; Vivāhap. 326.1042; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 337), according to Hc. 1, 130 also *saṅga*.—M. Ś. Mg. A. *hiāa*=*hṛdaya* (Bh. 1, 28; Hc. 1, 128; Kī. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 17, 15; 27, 4. 19. 21; 37, 16 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 29, 21; 128, 2; 169, 6; Prab. 63, 15 [so read with M.]; Hc. s. v.); AMg. JM. *hiyaya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ovav.; etc. Erz.; Kk.); Mg. mostly *haḍakka* (§ 194), also *hoḷaka*, *haḷaa* (§ 244); P. *hitapa*, *hitapaka* (§ 191).

1. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find *u* for *r* preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is *u* in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have *u* under the *ṛṣyādi* class. Thus: M. *nihua*=*nibhṛta* (Hc. 1, 131; Deśin. 5, 50; Mk. fol. 10; H. R.); AMg. JM. *nihuja* (Pāyāl. 15; Uttar. 627; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *nihuda* (Śak. 53, 4. 6; Mudrār. 44, 6; Karnas 18, 19; 37, 16).—M. *nivua*=*nirepta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; G. H. R.; Śak. 96, 2); AMg. JM. *nivuya* (Kappas.; Erz.); Ś. *nivuda* (Śak. 70, 4; 98, 7; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2

ed. PISCHEL]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. *pucchai* = *prechati* and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.); Ś. *pucchadi* (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. *puṣcadi* (Hc. 4, 295), *puṣcāmi* Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. *pucchimi* (Vikr. 63, 3), *pucchahu* (Hc. 4, 364. 422. 9).—M. *puhai*, *puhavi* = *prthvi* (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.); AMg. JŚ. *puḍhavi* (Thāp. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhap. 920. 1099; Paṇṇav. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Kattig. 401, 346); so also JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Śak. 59, 12) beside *puhavi* (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. *phusai* = *spṛśai* (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. *muṇāla* = *mṛṇāla* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Śak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2. 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛṣabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. *muṅga* = *mṛdaṅga* (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. JM. *muṅga*, *muṅga* (Paṇhāv. 512; Thāp. 481; Vivāhap. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Paṇṇav. 99. 101; Erz.); Ś. *midāṅga* (Mālav. 19, 1; v. l. *miāṅga*); according to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also *muṅga*; Mg. *midāṅga* (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading *mudāṅga* and also GODBOLE 337, 7).—JM. Ś. *vuttanta* = *vṛttānta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72, 12; 81, 2).—AMg. JM. *vutthi* = *vṛṣṭi* (Hc. 1, 137; Pāiyāl. 227; Vivāhap. 331; Kappas.; Erz.); M. also *viṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 137; Ki. 1, 32; H. 261); *vuttha vṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 137); M. *uvuttha* (G. 375); AMg. *silāvuttha* (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś. *pavuttha* Śak. 139, 15).—M. JM. A., sporadically in AMg., *kuṇai* JŚ. *kuṇadi* = **kṛṇāti* = Vedic * *kṛṇoti* (§508). On *mūsā*, *mosā*, beside *musa* = *mṛṣā* see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *dadha* and JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha* = *dyḍha* (§242).—*dhattha* (Hc. 1, 130) and *dhittha* = *dhrṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. *niatta* = *nivṛtta* (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and *nivutta* (Hc. 1, 132).—AMg. JM. *maccu* = *mṛtyu* (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Paṇhāv. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. *miccu* (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karpas. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *masina* = *masṛṇa* (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarar. 11, 8; 163, 4) and *masaṇa* (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. *miu* = *mṛdu* (Vivāhap. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛṣabh. 13, 13 [Text *midu*]), but always M. *maūa* AMg. *maūja* = *mṛduka* (Hc. 1, 127; H. R.; Vivāhap. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 350. 549); (Apuog. 268; Nāyādh.). AMg. *maūga* (Jiv. 508); M. *maūia* = **mṛdukita*, *maūi* = *mṛdvi* (G.)—*vandāraa* (Hc. 1, 132) and *vundāraa* = *vṛndāraaka* (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. *vaga* = *vṛka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282. 484 [text *vagga*, commentary *viga*]; Paṇṇav. 367), *vagi* = *vṛki* (Paṇṇav. 368) and AMg. *viga* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344), Ś. *via* (Uttarar. 105, 12). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. *kṛṣṇa* in the sense of "black" becomes *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṣiṇa*, *kaṣha* and as a proper name it becomes only *kaṣha*, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of "black" it always becomes *kaṣaṇa*, in the sense of "Kṛṣṇa" it becomes *kaṣha* only; according to Kalpal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes *kaṣha* and *kiṣha*; Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between *kaṣaṇa* and *kaṣha*. In the sense of "black" it occurs as M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa* (G. H. R.; Pracapdap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatim. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 98, 4) Venis. 61, 10), AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101; Paṇhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṣha* (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Paṇṇav. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Gaṇḍak. 86, 8. 9.

10 [in *kaṇhāhi*; text *kahna* and *kahva*], AMg. also *kiṇha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Paṇhāv. 285 (beside *kaṣiṇa*) Paṇṇav. 496 ff. [always interchanging with *kaṇha*]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. kaṇha* (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Paṇṇav. 61; Nirayāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns *sukaṇha*, *maḥakaṇha*, *virakaṇha*, *rāmakaṇha* *seṇakaṇha*, *māhāseṇakaṇha*; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 499; 37, etc. ca. 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6. 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as *kanha*, °*da*, *kahnz*]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. (mostly printed as *kanha*)). Wrong is *kiṣaṇa* (Bālar. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bomb., where the variant reading in KONOW p. 48 has only *kaṣaṇa*) and *kiṇha* (Nirayāv. 79). Cf. also *kaṣaṇiṇya*=*kṛṣṇāyita*, *kaṣaṇapakṣha*=*kṛṣṇapakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 198. 268), *kaṣaṇaṇiya*=**kṛṣṇaṇita* "the black-white"=Balabhadra (Deśin. 2, 23).—*vyddhi* in the sense of "growth" becomes *vuddhi* (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of "interest" it becomes AMg. *vajddhi* (Uvās). There are found also M. *parivaddhi* (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. *viddhi* (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: *prākṛta* becomes *pāyaya* in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading *pāgoṇa*), *pāgoṇa* in JM. (Erz., 2, 28) and *pāyaya* (Hc. 1, 67; Kalpacūṛṇi on Av. 6, 29), *pāia* in M., *pāiya* in JM. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjālagga 325, 2 Pāiyāl. 1) and *pāua* in M. (H. 2 [v. 1. *pāia*, Vajjālagga 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), *pāuda* in Ś. (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2. 5; Viddhaś. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], *pākida* in Mg. (Venīs. 34, 20).—*prṣṭha* becomes in M. *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 131; G.), *puṭṭha* (Bh. 4, 20; R.), *puṭṭhi* (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. *piṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938. 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 35. 129. Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 632. 24), *puṭṭha* (Nirayāv. §17), *puṭṭhi* (Sūyag. 292), in JM. *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Erz.), in Ś. D. *piṭṭha* (Vikr. 39, 3; Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikām. 145. 21; 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), *piṭṭhi* (Kāṁsav. 57, 9), *puṭṭha* (Pras. 41, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), *puṭṭhi* (Bālar. 238, 10), in Mg. *piṣṭa* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venīs. 35, 5. 10), *piṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 165, 9 and in A. *piṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in *prṣṭha*, *r* is changed to *a*, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. JM. *mahivaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 129); Pratāpar. 214, 9 [°*pa*°]; Āv. 12, 23); Ś. *dharanivaṭṭha* (Uttarar. 63, 12; Bālar. 248, 5; 287, 16); however, also, probably wrong is JM. *dharanivaṭṭha* (Sagara 7, 12), Ś. *dharanipiṭṭha* [text. °*nipiṭṭha*; Bālar. 245, 15]. The printed text and the MSS. of Venīs. 64, 18 oscillate between *kālapuṭṭha*, °*vuṭṭha*, °*piṭṭha*.—*brhaspati* forms *bahapṭhai*, *bihapṭhai*, *buhapṭhai* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. *bahassai* (Sūyag. 709 [text *va*°], Thāp. 82; Paṇṇav. 116 [text *va*°], *bhissai* (Anuog. 356 [text *vi*°]. Ovav. §36 [text *vi*°]; Ś. *bahapṭhai* (Mallikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text *va*°]); *bihapṭhadi* (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects *vyddha* is changed to *vuddha* (C. 2, 5; 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav.; Erz., Ś. Mṛcch. 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anarghar. 156, 5; Mg. Mṛcch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to *vaddha*, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to *viddha*.—*vinṭa* forms AMg. *vinṭa* (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Paṇṇav. 40 [text *bi*°], *tālavinṭa* (Paṇhāv. 33), *pattavinṭa* (Jiv. 681); commonly also *vēṇṭa* with change of *i* to *ē* before a double consonant (§ 119); so M. *vēṇṭa* (Hc. 1, 139; 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Sak. 119, 6), *tālaveṇṭa* (Karp. 82, 2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text *be*°]; Paṇṇav. 40 [text *be*°], *tālaveṇṭa* Nāyādh. § 136), *pattaveṇṭa* (Jiv. 549 [text °*be*°]); Ś. Viddhaś. 14, 13), *tālaveṇṭa* (Vikr. 75,

10; Uttarar. 16, 7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Veniś. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar. 131, 13 [so it is to be read], *tālavēṇṭaa* (Mṛcch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛcch. 21, 16). Hc. [1, 67] has *tālavēṇṭa* also by the side of *tālavēṇṭa* (2, 31), Bh. (, 10) has *tālavēṇṭaa* by the side of *tālavēṇṭaa*. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also *vōṇṭa* 1, 67; he has *tālavōṇṭa* along with *tālavēṇṭa* i.e., with the change of *u* to *ō* before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is *tālīyaṇṭa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 236. 533; Aṇuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhap. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasav. 616, 38; 626, 3) *tālīyaṇṭaka* (Paṇhāv. 488 = **tālīyṇṭa* with a change of *r* into *a*, as in Pāli *vaṇṭa*).

§ 54. BOLLESEN¹ has propounded the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only *miatīṇhiā* or *maatāṇhiā* = *mṛgatīṇhiā* has to be declared as the correct form. PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT², in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like *mīāṇka* = *mṛgāṇka* beside *maīnda* = *mṛgendra*, *viśāṇkhala* = *viśrāṇkhala* beside *siṅkhalā* = *śrāṅkhalā* (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M, they say *maatāṇhā* (R.) *maatāṇhiā* (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides *mudhamia*, Ś. *miatāṇhā* (Dhūrtas. 16, 6; v. l. *maatāṇhā*), *miatīṇhā* (Anarghar. 60, 4), *maatāṇhiā* (Vikr. 17, 1), *maatīṇhiā* (Viddhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 *miatāṇhiā*), *miatīṇhiā* (Viddhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. *maīnda* (G. R.), and M. Ś. *maalañchana*, JM. *mājalañchana* = *mṛgalāñchana* (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛcch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20³, Pāīyal 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside *maāṇka* (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. *majaṇka* (Erz), in M. D. Ś. Mg. common *mīāṇka* (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛcch. 101, 11, Ś. Vikr. 58, 10; Viddhaś. 109, 5; Karp. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 25); JM. has also *miyaṇka* (Erz). Beside Ś. *maa* = *mṛga* stand *miā* = *mṛgayā* (Śak. 29, 2, 3) and M. Ś. *maī* = *mṛgī* (Śak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); Ś. *maavahū* = *mṛgavadhū* (Śak. 86, 4), beside Ś. *sāhāmīa* = *sākhāmīga* (Mṛcch. 69, 11, Vikr. 81, 13), AMg. *ikāmīya* (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap 58 [°go]); likewise AMg. generally only *migā*, *miya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasav. N. 649, 7; Sūyag. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. § 37) *miyasirāo* = *mṛgasirāḥ* (Thān. 81) *mīgavva* = *mṛgevyva* (Uttar 498), speak against JM. *māya* (Dvār. 501, 13), *māyaccāhi* = *mṛgāṅkī* (Rṣabhap. 26), M. *maacchi* (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 1. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on v. 2.—3. The v. l. has *miā* and the same occurs in Viddhaś. 63, 4 also.

§ 55. The *r* of nouns ending in *r* is changed into *u*, before the suffix—*ka*, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1, 134); PG. *jāmātukasa* = *jāmātyakasa* (6, 14), *bhātukāṇa* = *bhrātyakāṇam* (6, 18); M. *jāmāua* = *jāmātyka* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Mk. fol. 10; H.); JM. *jāmāuya* (Erz.); Ś. *jāmādua* (Mahāv. 27, 22; Mallikām. 209, 22); *jāmādusadda* = *jāmātyasadda* (Mallikām 209, 1); JM. *bhāuvacchala* = *bhrātyavatsala* (Dvār. 503, 38; 507, 30), *bhāughāyaga* = *bhrātyaghātaka*, *bhāuya* = *bhrātyka* (Erz.), Ś. *bhādusaa* = *bhrātyāta* (Veniś. 59, 3); Ś. *bhādua* (Vikr. 75, 8); Mg. *vañcidabhāduka* = *vañcitabhātyka* (Mṛcch. 129, 6); AMg. *puttanattupariyāra* = *putranaptipariyāra* (Vivāhap. 482). *ammāpiusantie* (Āyār. 2, 15, 15), *ammāpiusussūsa* (Vivāhap. 601), *māupiusujāya* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 11), *māucya*, *piusukka* = *mātrojah*, *pitṭukra* (Sūyag. 817. 822; Thān. 159; Vivāhap. 111), *māuya* (Nāyādh. 1430); Ś. *mādughara* (Mṛcch. 54, 4); Mg. *mādūkā* (Mṛcch. 122, 5); M. *piucāha* = *pitṭvadhā* (G. 484), JM. *nattuya* = *naptika* (Āv. 8, 31); AMg. *nattui* = *naptikī* (Kappas. § 109). How-

ever, *i* as well, does not occur rarely; M. *ṇattia*=*ṇaṭṭika* (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13), *taṭṭighaḍaṇā*=*vaṣṭṭighaṇā* (G. 704), *māihara* (Hc. 1, 135); AMg. *māimaraṇa*, *bhāimaraṇa* (Sūyag. 787), *māirakkhiya* (Ovav. § 72); Ś. *mādivacchala* (Śak. 158,12); AMg. *peīya*=*paityka* (Vivāhap. 113); JM. *bhāivacchala*, *bhāighāyaya* (Dvār. 501, 3. 38), *bhāivahaga*=*bhrātṛva-dhaka* (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), *bhāisoga*=*bhrātṛśoka* (Erz. 53,11); AMg. *am-māṇisamāṇa*, *bhāisomāṇa* (Thān. 284); A. *piimāimosana*=*piṭmātṛmoṣana* (Erz. 158,3); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraṇa*=*bhartṛdāraka* (Paṇṇav. 366), S. *bhaṭṭi-dāra* (Mahāv. 28,2;32,22); Ś. *bhaṭṭidārī* (Lalitav. 560, 9; 561, 6. 12; 562,22; 563,5; Mālatīm. 72, 2,4.8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9.13; 12,5.10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like *a*—, *i*—and *u*—stems, the feminine ones, like *ā*—stems; and *mātṛ* also is declined like *i*—and *ā*—stems (§ 389—392).

§ 56. Generally the initial *r* becomes *ri* (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Ki. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and *ṛi* in Mg. So M. AMg. JM. *Ṛ. Ṛ. Ṛ. A. riddhi*=*ṛddhi* (Pāṇyāl. 62; G. H; Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 400, 325; 403, 370; Mṛcch. 6, 4; 2¹, 7; 77, 10; 94, 19; Hc. 4,18,8).—M. AMg. JM. *Ṛ. rikkha* (Hc. 2,19; Pāṇyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālar. 221,5; 250,18) and M. AMg. *Ṛ. riccha*=*ṛkṣa* (Vr. 1, 30; 3. 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Pāṇyāl. 128; R.; Rāyap. 124; Śak. 35, 9; Anarghar. 156, 5).—M. JM. *riṇa* (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); Ś. *ariṇa*=*aṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 64, 22; Śak. 24, 13; 141, 10); Mg. *ṛiṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of *i* (§ 73).—AMg. *riu*=*ṛtu* (Hc. 1, 141. 209; Pāṇyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nirayāv. 81); Ś. *ridu* (Bālar. 131,12).—AMg. *riuṇeṇa*=*ṛṇeḍa* (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—M. AMg. *risaha*=*ṛṣabha* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Paṇhāv. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Uvās.; Ovav.), AMg. *Ṛ. also. risabha* (Thān. 266 [as a proper noun]; Śak. 95, 7).—Ś. *ricāṇi*=*ṛcaṇi* (Ratn. 302, 11).—AMg. JM. *Ṛ. risi*=*ṛṣi* (Hc. 1, 141; Pāṇyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; Mṛcch. 326, 14 [interpolation]); Mg. *liṣi* (Prab. 46, 15. 16; 47, 1); AMg. *mahārīsi* (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like AMg. *rāyārīsi*=*rājārīsi* (Vivāhap. 908.915.916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), *māhaṇārīsi*=*brahmaṇārīsi* (§ 250; Nirayāv. 48, 50 ff.), JM. *mīharīsi*=*mahārīsi* (Erz.) Ś. *sattarīsi*=*saptarīsi* (Viddhaś. 49, 4.6.8), JM. *divāyāṇārīsi*=*divāpāyāṇārīsi* (Dvār. 496, 7. 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, directly go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57. An initial *r* develops, not rarely, into *a*, *i*, *u*, besides into *ri*. So M. AMg. JM. *Ṛ. A. acchāi* P. *acchati*=*ṛcchali* (§ 480).—AMg. *accha*=*ṛkṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of *riccha*; Paṇṇav. 49.367), *acchī* (Paṇṇav. 368); cf. Skt. *acchabhalla*.—AMg. *aṇṇa*=*ṛṇa* (Hc. 1, 141; Paṇhāv. 150).—AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi*=*ṛddhi* (Thān. 80.178; Uttar. 116.666; Vivāhap. 55.221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33. 61; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. § 16; Dasav. 635,38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As LEUMANN rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. *riddhi*) *iḍḍhi* is the form that occurs in older texts and *riddhi*, in later texts. The same holds good for AMg. as well in the case of other forms with *ri** that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—AMg. *Ṛ. isi*=*ṛṣi* (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Paṇhāv. 448 [suisi]; Uttar. 375. 377. 630; Vivāhap. 795.851; Śak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6; 79, 7; 98, 8; 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 7 etc.); in proper nouns AMg. *isigutta*, *isiguttiya*, *isidatta*, *isipāliya* (Kappas.), and in compounds like AMg. *Ṛ. mahesi*=*mahārīsi* (Sūyag. 74.137; Uttar. 717.720.815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar. 4, 18); M.Ś. *rāesi*=*rājārīsi*

G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4; 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13, 16; 7, 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.).—AMg. *nu*=*ṛtu* (Hc. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Paṇḥāv. 464.534; Nāyādh. 341.912 916.918; Aṇuog. 242.432; Dasav. 627, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. *udu* (Śak. 2, 8). Cf. § 157. On the likely M. *nu* see § .04.—AMg. Ś. *ujju*=*ṛju*, (Hc. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Paṇḥāv. 847; Aṇuog. 341.542 552 633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kaṇsav. 57.20), AMg. *ujjukaḍa*=*ṛjukṛta* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 1); usually found *ujjua*=*ṛjuka* (Vr. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mṛech. 88, 18; 90.21¹; Śak. 80, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Kaṇsav. 20, 13, etc.), *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. *ujjuga* Paṇḥāv. 381; Uvās.), *ujjuṇa* (Pāiyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14, 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.), *añujjuṇa* (Uttar. 990).—*usaha*=*ṛṣabha* (C.2, 5 p. 43; 3.34 p. 51; Hc. 1, 131.133); AMg. *usabha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *usabha* (Hc. 1, 24; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. *usabhaya* (Āv. 46, 21), AMg. *usabhadatta* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. *usabhasena* (Kappas.).—According to Kī. 1, 31 *ṛṇa* always becomes *uṇa*. A mention ought to be made of *riṇa* (§ 56) and *aṇa* (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 98. CODABOLE 249, 9; 256, 1 writes *ujja*, what the scholiast translates by *ujjeala* and *udyata*.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of *r* into *i*, *u*, in the declension of *r*—stems, *r̥*—develops into *i*, *ū*: AMg. *ammāpūṇam*, *ammāpūṇam* (§ 391. 392). Skt. *īr* and *ūr* originating from earlier *r̥* are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt: M. JM. *tirāi*, *tirae* *tiryate* (§ 537); M. *paṇṇa*=*prakīṇa* (G.H.R.), *viṇṇa*=*vikīṇa* (H.), *vicaṇṇa*=*vīprakīṇa* (H.R.); JM. *viṇṇa*=*vīṭṭīṇa* (Erz.); M. *pūṇa*=*pūryate* (§ 537); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *puṇṇa*=*pūrṇa* (H. R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. Ś. *jīṇa*=*jirṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mṛech. 93, 9), Mg. *jīṇa* ((Mṛech. 162, 23), there is found very abundantly M. AMg. JM. Ś. *juṇṇa*=*Vedic jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Aṇuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Hāsy. 25, 5); AMg. *parijuṇṇa* Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thāp. 540; Uttar. 63); AMg. *juṇṇiya* (Nāyādh. 348); JM. *juṇṇaga* (Āv. 41, 1). By the side of *tīṭha*=*tīrtha*, M. has *tūha*=**tūrtha* (Hc. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatik. 44, 12); *uttūha*=**uttūrtha* (steep, fountain; Deśin. 1, 94); PG. *tūthike*=**tūrthikān*=*tīrthikān* (5, 5); AMg. *aṇṇaūtthiya*=**anyatūrthika*¹ (Vivāhap. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thāp. 147; Ovav.), *paraūtthiya*=**paratūrthika*². It is wrong³ to derive⁴ *tūha* directly from earlier **tūrtha*.

1. WEBER, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 95.—2. LEUMANN Lc.—3. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 680.—4. WACKERNAGEL, Alt. Gr. 24.

§ 59. Following a consonant *l* develops into *ili*: *kilīṭa*=*klīpta* (Vr. 1, 33; Hc., 145; Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); *kilīṭi*=*klīpti* (Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Kī. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or develops into *a*: *klīta*, *katta*=*klīpta*. Hc. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of *l* in *klinna* "moistened" (FISCHER on Hc. 1, 145) also. The forms *kiliṇṇa* and A. *kinṇa*, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from *klinna* (§ 136). Single *l* develops into *li* in *liāra* (Mk. fol. 11), *likāra* (Kalpal. p. 36)=*līkāra*.

2. VOWELS.

a) THE DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au*

§60. In Pkt., *ai* has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (Hc. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Ś. *ai*=Skt. *ayi* (Vr. 9, 12; Hc. 1, 169; 2, 205; H.; Mṛech. 63,

13; 64, 25; 87, 21; Vikr. 28, 10; 42, 19; 45, 2; Mālatīm. 74, 5; 247, 1; 264, 3 etc). Some scholars, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā 344, 5; G. 2, 14 p. 37, even in Pkt., permit *ai* in words like *kaiava*=*kaitava*, *airāvaṇa* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 13, 33). In fact, however, the places where *ai* is found to exist the text gives an incorrect reading (PISCHEL on Hc. 1. 1). Mk. fol. 12 rejects it outright. Generally *ai* develops into *e*, and before a doubled constant, into *ē*: PG. *vijayavajayike*=*vijayavaijayikān* (6, 9).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erāvaṇa*=*airāvaṇa* (Bh. 1, 35; Vr. 2, 11; Hc. 1, 148 203; Ki. 2, 31; Mk. fol. 15; R.; Sūyag. 317; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 14); A. *erāvai*=*airāvata* (Piṅgala 1, 24); cf. §246.—AMg. *esajja*=*aiśvarya* (Thāṇ. 450). JŚ. *ejagga*=*aikāgrya* (Pav. 388, 1).—Ś. *edihāsia*=*aitihāsika* (Lalitav. 555, 2).—M. *keḍhaba*=*kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2, 21, 29; Hc. 1, 148, 196, 240; Ki. 2, 11; Mk. fol. 16).—M. *geria*=*gairika* (Karp. 80, 10), AMg. *geriya*=**gairuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Dasav. 619, 41).—AMg. *neyāyūya*=**naiyāuka*=*naiyāyika* (Sūyag. 117, 361; 994 ff. [ne^o]; Nāyādh. §144; Uttar. 158, 180, 238, 324; Ovav.), *aneyāyūya* (Sūyag. 736).—AMg. *mehūṇa*=*maithūna* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2, 9, 1; 2, 2, 1, 12, 2, 10; Sūyag. 409, 816, 822 f. 973, 991; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), JM. *mehūṇaya* (Erz.), JŚ. *medhūna* (Kattig. 399, 306; text ^ohu^o).—M. *vehava*=*voidhava* (G.H.R.).—AMg. JM. *vejāḍḍha*=*vaitāḍḍhya* (C. 2, 6; Vivāhap. 479; Thāṇ. 73; Vivāgas. 91; Nirayāv. 79; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *sela*=*śaila* (Bh. 1, 35; Pāiyāl. 50; G. R.; Mṛcch. 41, 16; Karp. 49, 6; Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8; 2, 6, 1, 2; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but CP. *saila* (Hc. 4, 326).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tēlla*=*taila* (§90).—M. JM. AMg. *ēṭṭa*=*caitra* (Karp. 12, 4, 9; Viddhaś. 25, 2; Kī. 19; Āyār. 2, 15, 6, Kappas.).—M. JM. *mēṭṭi*=*maitrī* (H. R.; Kī. 7; Erz.).—M. JM. Ś. *vēṭṭa*=*vaidya* (Hc. 1, 148; 2, 24; H.; Āv. 16, 8; Erz.; Vikr. 47, 2; Mālav. 26, 5; Karp. 104, 7).—M. Ś. *ṣēṇṇa*=*sainya* (§282).—On the development of *i* for *e* from *ai*, see §84.

§61. The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the *daityādi* class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Kī. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. *daicca*=*daitya* (Pāiyāl. 26, 99; G.); *vaideha* (Kī. ^ohi)=*vaideha*; AMg. *vaisāha*=*vaiśākha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside *veṭṭi*]; Vivāhap. 1426; Nirayāv. 10; Uttar. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have *aisaria*=*aiśvarya*, wherefor AMg. has *esajja* (§60); Hc. alone has *dainna*=*dainya*, *vaijavana*=*vaijavana*; *daivaya*=*daivata*; *vaiālia*=*vaitāliya*; *vaidabbha*=*vaidarbha*; *vaiśāṇara*=*vaiśvānara*; *vaiśāla*=*vaiśāla*. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also *saīra*=*svaira*, which Pāiyāl. 13, 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have *vaiesa*=*vaidesa*, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. *kaiava* (G. H.), *kaiyava* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.). Kī. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. *vaissa*=*vaiśya* (Vivāsagas. 152; Uttar. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has *vēssa* (Sūyag. 373), further *vaiḍesia*=*vaiḍeśya* and *veśāta*=*vaiśayika*; besides Kī. alone has *vaiśamma*=*vaiśamya*, Pkl. *khaitta*=*kṣaitra*. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Kī. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in *daiva*. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the *vairādi* group, wherein Triv. includes also *daiva*. Mk. fol. 12 has a *daivādi* class. According Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word *daiva* is pronounced as *daiva*, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *v*, becomes *dēva*. Both of them are found in Kī. as well, whereas Hc. has *dēva*, *daiva* and *daiva*; Mk., as it seems, prescribes *dēva* and *daiva*. But *dēva* and *daiva* are=*daivya*; A. *daiva* (Hc. 4, 331; 340,

1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 153) *ai* is not used in this word in Ś. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of *ai* from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 148) *ai* in Ś. and Mg. develops into *e* only, and never into *ai*, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only *ai*. Thus: *kedava*=*kaitava* (Śak. 106, 6), *veśāha* (Viddhaś. 77, 7), *sera*=*svaira* (Mṛcch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18, 19). In the words, showing variation between *ai* and *e*, Ś. and Mg. always have *e*. So Ś. Mg. *dēvva* (Mṛcch. 20, 24; Śak. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratn. 317, 32; Mṛcch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1, 35 *kailāsa* becomes *kelāsa*, but according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes *kailāsa* or *kelāsa*; Pāiyāl. 97 has *kailāsa*, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikr. 41, 3; 52, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 9) has *kelāsa*. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 *vaira* becomes *vaira*, and according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes also *vera*. So JM. *vaira* (Erz.), *vairi*=*vairin* (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vera* (R.; Sūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18, 19; Prab. 9, 16); Mg. *vela* (Mṛcch. 21, 15. 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. JM. *veri*- (G.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *veriya*=*vairika* (Kk.), A. *veria* (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. *velia* (Mṛcch. 126, 6).—According to Kī. *kairava* forms *kairava*, and according to Hc. Mk. Pkl. also *kerava*. For *caitra*, Kī. prescribes *caitta*, but Hc. Mk. Pkl. have also *ceṭṭa*, and it is found in M. AMg. JM. (§60); for *jaitra*, Mk. has *jaitta* and *jeṭṭa*, and for *bhairava*, Bh. Hc. Kī. have *bhairava*, and Mk. Pkl. have *bherava* as well. In M. is found *bhairavi* (G.), in AMg., JM. *bherava* (Sūyag. 129. 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 15; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), in Ś. *mahābheravi*. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. *mahābhelava* (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun *bhairavānanda* (Karp. 24, 2 ff.) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4 ff., have *bhaira**, which was rightly corrected to *bhera** by KONOW, as it is in Kāleyak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl. *vaiśampāyana* forms *vaiśampāṇa*, according to Hc. *ve** also; *vaiśraṇa*, according to Hc., becomes *vaiśavaṇa* and *ve**, and in AMg. JM. it is *vesamaṇa* (Nāyādh. 852. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between *ai* and *e* also in the case of *vaitālika* and *vaiśika*, the words in which according to Bh. there is *ai*; AMg. has *vesiya* (Aṇuog.). All the gaṇas of the grammarians are ākṛtgaṇas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. *vairoyaṇa*=*vairocana* (Sūyag. 306; Bhag.); *vaikunṭha*=*vaikunṭha* (Pāiyāl. 21) etc.

§61*. Like *ai*, there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also *au*: *sauaria*=*saudarya*, *kaurava*, *kaulava* (C.)=*kaurava*. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—*au* develops into *o* (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Kī. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into *ō* before double consonants: PG. *kolikā*=*kauṭikāh* (6, 39), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6, 16); M. *kosia* (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. *kosia* (Śak. 20, 12).—Ś. *orasa*=*aurasa* (Vikr. 80, 4).—AMg. *ovamma*=*aupamya* (Ovav.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha*=*auśadha* (§223).—AMg. JM. *kouya*, *kouga*=*kautuka* (Pāiyāl. 156; Sūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *komui*=*kaumudi* (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Kī.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *komudi* (Vikr. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. *kosambi*=*kauśāmbi* (Bh.; Hc.; Ratn. 310, 21), Ś. *kosambiā*=*kauśāmbikā* Ratn. 308, 29).—M. AMg. JM. *kouhata*=*kautūhata* (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *kodūhata* (Mṛcch. 68, 14; Śak. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikr. 19, 7; Mālatim. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Viddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), *kodūhaiṭṭa* (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. JM. *kouhalla*=*kautūhalya* (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyāl. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;

Vivāhap. 11. 12. 812), AMg. JM. also *kouhalla* (Ovav.; Kk.). On *kohala* see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. *do*=*dvau* (§ 436).—JM. *dovai*=*dyaupati* (Kk.).—AMg. *dovai*=*draupadi* (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. *dovadi* (Mṛch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; *dōppadi* (129.6) is not=*draupadi*, but=*duṣpatiḥ*]).—JŚ. *dhoda*—*dhaula* (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. *porāṇa*=*paurāṇa* (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 74, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. *porāṇa* (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sohagga*=*saubhāgya* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛch. 68, 17; Śak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 37, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. *kōṭṭhūa*=*kaustubha* (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90).—M. *dōcca*=*dauya* (H. 84).—M. Ś. *dōbballa*=*daurbalya* (G. H. R.; Śak. 63, 1).—JM. *pavōṭṭa*=*prapautra* (Āv. 8, 31).—M. Ś. *mōṭṭia*, JM. *mōṭṭiya*=*mauktika* (G. H. R.; Mṛch. 70, 25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhaś. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *sōkkha*=*saukhyā* (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kī. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatīm. 82, 3; Uttarar. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. *śōkkha* (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16). M. JM. Ś. *sōmma*=*saumya* (G. R.; Kī. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarar. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarghar. 149, 9; Kāmsav. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. *soma* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of *ai* into *āi*, a number of words show a change of *au* into *āi*. The grammarians have collected them together in the *paurāḍi ākṛtiḡaṇa* (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Kī. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have *āi* beside *e* for *ai* is very large, the number of words that have *āi* along with *o* for *au* is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits *koṣala* by the side of *kaūsala*, which alone is found in Hc. Kī. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has *koṅcheaṇa* by the side of *kaūcheaṇa*; Mk. fol. 13 permits *moṇa* by the side of *maūṇa*, which Hc. has, and *molī* by the side of *maūli*, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. *āi* does not occur in Ś. in *kaurava* and *gaurava*, according to Pkl., not in *paura* and *kaurava*. In lieu of *o* is prescribed *āi* in *paura* by Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *kaurava* by Bh. C. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *pauruṣa* by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in *saura* and *kaula* by Hc. C., in *gaṇḍa* by Hc. Pkl., in *kṣaurita* by Mk. Pkl., in *saudha* by Hc., in *kṣaura* by Mk., and in *aucitya* by Pkl. The instances met with are : M. *kaūla* (G.) and *kola* (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text *kau*]).—M. *gaūḍa* (G.), but AMg. A. *goda* (Paṇhāv. 41 [text *gau*], but cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510;] Piṅgala 2, 112. 138).—M. JM. *paūra*=*paura* (G.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but Ś. *pora* (Śak. 138, 11; Muḍrār. 42, 10 [text *pau*]; 161, 1; Mālatīm. 288, 3; Uttarar. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. *pola* (Mṛch. 167, 1. 2 [edition *pau*]); therefore, in Mṛch. 160, 11 *paūlā* is to be corrected as *polā*.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have *paūriṣa*=*pauruṣa*, but JM. *poriṣa* (Erz.), AMg. *poriṣi* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), *poriṣiya* (Sūyag. 281), *aporisiya* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—*maūṇa*=*mauna* (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhaś. 46, 11), is certainly an error for *moṇa*, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Paṇhāv. 403; Erz.; Rṣabhap.).—M. AMg. JM. *maūli*=*mauli* (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag. 730. 766; Thāṇ. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. *molī* (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is *molī* (Karp. 112, 3; Mallikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text *mau*]), but *maūli* (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatīm. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v.l. in SHANKAR P. PANDIT (131, 4), in Mālatīm., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is *molī*, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as *mauli* (167, 2). Presumably in both the places

the correct form would be *molī*. Hc. has *saūha*=*saudha*, but Ś. *sodha* (Mālatim. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For Ś. Mg. only *ho* should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Ki. 1, 42 *gaurava* develops into both *gaurava* and *gārava*, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into *gorava*, which he alone assigns to Ś. JM. has *gaurava* (Erz.), M. Ś. *gorava* (H.; Adbhutad. 54, 10), M. AMg. JM. *gārava* (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Paṇḥāv. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. *ja* (Ki. 6). To Pāli *garu* belongs *gārava*, Pkt. *garua*, *garuṣa*=*guruka* (§ 123), Skt. *garīyas*, *garīṣṭha*. On *u* for *ū* from *au* see § 84.

(b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before *r* + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant+following *ya*, *ra*, *va* or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in Ś. Mg. which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—*r* + consonant: PG. *kātūnaṃ*, P. *kātūnaṃ*, AMg. JM. *kāūnaṃ*=**kartvānaṃ* (§ 585. 586); VG. *kātūna*, JŚ. *kādūna* (§ 21), M. JM. *kāūna*=**kartvāna* (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. *kāuṃ*, Ś. Mg. *kādūṃ*=*kartum* (§ 574); M. *kāva*, AMg. JM. *kāyava*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *kādava*=*kartaya* (§ 570).—*gāyari*=**gāgarī*=*gaggari*=Skt. *gargarī* (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1, 115. 192; Karp. 86, 2), and on its analogy Ś. *sūhava*=*subhaga* Hc. 1, 113. 192; Mallikām. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. *nīṇi*=*nirṇayati* (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. *nīṇha*=*nirṇayata* (Dvār. 496, 5); *nīṇijāna*, *nīṇijamāna*=*nirṇijamāna* (Āv. 24, 4; 25, 34), *nīṇehī*=*nirṇeyati*, *nīṇūna*=*nirṇiya* (Erz.); AMg. JM. *nīṇiya*=*nirṇita* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A *sāva*=*sarva* (Hc. 4, 420, 5=Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of *r*+stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. *parimāsi*=*parimarśin* (Thāp. 313).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa*=*sparsa* (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170. 172. 257. 337; Paṇḥāv. 8. 10. 380; Anug. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. *vāsa*=*varṣa* (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivāhap. 427. 479. 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *vāsai*=*varṣati* (Dasav. N. 648, 7. 13. 14), *vāsiukāma*=*varṣiukāma* Thāp. 155), but Ś. *vassāridu*=*varṣartu* (Viddhaś. 99, 1; v. l. *vāsā*); Mg. *vaśśadi* (Mṛch. 79, 9).—AMg. *sāsava*=*sāṣapa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by *l* + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. *phāguṇa*=*phalguna* (Vivāhap. 1426) by the side of *phagguna*, *phaggumitta* (Kappas.), *phagguṇi* (Uvās.), M. *phaggu* (H.), Ś. *uttaraphagguṇi*, *phagguṇa* (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayav. 11, 7); AMg. *vāgala*=*vaḥkala* (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), *vāga*=*vaḥka* (Ovav. § 74; text *vāka*), but M.Ś. *vakkala* (G.; Śak. 10. 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 84, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. *avavakkala*=*apavalkala* (G.), Mg. *nirvakkala*=*nirvalkala* (Mṛch. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + *ya*: AMg. *nāsasi*=*naśyasi* Uttar. 712); M. *nāsai*, *nāsanti*, *nāsasu* (H. R.); JM. *nāsai*, *nāsanti* (Erz.), by the side of AMg. *nassāmi* (Uttar. 713); AMg. *nassai* (Hc. 4, 178. 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. *nāsai*], *nassamāna* (Uvās.), *vinassai* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. *nassāmo*, *nassa* (Erz.); Ś. *nassadi* (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. *vināśadu* (Mṛch. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. *pāsai*=*paśyati* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivāhap. 156, 231. 274. 275. 284. 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21. 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.); AMg. *pāsiyavaṃ na pāsai* *pāsiukāme na pāsai* *pāsittā vi na pāsai* (Paṇḥāv. 667), *anupassiyā* (absol., Sūyag. 122); *pāsa* (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).

AMg. *kisanti*=*klīyante* (Uttar. 576), but JM. *kilissai* (Erz.), Ś. *adi kilissadi* (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. *sisa*=*śiśya* (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Pāṇyā. 101; Dasav. N.645, 12, 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); *sisa*=*śiśyaka*. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. Ś. *sisa* (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 35, 5; Hāsy. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3, 6, 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3, 9; 19, 13; 24, 14; incorrect *sisa* 16, 8; Ś. *susissa*=*śuśiśya* (Śak. 77, 11), *sissā*=*śiśyā* (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. *sissanī* (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text °ssi°]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. *tūsaī* (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Ki. 4, 68; H.), JŚ. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400, 335), but Ś *tussadi* (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. *maṇūsa*=*manuśya* (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyag. 180; Vivāhap. 79, 341, 361, 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dasav. N.653, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. *maṇūsi* (Paṇṇav. 706), but also *maṇussa* (Vivāhap. 362, 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26^b p.42; Pāṇyā. 60; H.; Mṛcch. 44, 2, 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. *maṇuśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), *maṇuśśaa* (Mṛcch. 131, 10), *maṇuśśaka* (Mṛcch. 113, 21).—The same lengthening takes place in Mg. in the genitive forms like *kāmāha* from * *kāmāsa*=*kāmasya*, *cālittāha*=*cālitrasya*, *śalilāha*=*śarīrasya*, which in A. *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, etc. show subsequently shortened *a* (§ 264, 315 366); further in the genitive like A. *kāsu*, *jāsu*, *tāsu*=*kasya*, *yasya*, *lasya* (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. *karīsu*=**karīsyam*=*karīsyāmi*, *pāvīsu*=**prāpīsyam*=*prāpīsyāmi*, *peṭkkhihi*=**prekṣīsyāmi*=*prekṣīsy*, *sahīhi*=*sahīsy*; *karīhi*=*karīsyasi* (§ 315, 520, 525, 531, 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + *ra* : M. *sāsū*=*śaśrū* (H.), Ś. *sāsue*=**śaśruke* (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. *mīsa*=*mīśra* (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. *mīśajāya*=*mīśrajāta* (Ovav.), *mīśaya*=*mīśraka* (Thān. 129 f.; Kappas.), *mīśijai* (Uvās.), *mīśiya* (Kappas.); *mīśālia* (Hc. 2, 170); but *mīśai* (Hc. 4, 281); Ś. *mīssa* (Mṛcch. 69, 12; Śak. 18, 3), *mīssid*=*mīśrikā* (Śak. 142, 10), *mīssida* (Prab. 29, 8); Mg. *mīśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. *visa*=*visra* (Sūyag. 753).—M. JM. *visamai*=*viśramyati* by the side of Ś. *vissamīadu* (§ 489).—M. *visambha*=*viśrambha* (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but Ś. *vissambha* (Mṛcch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. l. and GODABOLE's edition 213, 1]; Śak. 19, 4; Mālatīm. 105., [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.])—Ś. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrāpayata* (Vivāhap. 957, *ūsaviya*=**ucchrāpita* (Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta* (Sūyag. 771, 958 [text u°]; Paṇhāv. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63, 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but AMg. *ussiya* (Sūyag. 309), *samusiya* (Sūyag. 275) beside °*ūsi*° Sūyag. 281), *ussaviya* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), Ś. *ussavedī*=*ucchrāpayati* (Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + *va* : M. AMg. JM. *āsa*=*aśva* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivāśag. 61; Uttar. 195, 217, 336, 500, 501; Nāyādh. 731, 780, 1233, 1266, 1388, 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Anuog. 507; Nirayāv.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12, 13, 16, 21, 24; Erz.; Kk.), beside *assa* (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11, 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyag. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff.), as Ś. always has (Mṛcch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. *nisāsai*; AMg. *nisasanti*; JM. *nisasiṇa*=*niśvāsyā* (Erz.); Ś. *nisasadi*, Mg. *niśśadu*; M. *ūsasai*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūśśadu*; M. *visasai*; AMg. *visase*; Ś. *visasadi*; also AMg. *ussasai*, *nissasai*, from *śvas*, preceded by *niḥ*, *ud*, *vi* (§ 327^a, 496).—AMg. JM. Ś. *visattha*=*viśvasta* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (Hc. 4, 366, 422, 22), equated to *sarva* by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt.=*h*+sibilant : M. AMg. JM.

Ś. *ūsava*, *ūśaa*=*utsava* from **ussava*, **ussaa* (§ 327^a).—M. *ūsua*=*utsuka*, by the side of AMg. JM. *ussūya*, Ś. *ussua* (§ 327^a).—M. *visaria*=**vismarita*=*vismṛta*, JŚ. *visariya*, beside JM. *vissariya* (§ 478).—M. *nisanka*=*nihsanka* (G.H.), AMg. *nisaṅka* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 2), A., with metrical short-ening, *nisanka* (Hc. 4, 396, 1; 401, 2) by the side of JM. *nissanka* (Erz.).—M.Ś. *nisaha*=*nihsaha* (Hc. 1, 4 3; G. H. R.; Uttarar. 92, 10) by the side of *nissaha* (Hc. 1, 13).—M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha*=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1, 13. 115; Kī. 2, 113; Pāīyal. 234; H. R.; Āv. 12, 31; Karp. 82, 7; Māla-tīm. 79, 2; Vikr. 60, 18), Ś. *dūsahattaṇa*=*duhsahatva* (Māla-tīm. 81, 2) by the side of Ś. *dussaha* (Hc. 1, 13. 115; Kī 2, 113; Prab. 44, 1) and poetical M. *dusaha* (Hc. 1, 115; G. H.).—AMg. *tejākamma*=**tejahkarman* (Ovav).—*maṇāsīlā*=*maṇahsīlā* (Hc. 1, 26 43) by the side of *maṇosīlā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 347) and *maṇahsīlā* (§ 74).

§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectical. AMg. JM. *gāūya*=*ga'vyūta* (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jīhā*=*jīhoā* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 92; 2, 57; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāīyal. 251; G. H. R.; Āyār. p. 137, 7, 9; Vivāhap. 943; Paṇṇav. 101; Jiv. 883; Uttar. 943 (by the side of *jibbhā* § 332); Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 403; Vikr. 15, 3; 16, 12; 18, 10; Karp. 66, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 9; Caṇḍak. 17, 3; Mallikām. 90, 23; Kaṁsav. 7, 17); Mg. *jihā* (Mṛcch. 167, 3).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dāhiṇa* from **dākhiṇa* (§ 323)=*dakṣiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Ratn. 293, 3; Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 2; 2, 1, 2, 6; Jiv. 345; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 97, 15; 117, 18; Veṇis. 61, 6; Bālar. 249, 7); AMg. *dāhiṇilla* (Thāp. 264 ff.; 358; Vivāgas. 180; Paṇṇav. 102 ff; Vivāhap. 218. 880. 1288 ff. 1331 ff. 1874.; Nāyādh. 333. 335. 867. 1349; Jiv. 227 ff. 345; Rāyap. 72. 73); AMg. *āyāhiṇa*, *paṇyāhiṇa*=*ādakṣiṇa*, *pradakṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 1017; Vivāhap. 161. 162; Nīrayāv. §4; Uvās.; Ovav. (text *ādā*)), *pāyāhiṇa* (Uttar. 302); by the side of PG. *dakhiṇa* (6, 28), M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Pratāpar. 215, 19; Sūyag. 574; Erz.; Mṛcch. 9, 9; 155, 4; Vikr. 20, 2; 31, 5; 45, 2; 76, 17; Bālar. 264, 4; 278, 19; Mṛcch. 99, 19), Mg. *dakkhiṇa* (Mṛcch. 130, 5; 164, 7; 168, 18; Caṇḍak. 64, 9; 66, 13; 71, 9), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* (Caṇḍak. 3, 16); AMg. *dakkhiṇilla* (Samav. 144; Nāyādh. 866. 921. 929. 930. 1350).—PG. *dūdha*=*dugdha* (6, 31).—M *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* (daughter)=**dhuktā*, **dhūtā*, with a march over to the *ā*-declension (§ 212. 392).—AMg. JM. *bhāsa*=*bhasman* (Thāp. 589; Paṇhāv. 507; Antag. 68; Vivāhap. 171. 1033. 1232. 1247. 1254. 1281. 1282; Kappas.; Sagarā 4, 9), but Ś. *bhassa* (Hāsy. 27, 19; 41, 4).—*rāyagāi* (leech; Deśin. 7, 5) from **rātagati*=**raktagati*.

§ 66. As described under § 119. 122. 125, *e*, *o*, that developed from *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, whether original or going back to *i*, before consonant-groups are, in certain dialects, lengthened, and in such cases the consonant-groups are simplified. AMg. *koḍha* from **koṭṭha*=**kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 1046. 1047. 1177; Uvās. § 148; Vivāgas. 33, 34 [text *koḍḍha*]. 198), *koḍhi*-(Paṇhāv. 523) from and by the side of *koṭṭhi*-Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3), *kuṭṭhi*-(Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 1)=*kuṣṭhin*, *koḍhiya*=**kuṣṭhika* (Vivāgas. 177).—AMg. *gūhi* (greed) from **geḍdhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*griddhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 2; Sūyag. 97. 321. 348; Paṇhāv. 147. 148. 323; Samav. 83. 113; Vivāhap. 1026; Uttar. 217).—*ṇelaccha* (eunuch; Pāīyal. 235; Hc. 1, 174; Deśin. 4, 44) from **ṇellaccha*, **ṇillaccha*=*nirlakṣa* (BÜHLER, Pāīyal. s. v.), however, *lakṣa*=*lakṣaṇa* "sex mark".—AMg. *dehaī* (Uttar. 571)=*deḥkaī* from **dikkhaī*=**dykṣiti* (§ 554), *dehe*=**dykṣet* (Dasav. 631, 22), *dehae*=**dykṣate* (Sūyag. 52), *dehamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 794 f.); A. *drehi* (glance; Hc. 4, 422, 6).—AMg. JM. *sedhi* (series), from **seṭṭhi* for

**siṭṭhi* = *śiṣṭi* (Thān. 464. 546. 588; Paṇhāv. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhap. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyap. 49. 90. 258; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Aṇuog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇnav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *sedhija* (Paṇnav. 846; Ovav.), *aṇusedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), *pasedhi* (Rāyap. 49. 90), *visedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)¹.—M. *soṇāra* (H. 191) from **soṇṇāra* = *suṇṇāra* (v. l. to H. 191) = *svaṇakāra*².—*ohala* (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from *o'kkhala* (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Ki. 1, 24) = AMg. *ukkhala* (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇhāv. 34), AMg. *ukkhalaga* (Sūyag. 250) = *udūkhala*, which occurs also as *udūhala* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMg. and *uūhala* (Hc. 1, 171) in M³. The long vowel in M. AMg. JM. *chūḍha* = *kṣubdha* (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Paṇhāv. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14, 18; 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMg. *ucchūḍha* (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Paṇhāv. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *pariyutkṣubdha* (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMg. JM. *nicchūḍha* (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇnav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇhāv. 151; Āv. 16, 1; 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. *paricchūḍha* (Deśin. 6, 25; R.), M. *vicchūḍha* (Pāiyal. 84; G. R.), M. *vicchūḍhanavā* (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with *ūḍha*, *gūḍha*, *mūḍha*, *rūḍha*. AMg., in fact, has *bha* in the root in words like *chubbhanti* (Paṇhāv. 56; text 'bbh'), *chubhe'jja* (Dasav. 652, 24), *chubhitā* (Uttar. 499), *ucchubhai* (Nāyādh. 325), *ucchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), *nicchubhai* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834), *nicchubhanti* (Nāyādh. 516; Vivāgas. 84), *nicchubhāvei* (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), *nicchubhāvīya* (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87), *vicchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in JM. also, as in *chubhai* (Erz.) and in the passive *chubhai* Āv. 2⁴, 3), *nicchubhai* (Āv. 42, 35), but JM. has also *chuhāmi*, *chuhāi* (Erz.), M. has throughout *vicchuhoi* (H. R.), *vicchuhire*, (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root *chuh*, from which the participles are formed on analogy⁴. The normal development of Skt. *kṣubdha* is into *chuddha* (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. *jaḍha* § 67. 565.—*mūsala* (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal *musala* (H. R.), is derived from the present stem *musya*, *musya*-(Dhātupāṭha, 26, 111, *musā*, *muṣa* *khaṇḍana*) and, therefore, = **musyala*⁵.

1. *sedhi* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *śreni* and has been taken also as *śreḍhi* (Hc. Liṅgānuśāsana, 2, 25, Uṇādiganaśūtra 631), *śreḍhi* (B.R. s.v.) into Skt.—2. Thus more correctly than KZ. 34, 573; *u* is to be explained according to § 152, and the contraction, according to § 167-3. Mk. fol. 8f. has *uḍkhala*; cf. § 148.—4. S. GOLDSCHMIDT contests the association of *chuhai* and *kṣubh*, Prakritica p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *ucchūḍha*; FIEBEL, BB. 15, 123f. and § 120-3 Cf. Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 3 with v. l.

§ 67. In contrast to *ē*, *o* before consonant-groups becomes sometimes *a* and is not lengthened even when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases the accent originally fell on the ending. M. *marāḍhi* = NIA. *marāṭhi* = *māhāraṣṭri* (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354).—*jaḍha* (forsaken), AMg. *vijaḍha*, *vippajaḍha* for **jāḍha*, from the root *jah*, inferred from the present form *jahāi* = *jahāti* of the root *hā* (§ 565).—AMg. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa* (8), AMg. JM. *adhayāṭisam*, AMg. *adhayāṭa* (48, *adhayaṭṭim* (68), A *adhāisa* (28), *adhāḍisa* (48), AMg. *adhārcama* (18.) (§ 442. 449).—In compound words formed with *ṣṭṣa*, from *ṣṭj*: AMg. *ūsadha* = *uṣṣṭa*, "separation", "selection", "expelled", "isolation", (Āyār. 2,

2, 1, 7), "exquisite", "preferable" (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6. 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. *nisadha*=*nīṣṣṭa* (Nāyādh. 1276); M. *visadha*=*viṣṣṭa*, "released" (R. 6, 66), "given up" (R. 11, 89), "unequal", "uneven" (Hc. 1, 241; Pāṇyāl. 207), "non-violent" or "healthy", (Deśin. 7, 62)¹; AMg. JM. *samosadha*=*samavasṣṭa* "what has occurred", "what has arrived" (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirayāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27)².

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of "uneven" to *viṣama*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT in R. assigns to it the meanings "self-released", "tried" and explains it as = **viśratha*=*riṣṭatha*. 2. The Indian editions mostly write *samosadha* (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788ff. 912. 934. 971. 978. 988. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1018. 1025 etc.), also **satta* (Rāyap. 12. 232) and **sadda* (Rāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMg., before the enclitic *eva*, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the *a* of the syllable *am* of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and thereby, against § 348, *m* gets retained: *evāmeva* (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); *khippāmeva*=*ksiṣṭameva* (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *bhogāmeva* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); *purvāmeva*=*pūrvameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); *juttāmeva*=*yuktameva* (Vivāhap. 503. 790; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; *saṃjāyāmeva*=*saṃjyātameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2. 4. 4. 5, 2. 4. 6 etc.)). This takes place also before pure Prākṛit *m*, that is changed into *m*, as in *tāmeva jāṇappavarām*=*tadeva yānapravāram* (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary anusvāra, which also is changed into *m*, as in *jeṇāmeva cūgghaṇṭe āsarahe teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi*=*yenāiva caturghaṇṭo 'soarathas tenāivopāgacchati* (Nāyādh. § 133); *jeṇāmeva rājagihe ṇayare jeṇāmeva guṇasilā ceie teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Nāyādh. 373); *jeṇāmeva sohamme kappe...teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original *ā* remains, against § 83: *jāmeva disaṃ pāubbhūyā tāmeva disaṃ paḍigayā*=*yāmevadiṣaṃ prādurbhūtāstāmeva disaṃ pratigatāḥ* (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is *disim*]), more often in the feminine = **bhūtā*, **gatā* (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 28; *tāmeva paṣe jjaṃ*=*tāmeva paṣiṣayyām* (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMg. before *avi*: *kisāmavi*=*kṛśamapi* (Sūyag. 1); *taṇāmavi*=*tṛṇamapi* (Uttar. 219); *annaṇarāmavi*=*anyataramapi*, *anudisāmavi*=*anudisamapi* (Dasav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. forming suffixes Skt.—*tas*, Pkt.—*hi*, *-hinto*, and *i* as well as *u* is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short *a* remains mostly before. *tas*: AMg. JM. *aggao* (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), S. *aggad*, (Mṛcch. 40, 14; 151. 18; 327, 1; Śak. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratn. 317, 12. 14), Mg. *aggado* (Mṛcch. 119, 3. 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—S. Mg. D. *aṇṇado*=*anyataḥ* (Śak. 17, 4; Mṛcch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*piṭṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and *piṭṭhāhi* (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense *piṭṭhao* (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29. 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise JM. *piṭṭhao* (Erz.), S. D. *piṭṭhodo* (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikāṃ 145, 21; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), S. *piṭṭhodo* (Ratn. 316, 22), Mg. *piṭṭado* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10).—AMg. *davvao khēttao kālao bhāvao guṇao*=*dravyataḥ kṣetrataḥ kālato bhāvato guṇataḥ* (Vivāhap. 203. 204; and without *guṇao* 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118),

davao vannaḡo gandhaḡo rasaḡo phāsaḡo (Vivāhap. 29), *soḡao ghāḡao phāsaḡo* = *śrotrato ghrāḡataḡaḡ sparśataḡaḡ* by the side of *cakkhūḡo, jibbhāḡo, jīhāḡo* = *caksustāḡaḡ, jihvātāḡaḡ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5, 1-5).—*Ś. jammado* = *janmataḡaḡ* (Ratn. 298, 11).—But always *Ś. kāraḡādo*, *Mg. kālaḡādo* = *kāraḡataḡaḡ* (Mṛcch. 39, 14, 22; 55, 16; 60, 25; 61, 23; 74, 14; 78, 3; 147, 17, 18 etc.; *Mg.* 133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7); *JM. dūrāḡo* (Erz.), *Ś. dūrādo* (Hc. 4, 276), *P. tūrāto* (Hc. 4, 321), but *Mg. dūlado* (Mṛcch. 121, 11); *M. pacchao* (R.), commonly found *pacchā* (G. H. R.) = *paścāt*, but *Ś. pacchādo* (Mṛcch. 71, 22). In Mṛcch. 9, 9 occur *dakkhiḡādo, vāmādo* in connection with the abl. of the feminine *chāḡā* = *chāyā*; besides there occurs *Ś. Mg. vāmado* (Mṛcch. 14, 8; 13, 25; 14, 7). On the shortening of vowels in pure ablative see § 99.

§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. JM. before the suffixes—*mayā*, **mayika*. Thus: *AMg. rajajāmāyā* = *rajamāmāyā* (Uvās.), *phāliharajajāmāyā* = *sphaḡikaratnamāyā* (Vivāhap. 253); *AMg. JM. savarajajāmāyā* (Vivāhap. 1322, 1323, 1448; *Jiv.* 483; *Kappas.*; *Ovav.*; *Erz.*; and **māyā* (Thān. 266); *AMg. vairāmāyā* = *vajramāyā* (Vivāhap. 1441; *Jiv.* 494, 563, 883; *Samav.* 102, 132; *Rāyap.* 63, 69, 105; *Ovav.*), *riḡṡhāmāyā* = *ariḡṡtamāyā* (*Jiv.* 549; *Rāyap.* 105), *veruḡijāmāyā* = *vaidūryamāyā* (*Jiv.* 494; *Rāyap.* 105), *savvaphāḡijāmāyā* = *sarvasphaḡāḡikamāyā* (Pannav. 115); *āḡāsaphāḡijāmāyā* = *ākāśasphaḡāḡikamāyā* (Samav. 97; *Ovav.*). But *JM. rajajāmāyā* (Erz.) by the side of **ḡā* (T. 5, 12); *AMg. nāḡāmaḡamāyā* (*Jiv.* 494), *āḡharamāyā* (Dasav. 631, 24), *purāḡṡuvillimāyā* (Dasav. N. 661, 5); *JŚ. puḡgalamāyā*, *uvaogamāyā*, *poḡgaladavvamāyā* = **puḡgalamāyika, upayogamāyā, puḡgaladravyamāyā* (Pav. 384, 36, 49, 58), *asuimāyā* (Kattig. 400, 337); *vārimāi* by the side of *vārimāi* = *vārimāyī* (Hc. 1, 4); *M. ṡehamaia* = **ṡehamāyika* (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: *pañcā, chā°, sattā°, aḡṡṡā°* (§ 440ff.), likewise with *aūḡā°* = *agūḡā°* and *addhā°* = *ardhā°* (§ 444, 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of *pra*, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in *pradeśa, prādeśa* (Puruḡottama, Dvirūpakoḡa 25). So *M. pāḡḡa* (G.) and *M. Mg., pāḡḡa* = *prakāḡa* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4, 5; *G. H. R.*; *Vajjāl.* 325, 23; *Mṛcch.* 40, 6); *JM. pāḡḡa* (Erz.; *Kk.*); *AMg. pāḡḡa* (*Ovav.*; *Kappas.*); *M. pāḡḡa* = *prakāḡita* (H.); *AMg. pāḡḡaḡijā* (*Ovav.*).—*M. pāroha* = *praroḡa* (Hc. 1, 44; *G. H. R.*).—*M. pasutta* and *pāsutta* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4, 5; *G. H. R.*). However, *Ś. pasutta* (Mṛcch. 44, 18; 50, 23).—*M. pasiddhi* = *prasiddhi* (G.) and *pāsiddhi* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4, 5).—*AMg. pāvayana* = *pravacana* (Hc. 1, 44; *Bhag.*; *Uvās.*; *Ovav.*).—Also *M. pāsijjai* = *prasvidyate* (H. 771) and *AMg. pāsavaḡa* = *prasravaḡa* (*Uvās.*) may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—*AMg. abhūi* = *abhijit* (*Kappas.*), *vīḡvavittā* = **vyativrajitvā* (*Ovav.* § 63), *vīḡvayamāḡe* (*Uvās.* § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in *M. diḡṡṡipahammī* = *diḡṡṡipathe* (H. 456), *nāḡhikamāla* = *nāḡbhikamāla*, *araḡvilāsa* = *araḡvilāsa* (G. 13, 111; *AMg. girivara* (*Sūyag.* 110); *JM. veruḡijāmaḡimōḡṡa* = *vaidūryamaḡimāmaḡi* (Erz. 29, 28). So also *pāihara* = *patighara* (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of *pāi.ara*, *Ś. padighara* (*Mālatīm.* 243, 4); *velūvaḡa* by the side of *veluvaḡa* = *veḡuvana* (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Śākāra in Mṛcch. *a* appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix—*ka*: *cāludattāke* (127, 23; 128, 6; 149, 25); *cāludattākam* (127, 25; 166, 18); *cāludattākeḡa* (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); *vāsudevākam* (121, 16); *guḡḡāḡa* = *guḡḡaka* (116, 25; cf. § 206); *ṡaputtākam* = *ṡaputrakam* (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in *AMg. muḡhuttāḡa* = *muḡhūrtaka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), *piḡḡāḡa* = *piḡḡaka* (*Sūyag.* 208), *khuddāḡa*, *°ja* =

ksudra (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. *anādiya*, *aṇāiya*=*anādika* (Sūyag. 84. 867; Thāp. 41, 129; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464, 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of *anādiya*, *aṇāiya* (Sūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also JM. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. l.); JS. *ādiya* (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. *ādika* (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic *jahāka* by the side of *jahaka* (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling somebody from a distance are lengthened (pluti): *re re capphalajā*, *re re nigghinajā*, *he harī*, *he gurū*, *he pahū* (Hc. 3, 38); AMg. *āṇandā* Uvās. § 44. 84), *kālāsā* (Vivāhap. 132), *gojama* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 66ff.; Uvās. etc.), *kāsavā* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), *camarā asurindā asurarāyā appatthiyāpatthiyā*=*camara asurendra asurarāja aprārthyaprarthika* (Vivāhap. 254), *hanā māṇḍiyaputtā* (Vivāhap. 268), *puttā*=*putra* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. 254), *hantā*=*hanta* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), *subuddhī* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003), *maharisi* (Sūyag. 182), *mahāmuni*=*mahāmune* (Sūyag. 419), *jambū* (Uvās.); S. *dāsietuttā*=*dāyāh-putra* (Mṛcch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), *are re kaṇelisudā rāsālasamsthānā* *ussamkhalaā*=*kaṇelisula rājyālasamsthānaka ucchṛṇ-khalaka* (Mṛcch. 151, 16f.); Mg. *haṇḍe kumbhilaā*=*haṇḍe kumbhilaka* (Śak. 113. 2), *le gaṇṭhiścedaā*=*re granthicchedaka* (Śak. 115, 4), *le calā*=*re cara* (spy, Lalitav. 566, 14. 18), *puttakā haḍakkā*=*putraka hṛdayaka* (Mṛcch. 114, 16); and so the *a*-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; *vāsū* (girl? Mṛcch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. *are re pavahaṇavāhaā* (Mṛcch. 100, 17); Dh. *vippalambhaā*=*vipralambhaka*, *palivevidāṅgaā*=*parivepitāṅgaka*, *khalantāā*=*skhalan*, *kalēntāā*=*kurvan* (Mṛcch. 30, 6ff.); A. *bhamarā*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 387, 2), *mittaḍā*=*mitra* (Hc. 4. 422, 1), *haṁsā* (Vikr. 61, 20), *hiḍḍā*=*hṛdaya* (Hc. 4, 357, 4. 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final *a* in the imperative in cases like AMg. *kurvohā*=**kurvata*=*kuruta* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), *pāsahā*=*paśyata* (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Sūyag. 144. 148.), *sambujjhahā*=*sambudhyadhvam* (Sūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like JM. *dhī*=*dhik* (Dvār. 501, 33); S. *haddhī*=*hādhik hādhik* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Śak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of *u* of *hou*=*bhavatu* before the enclitic *nam* in AMg. *hou nam*=*bhavatu nanu* (Nāyādh. 1884. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of *h*, *i* and *u* of the endings *-ih* and *-uh* of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in *-i* and *-u*. M. *aggi*=*agnih* (H. 163), AMg. *agaṇi* (Sūyag. 273. 281. 291), Mg. *loṣaggi*=*roṣāgnih* (Mṛcch. 123, 2); M. AMg. *asi*=*asih* (G. 239; Sūyag. 593), Mg. *aśi* (Mṛcch. 12, 17); JM. *sahī*=**sakhīh*=*sakhā* (KI. 14); S. *pidi*=*prītiḥ* (Mṛcch. 24, 4); M. JS. S. *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭih* (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 10); D. *seṇāvāi*=*senāpatih* (Mṛcch. 101, 21); M. JM. *tarū*=*taruḥ* (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. S. *bhikkhū*=*bhikkṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛcch. 78, 13); JM. *gurū*=*guruḥ* (KI. 14), *bindū*=*binduḥ* (Āv. 15, 18); JM. D. *vinhū*=*viṣṇuḥ* (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛcch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): *aggiṁ*, *ṇiṇṁ vāuṁ*, *viṇuṁ*. In the instrumental plural in *-bhih*, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in *-bhyah*, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of *h*, but there develops by the side of the short vowel

also a nasal vowel :—*hi*, *-him*, *-hī*, (§ 178), A. in the abl. *-hu*, *-hum*, *-hū* (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used *-him* only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. *amsū*=*asru* (H. 153); AMg. *dhiimao*=*dhitimatah* (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), *maimam*=*matimān* (Sūyag. 397), *maimayā*=*matimatā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), *amaimayā*=**amatimatkāh* (Sūyag. 213), *pañjalio*=*prāñjalikah* (Dasav. 634, 23), *jājarāmaranehim*=*jātijarāmaranai* (Sūyag. 156), *pavaile*=*pravrajitah* (Sūyag. 495), *mahidhiyā*=*maharddhikāh* (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); *soniam*=*sonitam* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9), *sāhiyā*=*sādhikā* (Ovav. § 174); Mg. *line*=*ṇnam* (Mṛcch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final *i* in verbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. *sahai*=*sahate* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), *sarai*=*smarati* (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), *kuvvai*=**kurvati*=*karoti* (Dasav. 623, 33), *bhāsai*=*bhāṣate* (Sūyag. 106), *marai*=**marati*=*mriyate* (Uttar. 207), *kiccāi*=*kṛtyate* (Sūyag. 106), *bajjhāi*=*badhyate* (Uttar. 245), *karissai*=*karisyati* (Dasav. 627, 24), *jānanti*, *aṇuhoṇti*=*jānanti*, *anubhavanti* (Ovav. § 179. 188), *acchehi*=*atyehi* (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. *bhuñjai*=*bhunakti* (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4. 24); Mg. *ovaggadi*=*apavalgati* (Mṛcch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final *a* of the absolute in *-ya* is lengthened in poetry. AMg. *paḍilehiyā*=*pratilekhyā*, *muṇiyā*=*jñātvā*, *sāpehiyā*=*sāmprekṣya*, *viḥūṇiyā*=*vidhūya* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 7. 13. 23. 24); AMg. JM. *pāsiyā*=**paśya* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. *viñāṇiyā*=*viñāya* (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. *jagai*=*jagati* (Sūyag. 104), *kei*=*kecit* (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. *kajjāi*=*kadācit* (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pkl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the *vakrādi* or (Kī. 2, 122) *asrōādi* group. Thus: *kamkoḍa* (Hc.), M. *kamkoṣa* (Sukasaptati 123, 2; text °*la*) and M. AMg. *kakkoṣa* (G. 582; Pañhāv. 527; text °*la*)=*karkoṣa* (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.A. *daṁsaṇa*=*darśana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9. 4; Kattig. 400, 328. 329; Lalitav. 554, 7. 8; Mṛcch. 23, 14. 21; 29, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; Śak. 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; Vikr. 16, 15; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. *daṁsaṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in *daṁsai*=*darśin* (Vikr. 8, 11), *daṁsai*, *daṁsei* (§ 554) and in others.—M. Ś. *phaṁsa*=*sparśa* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālatīm. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttarav. 92, 9; 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaś. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. *pariphaṁsa* (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. *sphaṁsa* (Prab. 58, 8); *phaṁsai* (Hc. 4, 182).—*paṁsu*=*parśu* (Hc.)—M. *ṇihaṁsa*=*nigharṣa* (G.), *ṇihaṁsaṇa*=*nigharṣaṇa* (G.R.).—A. *banhiṇa*=*barhin* (Vikr. 58, 8).—*l*+consonant in *sumka*=*śulka* (Mk.), AMg. *ussumka* (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādh. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]). Vivāgas. 230 has *sukka*.—Sibilant+*ya*: AMg. *namāṁsai*=*namasyati* (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādh. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf. Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc.), JŚ. *ṇamam-sittā*=**namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6.), JM. *niyaṁsaha*=*nivasata* (Erz. 59, 30) from **nivasyata*, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. *niyaṁsei* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁseha* (Vivāhap. 1262), *niyaṁsittā* (Jiv. 611), *niyaṁsāvei* (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and

from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. *niāmsaṇa* (Mk. H.), *viñiāmsaṇa* (H.), AMg. *niyāmsaṇa* (Paṇṇav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); *viamisaṇa* (Mk.); *paḍiñiāmsaṇa* (night-dress; Deśin. 6, 36).—M. *vaamsa*=*vayasya* (Hc. Mk. Pkl. *vaamsi*=**vayasyi* (Karp. 46, 8), JM. *vayamsa* (Erz.), A *vaamsiahu*=**vayasyikābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351), by the side of M. *vaassa* (H.), so always in Ś. (e.g. Mṛceh. 7, 3. 14. 19; Śak. 29, 3; 30, 6; Vikr. 16, 11; 18, 8).—Sibilant+*ra*: M. JM. A. *aṁsu*=*aśru* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Karpas. 44, 20; Erz.; Dvār. 501, 32; Piṅgala 1, 61^a), but Ś. *assu* (Veñis. 66, 7; Subhadr. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for *aṁsu* in Vikr. 83, 13 [see v. l.; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. PANDIT 150, 12., ed. PISCHEL 666, 3]; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. l.]; Viddhās. (79, 6; 80, 2).—AMg. *maṁsu*=*śmaśru* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk.; Pāiyāl. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11; 2, 8, 5; Paṇhāv. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), *nimmaṁsu*=*niśmaśru* (Aṇuttar. 12; text °*sa*); JS. *maṁsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. *taṁsa*=*tryasra* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 445. 493); AMg. *cauraṁsa*=*caturasra* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Thāṇ. 20. 493; Ūvās.; Ovav.), *chaḷaṁsa*=*ṣaḍasra* (Thāṇ. 493), *chaḷaṁsiya*, *aṭṭhaṁsa*=*ṣaḍasrika*, *aṣṭāsa* (Sūyag. 590).—Sibilant+*va*: *aṁsa*=*aśva* (Bh.) and so AMg. *aṁso*°*ttha*=*aśvattha* (Vivāhap. 1530), but *aso*°*ttha* (Thāṇ. 555), *āso*°*ttha* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇṇav. 31), *āsattha* (Samav. 233).—M. *maṇaṁsi*=*manasvin* (Hc. Mk. H.), *maṇaṁsiṇi*=*manasvinī* (Bh. Kī. Pkl.) and M. Ś. *māṇaṁsiṇi* (Hc.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in -*vin* in AMg., as in *ojaṁsi*=*ojasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), *jassaṁsi*=*yaśasvin*, *tejaṁsi*, *tejaṁsi*=*tejasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.), *vaccaṁsi*=*varcasvin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.).—*haṁsa*=*hrasva* (Bh.; see § 354).—Visarga+sibilant: *maṇaṁsilā*=*maṇaśīlā* (Hc.) by the side of *maṇāsilā*, *maṇosilā*, *maṇasilā* (§ 64. 347). Besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of *s+k* in *saṁkuli*=*śaskuli* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Paṇhāv. 490), by the side of *sakkuli* (Thāṇ. 259 [commentary *saṁkuli*]; Dasav. 621, 2); in the case of *s+m* in *pāṇiṁsi*=**pāṇiṁsin*=*pāṇau*, *leṭhiṁsi*=**leṭṭhuṁsin*=*leṭṭau* (§ 312. 379) and that in *s+m* in *aṁsi*=*aśmi* (§ 313. 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like *kaṁsi*, *jaṁsi*, *taṁsi*=*kasmin*, *yasmin*, *tasmin*; *loṇaṁsi*=*loke*; *tārisagaṁsi* *vāsagharāṁsi*=*tādrīśake* *vāsaghare* (§ 313. 366^a. 425ff.); in the case of *k+s* in *pilaṁkhu*=*plakṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7, for which is printed *pilakkhu* (Vivāhap. 609. 1530 °*ka*), *pilukkha* (Paṇṇav. 31), *pilumka* (Samav. 233), also the v. l. in Āyār. has *pilakkhu*; further in *paṁkha*=*pakṣa* (Uttar. 439), *paṁkhi*=*pakṣin* (Rāyap. 235), *paṁkhiṇi*=*pakṣiṇi* (Uttar. 445); in the case of *t+s* in *digiṁchā*=*jighatsā* (Uttar. 48. 50; commentary *dighaṁchā*), *vitigiṁchā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), *vitigiṁchāi* Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigiṁchiya* (Vivāhap. 150)=*vīcīkṣā*, *vīcīkṣī*, *vīcīkṣī* (S. 215. 555); in the case of *p+s* in *dugaṁchā*=*jugupsā* (Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 110; Uttar. 960), *duguṁchā* (Paṇhāv. 537), *duguṁchāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 [°*ga*]), *dogaṁchi*=*jugupsin* (Uttar. 51. 219 [°*gu*]), *dugaṁchāṇiṇi* (Uttar. 410), also JM. *dugaṁchā* (Pāiyāl. 245; Erz.), AMg. *duguṁchāi*, *duvṁchāi*, *duguṁchamāṇa*, °*gu* (S. 215. 555), *paḍidugaṁchi*=*pratijugupsin* (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of *s+t* in *gaṁthi* (Mk.), *giṁthi* (Hc.), *guṁthi* (Bh.)=°*gr̥ṣṭi*, but Ś. *giṭṭhi* (Mṛceh. 44, 3), that is reported by Hc. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being *r* or a sibilant are: *guṁcha*=*guccha* (Hc.), but Ś. *guccha* (Ratn. 300, 18); M. *piṁcha*=*piccha* (G. R.), but also M. AMg. Ś. *piccha* (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Aṇuog. 507;

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); *puñcha*=*pucca* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. *pucca* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. *pucca* (Mṛcch. 10, 4).—In AMg. JM. *saṇṭh-kumāra*=*saṇṭh-kumāra* (Thāp. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paṇḥāv. 314; Paṇṇav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. *mahamāsa*=*mahāśa* (Vivāhap. 830; Ovav.) *maham*, in unison with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem *mahant*, which was pronounced as *mahanta* also. Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. JM. *minjā*=Pāli *minjā*=Skt. *majjā* with *i*, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Thāp. 186. 431; Paṇḥāv. 26; Paṇṇav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), *minjiyā* (Paṇṇav. 529; Vivāhap. 448) may be going back to the original form **majjā*, **majjikā*. In formation and in meaning *bundha*=*budhna* corresponds to Latin *fundus* and is, therefore, correctly written as *bundha*. M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṅka*=*vakra* (Vr. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Paṇṇav. 479. 482; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk., Piṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 3. 356. 412), along with M. *vaṅka*=*vakṛita* (R.), M. A. *vaṅkima* (Viddhaś. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. 1.]; Hc. 4, 344), A. *vaṅkuḍaa* (Hc. 4, 418. 8) is connected to Vedic *vaṅku* and to the root *vaki* *kaṭṭilya*, (Dhātup. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as *vaṅka*. Ś. *vakka* (Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233, 12; Kaṇṣav. 7, 18), *vakkodara* (Pras. 140, 1), *vakkida* (Bālar. 246, 14), *anuvakka* (Mālav. 48, 19) are formed from *vakra*. AMg. *vakkaya*=*vakra* (Ovav.). The use of *vaṅka* in Ś. (Kaṇṣav. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine *vaṅkunī* from *vaṅkuna* has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun *tivaṅkunī* (Kaṇṣav. 55, 11))* as well. Cf. § 86. On *vinchua*, *vinchia*, *vinchua* see § 301.

1. Aup. S. 5. v.—2. FISCHER ON Hc. 1, 26; GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2, 164. 258.

§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of *pluti* (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectically lengthening alternates with *anusvāra* (cf. § 181). AMg. JM. *visā* and *visam*=**vimśat*=*vimśati*, *tisā* and *tisam*=*triśat*, *cattālīsā*, and *cattālīsam*=*catvārimśat*, A., with shortening of the final vowel, *visa*, *catālīsa*, *coālīsa* by the side of *tisā* (§ 445); AMg. *tiriya*=*tiryak* (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of *tiriyam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931; Uttar. 1031; Paṇṇav. 381; Kappas.), also in compounds like *tiriyaṃvāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyaṃbhāgi*=*tiryagbhāgin* (Sūyag. 829); AMg. *samiyā*=*samyak* (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. *samiyam* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sammam*. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Thāp. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 165. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattig. 399, 308. 309; Kāleyak. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also *samiyāe* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found *jahsi* by the side of *jahsi*=*yasmin* and *yasyām* (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., *jahi* by the side of *jahim*=*yasmin* (Piṅgala 2, 135. 277) and *kī* by the side of *kim*, *kī* (Piṅgala 2, 18). Perhaps these forms go back directly to *jassim*, *jahim*, *kim*, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following *ra* or a sibilant or *ha*, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. *visā*, *visam*=**vimśat*, *vimśati*, *tisā*, *tisam*=*triśat*, *cattālīsā*, *cattālīsam*=*catvārimśat*, and others; A. *visa*, *tisā*, *catālīsā*, *coālīsā* (§ 75. 445).—Pāli *dāṭhā*, CP. *tāṭhā* (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. Ś. *dāḍhā*=*daṃṣṭrā* (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc. 2, 139; Kī. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Aṇug. 507; Uvās.; Kappas., Mālatim. 251, 5; Caṇḍak. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;

270, 6; AMg, Ś *dāḍhi*—=*daṁṣṭrīn* (Aṇuog. 349; Venis. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A *siha*=*simha* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92, 264; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225, 414, 748; Paṇṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 647, 36; Erz.; Kk., Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. *sihi*=*sihhi* (Paṇṇav. 363), by the side of *siṅgha* (§ 267) and *simha*, as in Ś. (Bīlar. 209, 11 *siṁhaḥāda*; 231, 8 *ṇarasimha*; Caṇḍak. 17, 1 *vaṇasimha*), in compounds correspondingly Hc. 1, 92 has *siṁhadatta*, *siṁharāa*; so also Mg. *siṁhaśāva*=*siṁhasābika* (Śak. 154, 6), but AMg. *sihaguḥā* (Nāyādh. 1427 ff.). In Bīlar. 50, 11 in Ś. there occurs *sihasimhā* [sic.; read °*saṁghā*]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in *sihamuḥa* 144, 3 but *siṁghamuḥa* [sic.]=*siṁhamukha*.—*kesua* from **ke'su* (Ś 119)=*kiṁsua* (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=*kiṁsuka* (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhi *kesū*.—*piśai*, Ś. *piśedi*=**piṁsati*=*piṇaṣṭi* (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mṛcch. 3, 1, 21); AMg. *piśaṇa*=**piṁsana* (Paṇḥāv. 77).—AMg. *vūhae* from **vūnhae*=*vr̥nhayet* (Sūyag. 894), *anuvūhai* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *duppadivūhaṇa*, *paḍivūhaṇa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of *a* in the prefix *sa* in AMg. in words like *sārakkkaṇa*=*saṁrakṣaṇa* (Thān. 556), *sārakkhaṇāyā*=*saṁrakṣaṇatā* (Thān. 333), *sārakkhi*=*saṁrakṣin* (Thān. 313), *sārakkhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), also in JM. *sārakkhaṇijja*, *sārakkhantassa* (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. *sārohi*=*saṁrohin* (Thān. 314); *sāharai*=*saṁharati* (Kappas.), *sāharējjā* (Vivāhap. 1152), *sāharanti* (Thān. 155) *sāhastu*=**saṁhartu* (§ 577), *paḍisāharai* (Paṇṇav. 841; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *sāhaṇṇti*, *sāhaṇṇitā* (Vivāhap. 137, 138, 141). Thus is explained also M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṁskṛta* (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mṛcch. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. *asakkaja* (Paṇḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further *sakkāra*=*saṁskāra* (Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṁskārita* (Erz.) The route is *saṁskṛta*, **saṁskṛta*, **sākkāa*, *sakkaa*. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikesh p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of *satthua*=*saṁstuta* and *satthava*, *satthāva*=*saṁstāva*, *saṁstava*. But AMg, *saṁthuja* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* § 127.

c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. *abhijāti* and *ābhijāti*; *pariplava* and *pāriplava*; *prati-veśya* and *prātiveśya*. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; Pkl. p. 19). *ahijāi* and M. *āhijāi* (H.), *āhiāi* (R.)=*abhijāti*; M. *paḍivaā*=*pratipad* (H.) and *paḍivaā*; M. AMg. *pāḍieḥka*—*pratyeka* (§ 163); *paḍipphaddhi*—and *pāḍipphaddhi*=*pratispardhin* (Hc.; Kī. 1, 1; 2, 101); *paḍisiddhi* and *pāḍisiddhi*=**pratisiddhi* (competition; also 2, 174; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1; 21, 5; 44, 9); *paḍisāra* and *pāḍisāra*=**pratismāra* (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. *saṁiddhi* (G. H.; Rṣabhap.) and M. *sāmidhi*=*saṁyaddhi* (H.); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*, °*vaṇṇa*=*adhyupapanna* (Āyār. 1, 1, t, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185, 210, 751, 923; Nāyādh. 1069, 1387, 1461, 1469; Vivāgas. 87, 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), *ajjhavavajjha*, *ajjhavavajjai* (Nāyādh. 841, 1390), *ajjhovavajjihii* (Ovav.); AMg. *abbhova-gamiyā*=*ābhuyupagamikā* (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. *āhevaṇṇa*). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. *veāriṇu*, *veārijjasi*=*vitārayitum*, *vitārayase* (H. 286, 909); *veāria* (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. *āhevaṇṇa*=*ādhipatya* (Samav. 134; Nāyādh. 257, 310, 329, 481, 529, 1417, 1507; Vivāgas. 28, 57 [a°]; Paṇṇav. 98, 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a°]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. *anuvāhaṇaga*, °*ja*=**anupānahanaka* (Sūyag.

759; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.); AMg. JŚ. *aṇovama* = *anupama* (Paṇṇav. 136; Ovav.; Pav. 380, 13); AMg. *aṇouya* = *anrtuka* (Thān. 369), *aṇovanikhiya* = *anupanikhiya* (Aṇuog. 228. 241. 242), *aṇovasaṁkha* = *anupasaṁkhiya* (Sūyag. 454) elevation of the vowel has not to be assumed, but as firstly shown by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹ there is the negative *aṇa-* which is occurs also in AMg. *aṇāli* = *anīli*,² *aṇāudaya* (Kattig. 399, 309), M. *aṇahiaa* = *aṇṛdaya* (H. R.), *aṇahoṇta* = *abhavat* (H.); *aṇarasia* (H.), *aṇadihara* = *adīrgha* (R.); *aṇamilia* = *amilita* (Deśin. I, 44); *aṇarāmaa* = **arāmaka* = *arati* (Deśin. I, 45) and others.³ Cf. § 70.

1. ZDMG. 32, 99ff.; KZ. 24, 426.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. 5. v.—3. PSICHEL, BB. 3, 243ff.; WEBER on H. 41. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, KZ. 23, 271ff.

§ 78. Prākṛit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus : *pārakera* = *parakīya* (Hc. I, 44), but Ś. *parakera* (Mālav. 26, 5), *parakeraa* (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. *palakelaa* (Mṛcch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. *māṇamsi-*, *māṇamsiṇi* = *manasvin*, *manasvini* (§ 74); M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha* (Bh. I, 2; Hc. I, 44; Kī. I, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkl p. 19; H.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338). = **sādṛkṣa*,¹ corresponding to *tādṛkṣa*, *yādṛkṣa*; AMg. *cāuranta* = *caturanta* (Hc. I, 44; Sūyag. 787. 789; Thān. 41. 129. 512; Samav. 42; Paṇḥāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Uttar. 339. 842. 869; Vivāhap. 7. 39. 160. 848. 1049. 1128 etc.), *cāukkoṇa* = *catuskoṇa* (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289. 478), *cāugghaṇṭa* (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731. 780. 784. 826. 1060. 1233. 1266. 1456; Vivāhap. 114. 801. 802. 830; Rāyap. 231. 237. 239; Nirāyāv. § 21), *cāujjāma* = *caturyāma* (Vivāhap. 135), *cāuraṇṇiṇi* (Nāyādh. § 65. 100. 103; p. 538. 541; Ovav. Nirāyāv.).—AMg. *teicchā* = *cikitsā* (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from *ṛ*, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus : AMg. *gāhāvai* = *grhapati*, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final *a* according to § 70 (Āyār. I, 7, 2, 1. 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 846. 848. 850. 957 ff.; Vivāhap. 162. 227. 345. 346. 1207 ff.; Nirāyāv. 41. 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), *gāhāvaiṇi* = *grhapatni* (Vivāhap. 1266. 1270. 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. *musam* = *mṛṣā* (Sūyag. 74. 340. 489; Dasav. 614. 29; Uttar. 116), *musāvāda* (Sūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text *mūsa*]). 46 [°*vāya*]), *musāvādi*. (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8) there occurs the very frequently found *mosa* (Uttar. 373. 952. 957), *mosa*, *saccāmosa*, *asaccāmosa* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 362; Thān. 203; Ovav. § 148. 149), *taccamosa* (Thān. 152; Paṇṇav. 362), *māyāmosa* (Thān. 21; Vivāhap. 126; Paṇḥāv. 86; Paṇṇav. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovav.).—*rovaṇi*, *dhovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *ru*, *dhau*, *svap* (§ 473. 482. 497); *sovaṇa* (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. *osovani* = *avastvāpani* (Kappas. § 28), *sovani* = *svāpani* (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. *vesalaga* = *vṛṣalaka* (Sūyag. 729), *sovāga* = *svapāka* (Āyār. I, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349. 371. 402. 409. 410), *sovāgi* = *svapāki* (Sūyag. 709); AMg. *gelanna* = *glānya* (Thān. 369) of *gilāṇa* = *glāna* (§ 136). On M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* = *bahiḥ* see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word takes place in AMg. *puḍho* for **puḍhu* = *prthak* (Āyār. I, 1, 2, 1. 2; 3, 4ff., 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Sūyag. 81. 123; Thān. 332), *puḍhochanda* (Āyār. I, 5, 2, 2; cf. Sūyag. 412), *puḍhosiya* = *prthaksṛita* (Āyār. I, 1, 2, 2; 6, 3; Sūyag. 332. 468), *puḍhojiya* = *prthagjiva* (Sūyag. 46), *puḍhosatta* = *prthak-sattva* (Sūyag. 425; cf. 401). In **puḍhu* for **puḍha* the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in *puhutta* = *prthakṛta* (Thān. 212; Aṇuog. 45. 405 ff.; Nandis. 160. 163. 168 f.), for which is found also *pohatta* (Paṇṇav. 602. 744; Vivāhap. 181. 182. 1057)², also *pohatta* (Samav. 71; Vivāhap. 178), *pohattiya* (Paṇṇav. 639. 640. 664) with elevation of the first *u*. Pāli *puṭhu*³ shows the course of development; there is corres-

pondence between Pāli *puṭhujja* and AMg. *puḍhojaga*=*prthagjaka* (Sūyag. 104. 342), as well as between *putthujjana* and AMg. *puḍhojana* (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 *piham*, *puham*, *pidham* and *puḍham* are also used; so JM. *pihappiham* (Āv. 7, 8. 17), AMg. *pihajjana* = *prthagjana* (Thān. 132).

1. At the end of a compound *sāriccha* mostly=**sārṣṭiya* may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have *puḥutta* also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and *e* was changed into *i*, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their *ā* shortened to *a* have been classed under *yathādi* ākṛtiḡaṇa group by Vr. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the ākṛtiḡaṇa *utkhātādi*.; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta-suffix -a' (*ghañ*) and show vṛddhi have their *ā* shortened to *a*, as in *pravāha'*, *prahāra'*, *prakāra'*, etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37. 38. The words with -i are grouped under *pāṇiyādi* ḡaṇa by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the *grhītādi* class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 set up the *gabhiraga* ḡaṇa and group the words like *pāṇiya*, *alika*, *karisa*, *upanita*, *jivati* that show *i* also under the *pāṇiyaga* class (1, 11). Inversely Kī. groups under *pāṇiyādi* (1, 11) the words that require shortening of *i* compulsorily and under the *gabhūrādi* class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a ḡaṇa for the words with *ā*.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhāja*=*ātthāta* (Grr.; G. R. Erz.), M. *samukkhāa* (H.) by the side of M. *ukkhāa* (H.); AMg. *kulala*=*kālāla* (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. *ṇisaha*=*m'hsākha* (H.); M. *varai*=*va'rāki* (H.) by the side of the more frequent *varāa*, *varāi* (H.), *sāmaa* (Hc. 1, 71)=*syā'māka* (Sāntanava, Phitsūtra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa 48 also in Skt. *syāmaka*.—AMg. *aṇiya*=*a'nika* (Thān. 357; Ovav.), *aṇiyādhivai*=*anikādhivati* (Thān. 125. 357), *pāyastāṇiya*, *pidhāṇiya*, *kuṇjarāṇiya*, *mahisāṇiya*, *rahāṇiya* (Thān. 357), by the side of *aṇiya* (Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.); M. *aliā*, AMg. JM. *aliya*=*a'lika* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352. 687; Paṇhāv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛcch. 24, 25; 57, 14. 15; 95, 17; 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Ratn. 324, 19; Candak. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13. 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś. Mg., except in poetry (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 153, 18) often *aliā* also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as *aliā* is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 [against *aliatāṇa* 38, 1]; Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Pras. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venis 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JM. *aliya* in Erz.; M. *osiānta*=*a'vasidat* (R.), *pasāa*=*pra'sīda* (Hc.; H.), but Ś. *pasīda* (Mṛcch. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. *paśīda* (Mṛcch. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMg. *karisa*=*ka'riṣa* (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. *karisa* (G.); AMg. *vammiya* (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostly °i]) and M. *vammia* (G.)=*va'lmika* (Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 4, 25); according to Puruṣottama=Dvirūpakoṣa 8 there occurs *vālmika* as well, and according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa 51 *vālmika* also is found in Skt.; *sirisa*=*s'rīṣa* (Hc.), but also M. *sirisa* (Śak. 2, 15).—M. *ulua*, AMg.

uluga=*dlūka* (Sarasvatik. 16, 10; Sūyag. 695); AMg. JM. *gāḍya*=*ga'vyūta* (Ṭhāp. 83. 88. 89; Vivāhap. 425. 1529; Jiv. 276; Aṇuog. 381. 385. 397. 403; Paṇṇav. 52. 601. 602; Nandis. 160. 163. 168; Ovav.; Erz.); M. Ś. *verulīya*, AMg. JM. *verulīya*=*va'ḍūya* (Hc. 2, 133; Ki. 2, 117; [text °pi°]; Mk. fol. 39; Pāiyāl. 119; G.; Mṛcch. 70, 25; 71, 3 [so it is to be read]; Karp. 33, 1; Sūyag. 834; Ṭhāp. 75. 86. 514. 568; Paṇhāv. 440; Vivāhap. 1146. 1322. 1324; Paṇṇav. 26. 540; Nandis. 72; Rāyap. 29. 58. 69; Jiv. 217. 494. 549; Uttar. 629. 981. 1042; Erz.); cf. § 241.—*viruva*=*vi'rūpa* (Deśin. 7. 63).—*caviḍā*, *caviḍā*=*ca'peḍā* (Hc. 1, 146. 198) by the side of M. AMg. *caveḍā* (Hc.; H.; Uttar. 596.)

§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable : AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācārya* (§ 134)¹; AMg. *amāvāsā*=*amāvāsyā* (Kappas.); M. AMg. JM. *ṭhavei*=*sthāpa'yati* and other causatives (§ 551. 552); M. JM. *kumāra*=*kumāra'* (Grr.; Erz.), M. *kumari*=*kumārī'* (G.; Karp. 80. 6), M. *kumāravāla*=*kumārāpāla* (Deśin. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. *kumāra*, *kumārī* (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in Ś. *kumāra* (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15. 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras; 35, 2. 7), *kumāraa* (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]; 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), *kumārī* (Mālav. 68. 10), in Mg. *kumāla* (Nāgān. 67, 1. 14 [so it is to be read]); *khaṭṭa*, JM. *khaṭṭiya*=*khāḍita'* (Bh. Mk. Pkl.; Erz.); *khaṭṭa*=*khāḍita'* (Grr.); A. *taisa*=*tādṛśa*, *jaisa*=*yādṛśa'* (Hc. 4, 403. 404); AMg. JM. *pañjava*=*paṇyāya'* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇṇav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451; Uttar. 797. 895; Aṇuog. 270; Vivāhap. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4. 9), JŚ. *pañjaya* (Pav. 388, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. *paṇaha*=*pravāha'* (Grr.; G. H. R.), by the side of M. JM. *paṇāha* (Grr.; G.; Erz.; Kk.), as in Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 20); M. *mañjara* (§ 86) *māñjāra'* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), *majjara* (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of *mañjāra* (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *majjāra* (Paṇhāv. 20. 64. 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M.Ś. *majjārī* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), *majjārīā* (Karp. 53, 5); A. *sahu*=*sāka'm* (§ 206); M. *halia*=*hālīka'* (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. *gahira*=*gabhira'* (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of *gahira* (G.); M. *ṇia*=*nīta'* (R.), AMg. *ṇiya* (Uttar. 617, and the words more frequently found in compounds like *aiṇia*=*atinīta* (Deśin. 1, 24), M. *āṇia* (Grr.; G. H. R.), JM. *āṇiya* (Dvār. 496, 30. 32; Erz.), M. *saṃāṇia* (H.) M. *uṇṇia* (R.), *uṇṇia* (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. *nīṇiya* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. *ṇia* (H.), JM. *ṇiya* (Erz.); always with a long vowel in Ś. *ṇida* (Mṛcch. 95, 7; Śak. 127, 9), *avaṇida* (Vikr. 87, 4), *paceṇṇida* (Vikr. 10, 4), *uṇṇida* (Mṛcch. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), *pariṇida* (Śak. 76, 10), *duvviṇida* (Śak. 17, 4), *aviṇida* (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. *ṇida* (Mṛcch. 162, 19), *avaṇida* (Mṛcch. 109, 16), *āṇida* (Mṛcch. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lengthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of *āṇita*. The example quoted by Triv., viz. *āṇidā bhuvanabbhuddhakkajajanaṇi*=*ānītā bhuvanādbhutaikajananī* is set either in JŚ. or in Ś.—*tuṇṇia*=*tūṇṇika'* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. *tusiṇiya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 23, 20); M. *viṇia*=*vīḍita'* (Grr.; Deśin. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. l.; Acyutaś. 82), *viḍia* (R.), AMg. *saviṇiya* (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. *sarisiva*=*sari'ṇya'* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2. 7 [so it is to be read; v. l.]; Sūyag. 105. 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here °ri°]; also *sarisava* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and *sirisiva* (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 [°sa°]. 235).—M. AMg. JM. *ina*=*ena'* (§ 431); M. *vianā*, JM. *viyaṇā*=*vedaṇā'* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Ki. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Pāiyāl. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).

1. Wrongly JACOB, KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel *i* and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.

§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. *ahira*=*abhira* (H. 811); *kalaa* beside *kaḥā*=*kalāda* (goldsmith : Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for *kālaa*=*kālaka* in Hc.); *marala* (Mk. fol. 6)=*marāla*; JM. *mahua* by the side of *mahūa*=*madhūka* (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Kī. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Kī. 18); AMg. *saraḍuja*=*śalātuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So *khāira*=*khā'dira*, but *khaīra*=*khādira*; *devara* is =*dēvara* (Phitsūtra 3, 18), but M. *diara* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), JM. *diyara* (Pāiyāl. 252)=*devara* (Uṇādisūtra 3, 132); AMg. *pāyaya*, JM. *pāgaya*, *pāyaya*, M. *pāia*, JM. *pāiya*, M. *pāua*, Ś. *pāuda*, Mg. *pākida* (§ 53) are=*prā'kya*, but *paa* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), *paūa* (Bh. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=*prākryta*' (cf. *sa'mskṛta* and *saṃskṛta*'). *balaā* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of *balāā*=*bālā'kā* presupposes the accent as in **ba'lākā* or **balākā*, like AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in **sūkṣma*', whilst in the Uṇādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as *sū'kṣma*. The ordinals *duia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), JM. *duiya* (Erz.), Ś. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5, 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)¹, Mg. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. *biia* (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMg. JM. *biīya* (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Āyār. p. 3. 8. 15. 29. 34 etc.; Erz.), M. *taia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMg., JM. *taīya* (Ovav. § 105. 144; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Āyār. p. 4. 10. 16. 17. 20. 24 etc.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), Ś. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 69, 14. 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. 1.]), Mg. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text *taia*]) do not go back to *dvīti'ya*, *trīti'ya*, but to **dvitya*', **tritya*'². In cases like M. *jiaī*=*jivati*, M. AMg. JM. *āruhaī*=*ārohati* there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)³. On *pāṇia* see § 91, on *gahia*=*grihta*' § 564. Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened: *kālāsa* from *kālāsa*=*kālāyasa*' (§ 165); *kumbhāra* from *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra*', and other compound words formed with *kāra* added to them (§ 167); *cakkāa*=*cakkāa*=*cakkaāa*=*cakravāka*' (§ 167); *pāikka*' from *pādātika*' (§ 194); *bia*, *tia* from *biia*, **tiia*=**dvitya*, **tritya* (§ 165): So probably also *narāa* by the side of M. *nārāa* (R.), Mg. JM. *nārāya* (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=*nārāca* (Hc. 1, 67)⁴. On AMg. *paḍiṇa* see § 99.

1. The texts often have *dudia*, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālatīm. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anarghar. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālatīm. has mostly the correct reading.—2. JACOB on Kalpas. p. 103, note 28. Cf. FUSCHEL KZ. 35, 144; JACOB, KZ. 35, 570 f.—3. JACOB objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 f., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to JACOB, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks proof as such. It is still to be proved. In 1 W. the accent is shown as in *nārāca*', probably according to Vedic *nārāci*'. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms *nārāca* and *narāca*. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, FUSCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly JACOB, KZ. 35, 563 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84). PG. : *raṣṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5, 4); *amacce*=*amātyān* (5, 5); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6, 8); *bamhaṇāṇam* (6, 8. 27. 30. 38); *puva*=*pūva* (6, 12. 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: *kāncīpurā* for *kāncīpurā*=*kāncīpurāt* (5, 1) and *atṭeya* for *atṭeya*=*ātreya* (6, 13); faulty is also *cāttāri* for *cattāri*=*cattāri* (6, 39).—PG. M. AMg. JM. Dh. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16)¹. M. JM. Ś. *kavva*=*kāṇya*

(G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 31, 11; 35, 5).—M. JM. AMg. *gatta*=*gātra* (R.; Ovav.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. rajja*=*rāṣya* (H. R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 5).—JŚ. *uvāsanta*=*upaśānta* (Kattig. 403, 377).—Mg. *śanta*=*śrānta* (Mṛcch. 13, 7).—A. *kanta*=*kānta* (Hc. 4, 345, 351, 357, 1; 358, 1; Vikr. 58, 9).—M. AMg. JM. A. *kitti*=*kirti* (Vr. 3, 24; Hc. 2, 30; Ki. 2, 34; Mk. fol. 22; G. R.; Uvās.; Ovav. Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 335; Ś. *kittiā*=*kīrtikā* (Vikr. 12, 14).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. A. titha*=*tīrtha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 379, 1; Śak. 79, 1; 105, 4; 118, 10; Hc. 4, 441, 2).—M. AMg. *Ś. Mg. A. gimha*=*grīma* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 80, 23; Śak. 10, 1; Hc. 4, 357, 3).—M. JM. *Ś. Mg. A. uddha*=*ūrdhva* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 136, 16; Hc. 4, 444, 3), AMg. JM. *ubbha* (§ 300).—M. AMg. *kumma*=*kūrma* (G.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg. A. cunṇa*=*cūrṇa* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3; 2, 2, 3, 9.; Kappas.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 68, 25; 117, 7; Hc. 4, 395, 2).—M. AMg. JŚ. *Ś. mulla*=*mūlya* (H.; Karp. 73, 10; Ovav.; Kattig. 400, 335; Mṛcch. 55, 15; 78, 3; 82, 15; 88, 21 ff.; Śak. 116, 12).—All the syllables that are accompanied with a nasal vowel or anusvāra are governed by the same law, whether they existed already in Skt. (Hc. 1, 72) or if this anusvāra is secondary in Pkt., having originated from *m* according to § 348: M. *Ś. kamsatāla*=*kāmsyatāla* (G.; Mṛcch. 69, 24; Karp. 3, 3 v. 1.).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. paṁsu*=*pāṁsu* (G. R.; Vivāgas. 155; Bhag.; Erz.; Mālatim. 142, 1; Mallikām. 253, 18; 336, 9).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. maṁsa*=*māṁsa* (H.; Sūyag. 281; Dasav. 632, 24; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Āv. 27, 12; Kattig. 400, 328; Śak. 29, 6), Mg. *maṁsa* (Mṛcch. 10, 1; 21, 17; 117, 9; 123, 7; 126, 5; 163, 9; Venis. 33, 6; 34, 2; *maṁsae* 33, 12).—The rule frequently becomes operative in the final syllables ending in *-ām*, *-im*, *-ūm*, *-ān* of Skt. declensional forms, as in M. *puttāṇam*=*putrāṇam*, *aggīṇam*=*agnīṇam*, *vāṇam*=*vāyūṇam*, *mālām*=*mālām*, *sahim*=*sakhim*, *vahum*=*vadhūm*; AMg. *maham*=*mahān*, *āyavam*=*ātmavān*, etc. (§ 370 ff. 396); further in adverbs like *dāṇim*=*idāṇim* (§ 144), AMg. JM. *saddhim*=*saddhīm* (§ 103). In the case of interjections the rule does not hold good: *Ś. Mg. ām*=*ām* (Mṛcch. 27, 10; Śak. 71, 13; 134, 14; Vikr. 13, 2; 35, 9; 75, 5; Mālav. 6, 3; 80, 8; Bālar. 123, 17; Mṛcch. 136, 19). In A. *kahām*, *jahām*, *tahām*, in the sense of *kutaḥ*, *yataḥ*, *tataḥ* (Hc. 4, 355) the lengthening is to be explained according to § 68.

1. In connection with the rules of this type, that are to be covered times without number, the examples from M. AMg. JM. have been selected from texts that are provided with word indices, as far as possible, for the sake of brevity and the examples are confined chiefly to words that possibly occur uniformly in many dialects.

§ 84. Before a consonant group *e* becomes *ē* and *o* becomes *ō*. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter *i* and *u* in lieu of *ē* and *ō*. Thus: M. AMg. JM. *pe'cchāi*=*prekṣate* (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *pe'cchāṇija*=*prekṣaṇiya* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pe'cchaga*=*prekṣaka* (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. *picchāi* (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. *picchane'jja* (Jiv. 353), JŚ. *pe'cchadi* (Pav. 284, 48), *Ś. pe'kkhadi* (Śak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. *pe'skadi* (Hc. 4, 295, 297; Mṛcch. 80, 4; 112, 17); M. *ape'kkhi*=*apekṣin* (G.); M. *duppe'ccha*=*dupprekṣya* (R.), *Ś. duppe'kkha* (Prab. 45, 11), Mg. *duspe'ska* (Mṛcch. 116, 7).—*dubbhe'jja*=*durbhedhya* (Mṛcch. 68, 19).—AMg. JM. *Ś. A. me'ccha*=*mleccha* (Ovav. § 183 [v. 1. mi°]; Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Cait. 38, 6 [text *mal'e'ccha*]; Piṅgala 1, 77^a. 117^a; 2, 272) and *miliccha* (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. *miccha* (Pannav. 136).—M. *che'tta*=*kṣetra* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. *chitta* (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. khe'tta* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157. 203 f. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,

3: 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mṛcch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. *khitta* (Uttar. 576. 1014).—M. AMg. JM. *o'ttha=oṣṭha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Paṇhāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. *u'ttha* (Erz.), AMg. *hu'ttha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. aṇṇo'ṇṇa=anyanya* (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Śak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. *aṇṇunna* (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in *Ṣ. Bālar. 217, 8.*—M. AMg. *Ṣ. pao'ttha=prakos'tha* (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff. 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālar. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. *paū'ttha* (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. *maṇunna=maṇojña* (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary *e, o* that originated from *ai, au* (§ 60 ff.), by *saṃprasāraṇa* (§ 153, 154), and those that originated from *ai* and *au* (§ 166). As *i*, from *e*, there occurs *ai* always in AMg. JM. *ikkhāga=aikṣvāka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thāp. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729. 1505; Paṇṇav. 61.; Uttar. 532; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as *=ikṣvāku* by LEUMANN and JACOBI: *Ṣ. mitteya=maitreya* (Mṛcch. 4, 22. 23; 6, 3; 17, 20; 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 45, 1); *sindhava=saindhava* (Vr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Ki. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. *saṇiccara=śaṇaiścara* (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Paṇhāv. 312; Paṇṇav. 116; Ovav.). AMg. *saṇimcara* (Thāp. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MSS., against *saṇicchara* of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from **saṇiamcara*, from M. *Ṣ. saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*, Pāli *sanikaṃ*, *sanim* (Hc. 2, 168; Pāiyāl. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15. 19. 20. 22; Vivāhap. 172. 173; Uvās.; Erz.; Mālatīm. 239. 3; Uttarar. 32, 8; Pāiyād. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Mallikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in *Ṣ. saṇiccara* except in the v. 1.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides *saindhava* also *bhaikṣājivika, naiyāyika* and *piṇḍapātika*. Consequently *bhikkhājivika* can be traced back to *bhikṣājivika*, *piṇḍapāṭika* goes back to *piṇḍapātika*: *naiyāyika* becomes *nejāyaya* in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show *u* from *o* for *au* have been grouped by grammarians (Vr. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Ki. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the *saundaryādi* class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an *ākṛtigaṇa*. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the *ākṛtigaṇa saundaga*, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this gaṇa belong *sundera=sandarya* (M. Karp. 66, 7; *Ṣ. Dhūrtas. 10, 9*), for which Prātāp. 220, 9 has *soṇḍajja*, and Hc. teaches *sundaria*; also *uvāri'thaa=aupari'thaka* (Mk. Pkl.); *kukkheaa=kaukṣeyaka* (Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach *kuccheaa* and *ko'ccheaa*; *duvāria=dauvārika* (Bh. [read so for *duvā'*], Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.) is rather *dvārika*; *dussāhia=dauhsādhika* (Mk. Pkl.); *pulomi=paulomi* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.); *pussa=pauya* (Mk. [pauśa]); Pkl. [pauruśa]); *muñja=mauñja* (Mk. Pkl.); *muñjāna=mauñjāyana* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.); *suṇḍa=sauṇḍa* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.); *suṇḍia=sauṇḍika* (Ki. Mk. Pkl.), and so Mg. *suṇḍikāgāla=sauṇḍikāgāra* (Śak. 118, 7); *suddhoaṇi=sauddhodani* (Hc.).—*suvaṇṇia=sauvaṇṇika* (Hc.) is rather **suvaṇṇika, sugandhattaṇa=saugandhya* (Hc.)=**saugandhatvana*.

§ 85. The *e* occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary *o* (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become *e'* and *o'* and not *i* and *u*, : M. *tumhe'tha=Ved. yuṣṭhe'stha* (R. 3, 3), *sāre'tti=sāgara iti* (R. 4, 39), *aṇurāo'tti=aṇurāga iti* (G. 715), *pio'tti=priya iti* (H. 46); JM. *puriso'tti=puruṣa iti* (Āv. 13, 2), *ga'o'tti=gata iti* (Āv. 17, 6), *kālo'vva=kāla iva* (Erz. 71, 27. 30); JŚ. *samo'tti=sama iti* (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. *mu'tti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for *mo'tti*, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition,=*sma iti*, JŚ. *māyācāruvva* for *māyācāro'vva* (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. *lohahhāruvva*,

gaṃgasouva for °bhāro°va, °soo°va (Uttar. 583), and others. See § 346. *Ś. avahido°mhi*=*avahito°smi* (Vikr. 78, 14), *baṃhano°jje°va*=*brāhmaṇa eva* (Mṛcch. 27, 14); Mg. *eśe°* *kkhu*=*eśa khalu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9), *puttake°ti*=*putraka iti* (Śak. 161, 7). Against this, in M. *e* and *o* are always changed into *i* and *u* in the final syllable of the case endings after long vowels, when the metre requires a short vowel: *pucchiāi muddhāe*=*prstāyā mugdhāyāh* (H. 15); *golāi tūhāim*=*godāyāstīrthāni* (H. 58); *gāmataruṇi hīaam*=*grāmataruṇyo hṛdayam* (H. 546); *uahiū niggaam*=*udadhernirgalam* (G. 56) Just apparently sometime in MSS. are written *e°* and *o°* that are permitted by grammarians in Pkt. and A. (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṃgītaratnākara 4,55. 56; Piṅgala 1, 4), thus:—*jasoāe° cumbiam*=*yaśodāyāscumbitam* (G. 21), or *ko°tthuhakiraṇāntio kaṇhassa*=*kaustubhakiraṇāyamānāh kṛṣṇasya* (G. 22). The MSS. mostly waver, thus even the best manuscript of G. 44, for *harālīṅgaṇalajjīy āe°ajjāe°* of the text, has °*lajjīyāi ajjāi*. Examples of this sort are preponderant¹. For AMg. JM. JŚ. as well the same rule holds good: however, in AMg. and JM. the texts, sometimes even after long vowels, have *e°* and *o°*, probably wrongly. Thus: AMg. *savvakammāvahāo*=*sarvakarmāvahāh* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 16), but the Calc. edition gives the correct reading °*hāu*; *levamāyāe° saṃjāe*=*lepamātrāyāh saṃyatah* (Dasav. 622. 13). *nigganthattāo° bhassāi*=*nirgranthatvād bhraṣṭiyati* (Dasav. 624, 33); JM. *buddhiē caūvvihāe° juo*=*buddhyā caturvidhoyā yutah* (Āv. 7, 23), *muddāe° añkio*=*mudrayāñkitaḥ* (Āv. 8, 14), *jāhāo° paribhaṭṭho*=*yūthāi paribhraṣṭah* (Erz. 69, 14). In AMg. JM., even before vowels and simple consonants, *e* and *o*, in many other cases in poetry, measure short: thus in AMg. *unnāe° vā pavoe*=*unn.to vā payodah*, *vuṭṭhē balāhāe° tti*=*vrsto balāhaka iti* (Dasav. 629, 31. 32), *alolo° bhikkhū*=*alolo bhikkṣuḥ* (Dasav. 540, 3); JM. *mannē esa*=*manya eśa* (Āv. 7, 30), *nio° ujjenim*=*nita ujjayinim* (Āv. 8, 14). In poetry, for the enclitic *me*, in AMg., is used *mi*, for *se* in AMg. JM. is used *se°*, and in AMg., *si* (§ 418. 423), in Mg. Mṛcch. 43, 6 ff., in verse there occurs *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyah* etc. (§ 64). In AMg. *utāho* becomes *udāhu* (Uvās.) or *uḍāhu* (Āyār. 1, 4, 2 6). Cf. also § 346. In A. *e* and *o*, in all cases, could become either short or *i* and *u* in the final position: *pie° dīṭṭhāi*=*prīe *dṛṣṭake* (Hc. 4, 365, 1); *hiāi*=*hṛdaye* (Hc. 4, 330, 3. 395, 4. 420, 3); *pie° pavasante*=*prīe pravasati* (Hc. 4, 422, 12); *kaliṇgi dullahaho°*=*kaliyuge durlabhasya* (Hc. 4, 338); *aṅguliū jajjariāu*=*aṅgulyo jarjaritāh* (Hc. 4, 333); *dīṇaaru khaagāli*=*dinakarāh kṣayakāle* (Hc. 4, 377); *kṛdantaho°*=*kṛtānta.ya* (Hc. 4, 370. 4). Cf. § 128. 130. 346. Sometimes wrongly is written *a* before double consonants in lieu of *e°* and *o°*. So M. *paṃhaṭṭha mhi* for *paṃhattho° mhi*=*prasmṛtavānasmi* (R. 6, 12; already in Hc. 3, 105); *Ś. hadamhi* for *hādo°mhi*=*hato°smi* (Śak. 29, 9); Mg. *kadamhi* for *kado°mhi* (Mṛcch. 38, 15)². Cf. § 92 ff. 392 ff.

1. 365. 375. 385, LASSEN, Inst. p. 148, WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 352; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 29.—2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, 342 ff. Wrongly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 17.

§ 86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is *r*, sometime become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified: M. *maṃjara* (§ 81), *vaṃjara* (Hc. 2, 132), *maṇṇjāra* (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of *majjara*, AMg. JŚ. *Ś. majjāra*=*mārjāra* (§ 81).—*mumḍha*=*murdhan* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMg. JM. *muddha-* (§ 402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. *Ś.* (PISCHEL on Hc. 2, 41).—AMg. *mēṃḍha* (back: Thāṇ. 250), *mimḍha* (Thāṇ. 205; Sūyag. 708), *mēṃḍhaga* (Thāṇ. 260), *mimḍhaga* (Ovav. § 107*), *mimḍhaya* (Samav. 131)=*medhṛa*, *medh-raka*, that have as *meṇḍhaka*, *meṇḍha* and *meṇḍhṛa* crept into Skt. as well;

fem. *menḍhī* (Deśin. 6, 138), *miṇḍhiyā* (Pāiṃ. 219), and according to Deśin. 6, 138 also *menṭhi*.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either *r* or a sibilant. Thus: *āsa*=*āśya* (Hc.).—AMg. JM. *isara*=*īśvara* (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. *īśala* (Mṛcch. 17, 4; Śak. 116, 2), by the side of *issara* (Bh. 3, 58).—M. JM. *Ś. īsā*=*īśyā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69, 25), but also *Ś. issā* (Prab. 39, 2, 3), Mg. *īśā* (Prab. 47, 1).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. diha*=*dirgha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ratn. 307, 318, 26; Mālatim. 76, 5; Mṛcch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); *Ś. dihiā*=*dirghikā* (Priyad. 11, 2, 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 3), AMg. JM. *dhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of *diggha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). *Ś. Mg. digghīā* (Ratn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24, 9, 15; Mg. Mṛcch. 134, 7).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. pāsa*=*pāśva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4, 5; 36, 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14).—AMg. JM. *pehai*=*preksate* (§ 323).—M. JM. *Ś. A. bāha* (tears), by the side of *bappa* (smoke). *Ś. bappa* (tears)=*bāṣpa* (§ 305).—AMg. *lūha* by the side of *lukkha*=*rūkṣa*, *lūhei*=*rūkṣayati* (§ 257).—*leḍhukka*=*leṣṭuka* (§ 304).—AMg. JŚ. *loḍha*=*loṣṭa* (§ 304).—M. *vedhoi*, AMg. JM. *vedhei*, *Ś. vedhida*=Pāli *veṭhati*, *veṭhita*=Skt. *veṣṭate*, *veṣṭita* (§ 304). M. AMg. JM. *Ś. A. sīsa*=*śiṣa* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 14, 16, 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Śak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389, 446), Mg. *śiśa* (Mṛcch. 12, 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), °*śiśaka* (Mṛcch. 20, 17).—AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* by the side of M. *Ś. sōmma* (§ 61°).—Cf. § 284. In AMg., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix *-tra*, that develops into *-ya* from *-la*. So : *gāya*=*gātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Thān. 289; Nāyādh. 267; Vivāhap. 822, 1257, 1261; Uttar. 61, 105, 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *goṣā*=*gotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1; 2, 2, 3, 4; Pannav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of *goṭta* (Dasav. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *dhōi*=*dhātri* (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyag. 255; Vivāgas. 81; Vivāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyap. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); *pāya*=*pātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), *pāi*=*pātri* (Sūyag. 783), *kāmsapāi*=*kāmsyapātri* (Thān. 528; Kappas.); *lohiyapāyapāi*=*lohita-pāyapātri* (Sūyag. 281); *māyā*=*mātrā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Ovav.), *māyanna*=*mātrāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dasav. 623, 15; Uttar. 51), *taṇamāya*=*taṇamātra* (Sūyag. 608); *māya*=*mātra* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); *soṣa*=*śrotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyag. 639). Only in *rātri* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merely to AMg. as *rāi* (Vivāhap. 936, 938), *rāibhojāna*=*rātribhojana* (Thān. 180; Ovav.), *rāimḍiya* *rātrimdiva* (Thān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vivāhap. 1293; Kappas.), °*rāya*=°*rātra* (Kappas.), °*rāiya*=°*rātrika* (Sūyag. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. *rāi* (H.), by the side of *ratti* (H. R.; Śak. 55, 15), JŚ. *rāibhojāna* (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of *rattim* (Kattig. 103, 374, 375), *rattidivaham* (Kattig. 402, 364), *Ś. rādi* (Mṛcch. 93, 12, 15) by the side of the usual *ratti* (Mṛcch. 93, 6, 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Śak. 29, 7), Mg. *latti* (Mṛcch. 21, 18), *lattim*, *lattimdivam* (Mṛcch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix *ā* remains often before the root *khyā*, and always before *jāā*, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMg. *āgham*=*ākhyān* Sūyag. 397), *āghāya*=*ākhyāya* (Sūyag. 375), *āghāvē*, *āghavemāṇa*, *āghaviya*, *āghavittae*, *āghavijjanti* (§ 551), *āghavanā*=

ākhyāpanā (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539; Uvās. § 222); Ś. *paccākhādum*=*pratyākhyātum* (Vikr. 45, 5). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34, 24) is an incorrect reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 491. 499). But also AMg. *akkhāi*, *akkhanti*, *paccakkhāi* (§ 491). AMg. JM. *āṇavei*, Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 551); M. AMg. JM. *āṇā*=*ājñā* (Vr. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Ki. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.; Samav.; 134; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8, 17. 18; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); VG. M. AMg. Ā. Ś. Mg. *āṇatti*=*ājñapti* (Bh. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Ki. 2, 109, Mk. fol. 27; VG. 102, 16; R.; Nirayāv.; Priyad. 11, 10; Mṛcch. 105, 1; 166, 21; 171, 17; Venis. 36, 6); AMg. *ānattiyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), *āṇavaṇa*=*ājñāpana* (Hc. 2, 92; Uvās.), *āṇamaṇi*=**ājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369). In other cases the usage wavers: thus: M. *āsasāi*=*āśvasitī*, but Ś. *samassasadu*, Mg. *śamaśasadu*=*samāśvasitu* (§ 496). In Ś. *akkandāmi*=*ākrandāmi* (Uttarar. 32, 1), *akkandasi* (Mudrār. 263, 4), Mg. *akkandāmi*=(Mṛcch. 162, 17) the printed editions (except that of STENZLER) with the majority of the manuscripts have *ākka*°, so that it could be read as *āka*° also. But M. JM. *akkamañ*, *akkanta*, *samakkanta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.) always have the shortened vowel, which also is explained better with the help of *krand*. Besides, a long vowel remains before a consonant-group formed without *r* or a sibilant only seldom, and it is so preserved dialectically: JŚ. *āda*—=*ātman* (Pav. 380, 8. 12; 381, 15. 16; 382, 23. 24. 25; 383, 70. 24), AMg. *āya*-(Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3. 4. 5; 1, 2, 2, 2. 5, 4; Sūyag. 28. 35. 81. 151. 231. 838; Vivāhap. 76. 132. 283. 1059 ff. [the text mostly *āta*—]; Uttar. 251).—AMg. *sāmali*=*śālmali* (Sūyag. 315; Thān. 88.555; Paṇhāv. 274; Anuttar. 9; Ovav. § 16; *kūḍasāmali* (Uttar. 626), dialectical *sāmari* (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 8, 23.; Triv. 1, 3, 105=BB. 3, 259; cf. § 109).—M. AMg. A. *thāha*, “ground: bottom” (Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5, 30; R.; Paṇhāv. 380; Nāyādh. 904. 1112. 1341; Hc. 4, 444, 3), according to Hc. also “deep water” and “broad” by the side of *thaha* (residence; Deśin. 5, 24) and *thaggha* (deep; Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5, 24)¹; AMg. *atthāha* (groundless; deep; Deśin. 1, 54; Nāyādh. 1112; Vivāhap. 104. 447) by the side of *atthaggha* (Deśin. 1, 54)=**stāghya*, **astāghya*. Cf. § 333.

1. In Deśin. 5, 24, the words are to be read as *thaggho* ‘gādha and *thaggho* ‘gādhaḥ. The scholiasts connect it to *stāgha*. Improvement has been effected according to this GGA. 1880, 334.

§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: *kāsa*=*kāmsya*, *pāsu*=*pānsu* (Hc. 1, 29, 70); M. *māsa*=*mānsa* (Vr. 4, 16; Hc. 1, 29, 70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), *māsala*=*mānsala* (Hc. 1, 29; G. R.), *māsalaanta*, *māsalia* (G.). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli *pekkhūa*, *pe’kkhūa*, M. AMg. *pehuṇa*=**preṅkhūa*, **preṅkhūa*, **pre-khūa*=Skt. *preṅkhana* (wandering=swing, wing; Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 6, 58; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 33. 489. 533; Paṇṇav. 529; Nāyādh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from *pakṣman* (CHILDERS, s. v. *pekkhūa*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 611) or from *pakṣa* (WEBER, IStr. 3, 396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, in M. AMg. A., such as M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, AMg. *rukkhā*=*rūksān*, A. *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*, AMg. *mallāi*=*mallakīn*, *bahū*=*bahūn* (§ 367. 381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through **guṇām*, **guṇā*, **bahūm*, **bahū*, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps Mg. *dālam*=*dārān* (§ 367° developed in the same manner. Cf. also *kesua* from **keṃsua*=*kimsuka* and *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* from **koṃhaṇḍi*, *ṇḍa*=*kūṣmāṇḍi*, *ṇḍa* (§ 76, 127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the

simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa nīḡādi* (Vr. 3,52; Kī. 2,111; Mk. fol. 27) and under *tailādi* (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93; 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa sevādi* by Vr. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kī 2,112; Mk. fol. 27, and under the *daivaga* class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mk., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mg. Dh. *ēvaṁ*=*eva'm* (H.; Mṛcch. 4,20;9,1;12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15;13,18; 8 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 31,17;39,20;80,18 etc.; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,14,18;31,19. 22;35,17) by the side of *evam*.—Ś. *kacca*=*kāca'* (Karp. 19,8).—AMg. JM. *kiḡḡā*=*kriḡā'* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jiyak. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), AMg. JM. *khēḡḡā* (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3, 105=BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.); A. *khēḡḡā* (Hc. 4,42,10); beside AMg. JM. *kiḡā* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *kiḡāṇa* (Ovav.), *kiḡāṇa* (Rāyap. 288; Ovav.); M. Ś. *kiḡā* (G.; Cait. 69,9); Ś. *kiḡāpavvada*=*kriḡāpavvata* (Vikr. 31, 17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text °ḡā°]), *kiḡāṇa*=*kriḡāṇaka* (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206,240.—*khāṇṇu* by the side of *khāṇu* (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27)=**skhāṇu'*, an allied dialectical form of *sthāṇu'* (§ 120,309); M. *khāṇṇa* (H.).—AMg. JM. *khatta*=*khāta'*, *ukkhatta* by the side of M. *ukkhāa*, *ukkhāa* (§ 566).—Ś. *jēḡḡa*, P. Mg. *yeḡḡa*=*eva'*, by the side of *jeva*, *yeva* (§ 95,335).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōḡḡaṇa*=*yauḡḡaṇa'* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2, 1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thān. 369; Paṇhāv. 288; Paṇṇav. 100; Vivāhap. 825. 827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mṛcch. 22,22;141,15;142,12;145,12; Śak. 11,4;13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhūrtas. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), AMg. *jōḡḡaṇa* (Vivāhap. 946), but always *juva*—, *juva*=*yu'van* (§ 402), and so also M. JM. *juvāi*, *juvāi*=*yuvati'*, *yuvati'* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. *juvadi* (Mṛcch. 69,23;73,9), Mg. *yuvadi* (Mṛcch. 136,13)¹.—*neḡḡā*=*nīḡā'* (Grr.), by the side of M. *nīḡā* (G. H.)².—M. JM. *tuphikka*=*tūḡḡika'* (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of *tuphāa*, AMg. JM. *tusiṇṇiya* (§ 81). M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *teḡḡa*=*taila'* (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,3;2,6,1,9,12; 2,7,1,11; 2,12,4,15,20; Sūyag. 248. 935; Paṇhāv. 381; Vivāgas. 235; Vivāhap. 1288.1327.1329; Rāyap. 167,175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69,7,12;72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mṛcch. 25,19;117,8), also AMg. *tilla* (Paṇṇav. 63; Uttar. 432.806).—*thiṇṇa* by the side of *thiṇa*=*styāna'* (Hc. 1,74), M. *thiṇṇa*=*styānaka* (R.).—AMg. JM. *thulla* by the side of AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla*=*sthūla'* (§ 127).—*thōḡḡka*=*stoka'* (Hc. 2, 125) beside the common *thova*, *thoa* (§ 230).—AMg. *dugulla*=*dukūla'* (Hc. 1,119; Pāijāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; Paṇhāv. 238; Vivāhap. 791.941.962; Jiv. 508.559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Kī. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also *dualla* beside M. Ś. *duūla* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68, 5,69,13).—AMg. *dhatta*=*dhmāta'* (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *peḡḡma*=*prema'n* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2;51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarghar. 297,14; Vṛṣabh. 9,1;29,6;43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4, 395,3,423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also AMg. JM. *pimma* (Rāyap. 252; Erz.) and AMg. *pema*—(Sūyag. 923.958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.).—*mukka* beside *mūa*=*mūka'* (Hc. 2,99).—M. *lajjā*=*lājā'h* (H. 814).—AMg. *viḡḡā*=*vīḡā'* (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nirayāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—*seḡḡa*=*sevā'* (Grr.), beside M. JM. *sevā* (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in AMg. *pājatta*=*pādāta* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Kī. 2,111 *va* in *yuvan* also is doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. JACOB, KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in *yauvana*, it is not *na*, but *va*, that is doubled. But this, however, takes place with the

consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel ! The entire polemic of JACOBI, KZ. 35,575 ff. against FISCHER, KZ. 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in *-jjā, -jja, -ējjā, -ējja, -ijjā, -ijja* in AMg. JM., as in *kujjā=kuryā't; de'jjā=deyā't; ho'jjā=bhūyā't; bhūjē'jjā=*bhūñjiyā't=bhūñjiyā't; jāñijjā, jāñē'jjā=jāñiyā't*, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§ 459 ff.); and further in the passive in *-ijja, -jja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A., in *-yya, -iyya* in P., so in words like M. JM. A. *dijjai*, JŚ. *dijjadi*, P. *tiyya'te=diya'te*¹, AMg. *kahijjai*, D. *kahijjadi=kathya'te* (§ 535 ff.). While Ś. *karaṇia, ramaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia, lamaṇia* and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. *karaṇi'ya, ramaṇi'ya* and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AMg. *karaṇijja, ramaṇijja*, and other similar ones (§ 571) presuppose forms of the type **karanya', ramanya'*, A. *ravaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 422,11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. *pāṇia*, AMg. JM. *paṇi'ya=pāṇi'ya* (Vr. 1,18; Hc. 1,101; Ki. 1,11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 25,3; 40,6; 42,7,12; Mṛcch. 45,9; 77,11; Latakam. 4,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,7; 113,21; 115,1,2; 136,11; Hc. 4,396,4,418,7,434,1) assume **pānya'*². In Ś. occurs *pāṇia* (Hās. 37,7), in AMg. *pāṇi'ya* for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. *biijja* (Hc. 1,248), *tiijja* (Ki. 2,36), A. *taijji* (Hc. 4,339) are to be explained like M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biija*, M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taija*, Ś. Mg. *tadia* (§ 82). The words in *-eya, -ya* as well follow the analogy of those in *-iya*. Thus: AMg. JM. *nāmadhe'jja=nāmadhēya* (§ 252), AMg. *pe'jja=pe'ya* (§ 572); in such cases *e* was pronounced very weak because in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar § 1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AMg. *pe'jjam=prēyas*, AMg. JM. *bhujjo=bhū'yaḥ* (§ 414). Cf. § 252.—*tiṇṇi=triṇi* (§ 438) is formed on the basis of the genitive *tiṇṇam=triṇā'm*, and on the model of *tiṇṇi* have been regulated *do'ṇi, be'ṇi, biṇṇi=dvau, dve*; likewise *daṇṇam* is formed on the model of *tiṇṇam* (§ 436). In a number of isolated words, that appear to be exceptions to the rule, the duplication of consonants is clearly due to a different cause. So in A. *adhiṇṇa=adhi'na* (Hc. 4,427); the common dialectical form *ē'kka=ēka* beside AMg. JM. *ega* (§ 435); AMg. *kaṇalla, kaḥalla=kaṇā'la* or *ka'pāla*, Pāli *kaṇalla* (§ 208); Pāli, M. *che'ppa=śēpa* (§ 211); M. *so'tta=strōtas* (Bh. 2,98; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.); AMg. *paḍiso'ttagāmi=pratisrotogāmin* (Uttar. 441), *viso'ttiyā=*visrotaskā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2), beside *soya* (Ovav.), *paḍisoja, vissoasiyā* (Hc. 2, 98). M. AMg. JM. *maṇḍukka* (Hc. 2,98; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 131; Sarasvatik. 34,17; Thān. 311.312; Paṇhāv. 18; Vivāhap. 552.553. 1048; Āv. 7,29), AMg. *maṇḍukkiyā* (Uvās. § 38) may be traced back to *maṇḍuka* (Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 35), whereof the accent has not been transmitted, and not to *maṇḍā'ka*, that gives AMg. *maṇḍāya* (Paṇṇav. 480), Ś. A. *maṇḍūa* (Mṛcch. 9,11; so more correctly GÖPABOLE 25,6; Piṅgala 1,67).

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,575 the reduplication of *ya* in the passive goes against the rule, because except in the first person singular of the indicative present it is not the final syllable that is accented, but the *ya* that occurs before the personal ending. Evidently here the question can be only of (cf. § 90, note 1) the syllable immediately following a long vowel, therefore, of the last syllable of the stem.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142.

§ 92. A long vowel, occurring in a closed syllable and followed by an enclitic, is often shortened; when this takes place the initial consonant of the enclitic is reduplicated: M. *appapa ccea=ātmanā caiva* (G. 83), *taṇha ccea=trṣṇā caiva* (H. 93), *gharasāmiṇi ccea=grhasvāmiṇi caiva* (H. 736),

ummillanti cca=*ummilanti caiva* (R. 12,24); AMg. *hiri cceva*=*hriścaiva* (Thāṇ. 76); JM. *sa cceva sā* (Āv. 18, 9), *abhaṇanta cca*=*abhaṇantaścaiva* (Rṣabhap. 13), *sahasā cciya*=*sahasā caiva* (Erz. 83,37); M. *gaṇṇē cca*=*gagane caiva* (G. 319), *muo ccea*=*mṛtaścaiva* (H. 497), *āvā cca*=*āpāte caiva*, *tē ccea*=*te caiva*, *so ccea*=*sa caiva* (R. 1,58; 5,67; 6,67).—PG. *bē tti*=*due iti* (6,39), *hoja tti*=*bhūyād iti* (7,48), *kaḍa tti*=*kṛteti* (7,51); M. *sahasā tti*=*sahaseti*, *bhikkhatti*=*bhikkseti* (H. 459,554), *niatti*=*nīleti* (R. 5,6), *tumhārisa tti*=*tvadyśā iti* (G. 706), *māṇinitti* (H. 807), *mahi tti* (R. 5,20), *sāre tti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4,39), *aṇurāo tti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715); AMg. *taha tti*=*tatheti* (Uvās. § 67.87.120 etc.), *cāi tti*=*tyāgiti* (Dasav. 613,18.20), *antakade tti*=*antakṛd iti* (Āyār. 2,16, 10.11), *tasakāo tti*=*trasakāya iti* (Dasav. 615,12); JM. *sā sā sa tti* (Āv. 16, 26), *kā eśā kamalāmela tti* (Āv. 30,5), *savannu tti*=*sarvajña iti* (Āv. 16,21), *silogo tti*=*śloka iti* (Āv. 8, 56).—M. *soṇārātula vva*=*suvarṇakārātuleva* (H. 191), *soha vva*, *vaṇamāla vva*, *kittiva*, *āṇava*=*śobhava*, *vaṇamāleva*, *kirtiriva*, *ājñeva* (R. 1,48), *vaṇahatthiṇiva*=*vaṇahastiniva* (R. 4,59), *aippahāe vva*, *antavirasō vva*=*atiprabhāta iva*, *antavirasa iva* (H. 68); AMg. *giri vva*=*girir iva* (Āyār. 2,16,3), *milakkhu vva*=*mleccha iva* (Sūyag. 57), *divē vva* [text *va*]=*dipa iva* (Sūyag. 304), *ajako tthao vva*=*ajakkoṭṭhaka iva* (Uvās. § 94); JM. *thambhiya vva* *lihiya vva* *kiliya vva* *taṇkukkariya vva*=*stambhiteva* *likhiteva* *kiliteva* *taṇkotkirneva* (Erz. 17,8), *janani vva*=*jananiva* (KI. 9), *taṇao vva*=*tanaya iva* (KI. 14), *candō vva*, *mahi vva*=*candra iva*, *mahiva* (Erz. 84,20); in A. *va* also occurs on account of metre in *piapabbhaṭṭha va*=*piyaprabhṛaṣṭeva* (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JM. as a rule a long vowel is retained before *ceva*. In Ś. Mg. neither *ceva* nor *va* occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect: thus in Ś. *gosammi cca*=*gose caiva*, *taṁ cea*=*tae caiva*, *paṭṭam cea*=*pravṛttam caiva* (Kāleyak. 2,5.17; 3,12); Ś. *nāmeṇa vva* (Lalitav. 560,22), *bhaṇidam va* (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect *ē vva*; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. PISCHEL 632, 18), *suttadhāli vva*, Mg. *suttadhāli vva* (Mṛcch. 21,9; 23,21), Mg. *calē vva*=*caya iva*, *amhadeṣiya vva*=*asmaddeṣiyā iva*, *deṣiyā vva*=*deṣiyā iva* (Lalitav. 565,8.12.14), *goṇa vva* (Mṛcch. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti-vowel, before *iti*, and in enumeration before *iti vā*, is retained. In such cases *iti* becomes *i*¹ through *ti*: *āyampulā i* (Vivāhap. 1260; text *ti*); *sihā i* (Vivāhap. 1268; text *ti*); *gojamā i* (Vivāhap. 1311.1315, text *ti*; Uvās. § 86); *āṇandā i* (Uvās. § 44); *kāmadevā i* (Uvās. § 118); *kālī i* (Nirāyāv § 5, text *ti*); *ajjo i* (Uvās. § 119.174).—*māyā i vā piyā i bhāyā i vā bhayinī i vā bhajjā i vā puttā i vā dhūyā i vā suphā i vā*=*māletī vā pitetī vā bhrātetī vā bhaginīti vā bhāryetī vā putrā itī vā duhetīti vā sruṣetī vā* (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyādh. 1110); *uṭṭhāṇe i vā kamme i vā bole i vā virie i vā purisakkāra parakkame i vā*=*uttānam itī vā karmetī vā balam itī vā vīryam itī vā purusaṅkārāparākrama itī vā* (Vivāhap. 67.68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747.758.857; Vivāhap. 41.70; Ōvav. § 96.112.165; Kappas. § 109.210).

1. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have *ti* and also *di*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. I, 405, 2, 256 note, * 290, note 12.

§ 94. In Mg. and Ś., before the particle *khu*, which originates from *khalu* (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby *khu* becomes *kkhu*, *e* and *o* are shortened: Ś. *asamaē kkhu*=*asamaye khalu* (Śak. 14,6), *edō kkhu* (Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; 79,6), *maē kkhu*=*mayā khalu* (Vikr. 26,15); Ś. *mahanto kkhu* (Vikr. 45,1; 73,11; 81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. *mahan-te kkhu* (Prab. 58,9)=*mahān khalu*; Ś. *kāmo kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,1), *maṇṇō kkhu* (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. *hagē kkhu* (Śak. 113,9), wrongly *hage kkhu* (Lalitav. 566,6)=*aham khalu*, *dukkale kkhu*=*duṣkaraḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 43,4). The

other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel *khu* mostly becomes *hu*. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than *e* or *o*, *khu* remains, and after a short vowel it becomes *kkhu*, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as *hu* in all the MSS., so Ś. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 59, 22), Mg. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 161, 17, in the same line with *lāṇṇoc* [so it is to be read] *kkhu* !), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere *ṇa kkhu* and *ṇu kkhu*; as throughout in the text in Śak., where in 50, 2 only for *ṇa hu* of the text, with the best MSS., we should read *ṇa kkhu*. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛcch. 40, 25) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 9, 25; 21, 17. 19; 29, 22; 43, 3; 161, 14; Śak. 114, 6) *hu* is correct¹. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. *ṇa hu* (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3, 7; 6, 16; 7, 6; Hc. 4, 390; Vikr. 72, 11); so also Dh. (Mṛcch. 30, 17; 31, 1); AMg. JM. *na hu* (Uttar. 583. 743; Āv. 11, 2; Erz. 79, 14; 81, 35), but Ś. Mg. *ṇa kkhu* (Śak. 13, 7; 60, 14. 17; 72, 9; 156, 14; Prab. 14, 17; Śak. 160, 10); M. *ṇu hu* (G. 183.996), but Ś. Mg. *ṇu kkhu* (Śak. 18, 10; 19, 1; 39, 12; 77, 1; 86, 8 etc.; Mg. 113, 7); AMg. *mā ja hu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5.); M. AMg. JM. *vi hu* (G. 865.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1, 15; 5, 70; 7, 63; Dasav. 634, 2; Erz. 80, 7; Kk. 272, 1; 277, 23); AMg. *hoi hu*=*bhavati khalu* (Uttar. 628.629); JŚ. *havadi hu* (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. *atthi kkhu*=*asti khalu* (Śak. 127, 14), *arihadi kkhu*=*arhati khalu*, *tajjāmi kkhu* (Śak. 58, 13; 164, 5), *sumaresu kkhu*=*smara khalu*, *bhāmi kkhu*=*bibhemi khalu* (Vikr. 13, 4; 24, 13). In Rājasekhara occurs *ṇa hu* (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against *ṇu kkhu* (Karp. 93, 4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. *mā hu* (H. 521.607; R. 8, 14; Uttar. 440 [hū]. 617), but Ś. *mā khu* (Mṛcch. 54, 21; Śak. 153, 13; 159, 7; Vikr. 48, 3; 49, 1); M. *ko khu* (Hc. 2, 198), *ko hu* (H. 384; v. l. *kkhu*), but Ś. *ko'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 64, 18); M. *so khu* (H. 401; v. l. *kkhu*, *hu*), JŚ. *so hu* (Kattig. 399, 317.318; 400, 323), but Ś. *so'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28, 20; 142, 10); AMg. *se hu* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 7. 2, 6; 1, 2, 6, 2; 1, 6, 5, 6; 2, 16, 9, 10), but Mg. *śe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. *so khu* (Lalitav. 560.19), as in the same place occurring *aniruddheṇa khu* (555, 1). JM. *sā hū* (Erz. 77, 23); AMg. *eso hu* (Uttar. 362), but Ś. *eso'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 18, 8; 23, 19); Mg. *eśe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9; Venis. 36, 4); AMg. *vimukkā hu*=*vimuktāḥ khalu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 2, 1), *siyā hu*=*syāt khalu* (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634, 5); JM. *viśamā hu*=*viśamā khalu* (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. *abātā kku* (Mṛcch. 12, 21) *akkhamā khu*=*akṣamā khalu*, *bahuvallāhā khu*=*bahuvallabhāḥ khalu*, *eśā khu*=*eśā khalu*, *rakkhaṇiā khu*=*rakṣaṇiyā khalu* (Śak. 53, 2; 58, 1; 67, 1; 74, 8), *parihāsaṣilā khu*=*parihāsaṣilā khalu* (Karp. 40, 9), *mandabhāṇiṇi khu*=*mandabhāṇiṇi khalu* (Mṛcch. 22, 25), *dūravattiṇi khu*=*dūravarttiṇi khalu* (Śak. 85, 7); Mg. *āḍā khu*=*āgatā khalu* (Mṛcch. 99, 7), *avāśaloṣaṣappañiā khu* *lāṇṇo*=*avasaroṣasaroṣaṇiyāḥ khalu* (Rājānaḥ Śak. 115, 10), *niadi khu*=*niyatiḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 161, 5). Accordingly in Śak. 99, 16 the reading has to be emended as *daṇṣaṇiākidi khu*=*daṇṣaṇiākṛtiḥ khalu*. In PG. *tasa khu* (7, 41) and *sa ca khu* (7, 47) *khu* may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of *kkhu*. CAPPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have *kkhu*, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels.² Thus for example he writes *esa kkhu* for *eśā khu* (Ratn. 292, 31; 295, 8; 297, 24; 300, 4 etc.), *sa kkhu* for *sā khu* (Ratn. 302, 2; 318, 11; 320, 1), *ma kkhu* for *mā khu* (Ratn. 301, 17; 325, 13), *muhara kkhu* for *muharā kku*=*mukharā khalu* (Ratn. 305, 19); *maṇaṇajjarāula kkhu*=*maṇaṇajjāraturā khalu* (Hāsy. 25, 25), *mahadi kkhu*=*mahati khalu*, *puḍhaci kkhu*=*prthivi khalu* (Ratn. 299, 5; 328, 27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write *kkhu* for *khu*.

after anusvāra, as in Ś. *kiñ kku* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *uakidañ kku*=*upakṛtañ khalu*, *kahiñ kku*=*kutra khalu*, *amadañ kku*=*amṛtañ khalu* (Vikr. 8,15;9,3. 11). After anusvāra *khu* only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have : e.g. M. *tañ khu*=*tat khalu* (G. 860.879; H. 142); AMg. *evañ khu* (Sūyag. 95.176), *ēyañ khu*=*etat khalu* (Uttar. 106).³ In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, *khu* and *hu* are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs *khalu* which is found also in JŚ. (Pav. 380,7;381,18.21; Kattig. 401,343), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination *tañ seyañ khalu*=*tañ chreyañ khalu* (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333. 482; Vivāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Nirayāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85.86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. *appā hu khalu duddamo*=*ātmā khalu durdamañ* (Uttar. 19).

1. Not quite correctly LASSEN, Inst. p. 192,7; BOLLESEN on Vikr. 11,2, p. 196.— 2. CAPPELLER, Jenner Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125. Already correctly, LASSEN l. c. and STENZLER on Mṛcch. 2,19.—3. The hypothesis that *kku* should be written everywhere (PISCHEL on Śak. p. 210) already goes back to Hc. 2,198.

§ 95. As for *khu* (§ 94), the same rules hold good for Ś. *jeva*, *jēva*, P.Mg. *ye'va*, *yē'va* (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after *e, o*, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled : Ś. *ajjassa jje'va*=*āryasyaiva* (Mṛcch. 4,8.12), *āireṇa jjeva*=*acireṇaiva* (Lalitav. 562, 23); *idha jjeva* (*jje'va*)=*ihaiva* (Śak. 12,4; Ratn. 293, 25; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,21), *disadi jje'va*=*drisyata eva* (Ratn. 295,10), *sampajjadi jjeva*=*sampadyata eva* (Śak. 120,2), *samtappadi jje'va*=*samtapyata eva* (Mṛcch. 63,24); Mg. *tava yye'va*=*tavaiva* (Mṛcch. 22,4), *teṇa yye'va*=*tenaiva* (Mṛcch. 133, 7); P. *savvassa yyeva*=*sarvasyaiva* (Hc. 4,316), Ś. *bhūmie'jje'va*=*bhūmyāmeva* (Mṛcch. 45,15), *muhē'jjeva*=*mukha eva*, *sujjodae'jjeva*=*sūryodaya eva* (Śak. 77, 11;79,9), *ido'jje'va*=*ita eva* (Mṛcch. 4,22;6,13), *jo'jje'va* *jaṇo*.....*so'jje'va*=*ya eva* *janah*...*sa eva* (Mṛcch. 57,13), *so sacco'jjeva* *sivṇae* *diṭṭho'tti*=*sa satya eva* *svapne* *diṣṭa iti* (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. *daṁṣaante'jjeva*=*darśayann eva* (Śak. 114,11), *anācaskide'yye'va*=**anācaksita eva*, *piṣṭado yye'va*=*prsthata eva*, *bhasālakē'yye'va*=*bhaṣṭāraka eva* (Mṛcch. 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. *tūrāto'yye'va*=*dūradeva* (Hc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle : Ś. *amhasāmiṇā jeva*=*asmatsāmiṇaiva*, *tadhā jev*=*atathaiva*, *nikkampā jeva*=*niṣkampā eva* (Śak. 116,8;126,10.14;128,6); Mg. *disanti ye'va*=*drīyamānaiva* (Mṛcch. 14,11). CAPPELLER wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratn. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., as also in Lalitav. 554,5.6.21, which wrongly has *jjeva* even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even *eva*. Wrong is also Mg. *sahasā jje'va* (Mṛcch. 96,24) for *sahasā ye'va*.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of *√as* (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M : *thia mhi*=*sthitāsmi*, *dūmia mhi*=*dūnāsmi* (H. 239.423), *asaī mha*=*asatyah smaḥ*, *khavia mho*=*kṣapitāḥ smaḥ*, *roāvia mha*=*roditāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417.423.807), *tumhē ttha*=*yusme stha* (R. 3,3); JM. *parisanto' mhi*=*parīśrānto'smi* (Erz. 6,25); Ś. *uvavasida mhi*=*upoṣitāsmi*, *alamkida mhi*=*alamkṛtāsmi* (Mṛcch. 4, 6;23,25), *āatta mhi*=*āyattāsmi*, *edāvatttha mhi*=*etadavasthāsmi*, *asahāñi mhi*=*asahāyinyasmi* (Śak. 25,3;52,8;59,11), *virahukkañhida mhi*=*virahotkanñhitāsmi*, *vimharida mhi*=*vismṛtāsmi* (Vikr. 82,16;83,20), *avaraddha mha*=*aparāddhāḥ smaḥ*, *niṇvuda mha*=*nirvṛtāḥ smaḥ* (Śak. 27,6;58,6), *alañghañiā kada mha*=*alañghaniyāḥ kṛtāḥ smaḥ*, *uagada mha*=*upagātāḥ smaḥ* (Vikr. 23,8,14). On *e, o* and the incorrect forms like M. *pamhuṭṭha mhi*, Ś. *hada mhi*, Mg. *kada mhi* see § 85. The forms like M. *ve'tti* for *va tti*, *sahase'tti* for *sahasā tti* (H. 885. 936), *pie'tti* for *pia tti*, *nisanne'tti* for *nisanna tti*, *dhire'tti* for *dhira tti*, *pelave'tti*

for *pelava tti*, *taṇṇētti* for *taṇṇa tti* (R. 5,5.6.8), *vihiṇēvva* for *vihiṇa vva* (R. 14,16); JŚ. *mamētti* for *mama tti* (Pav. 388,27); Ś. *piadaretti* for *piadara tti*, *veṭti* for *va tti*, *paḍivādanijjētti*, *niddētti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43,14;83,6), and M. *galia vva* for *galie vva*=*galita iva*, *candaa vva* for *candae vva*, *seubandha vva* for *seubandho vva* (R. 1,2;3,48;15,19),¹ based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.

1. FISCHER, De Kālidāsae Śākuntali recensionibus p. 53; GGA. 1880.325 f.; BURKHARD, Sacuntala, Glossarium p. 96, note*; BOLLESEN, Mālavikāgnimitra p. XIV; cf. WEBER, IS, 14,298. Wrong; HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 44; LASSEN, Inst. p. 188; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 27 f.

§ 97. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Ki. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-ī, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-ā and -ū. Ś. Mg. always retain long vowels in prose. M. *gāmaṇiutta*=*grāmaṇiputra* (H. 31); M. *naipūra*=*nadipūra*, *naipūhja*=*nadinikuṇja*, *naipheṇa* (H. 45.218.671) beside *naikoccha*=*nadikakṣa* H. 416; *naida*=*naditaḥa* (G. 407), *naisoṭta*=*nadisrotas* (R. 1,54); AMg. *naṭaḍāya*=*naditaḍāga* (Nāyādh. § 128) beside *naṭira* (Kappas. § 120); but Ś. only *naivea*=*nadivega* (Śak. 32,1), Mg. *ṣoṇanāḍamaṣaṇa*=*ṣoṇitanadidarṣana* (Venis. 35,7); AMg. *itthiveya*=*striveda* (Śūyag. 234; Vivāhap. 179.180; Uttar. 960) beside *itthiveja* (Śūyag. 237); *itthihāva* (Uvās. § 246), *itthilakkhaṇa*=*strilakṣaṇa* (Nāyādh. § 119), *itthisaṇṣagga*=*strisaṇṣarga* (Dasav. 633,1), beside JŚ. *itthisaṇṣagga* (Kattig. 402,358), AMg. *itthivajana*=*strivacana* (Āyār. 2,4,1,3), *itthiviggaha*=*strivigraha* (Dasav. 632,38); *itthilola* (Āv. 16,30) beside *itthirajana*=*striratna* (Erz. 3,33;13,5); but Ś. only *itthikallavatta*=*strikalyavarta* (Mṛcch. 60,19), *itthiradana*=*striratna* (Śak. 38,5;103,6), *itthijana* (Ratn. 298,14); AMg. *puḍhaviṭṭha*=*prthviśastra* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.3.6), *puḍhaviḥkamma*=*prthvīkarmaṇ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.4.6), *puḍhaviṇṇa* (Dasav. 620,34), *puḍhavisilāpattaya*=*prthvisilāpattaka* (Ovav. § 10; Uvās. § 164.166.170); JM. *puḥavimaṇḍala* (Erz. 41,24), *puḥavivikkhāya* (Erz. 64,23), beside M. *pahaivai*=*prthvipati* (G.); JŚ. *puḍhavitōyāṇā* (Kattig. 401,346); Ś. *puḍhavināḍha*=*prthvināḍha* (Śak. 59,12). —AMg. *accharaṇa*=*apsarāṇa* (Paṇhāv. 315; Paṇnav. 96.99; Nirāyāv. 78; Nāyādh. 526; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *accarāḍodi* (Vivāhap. 254); Ś. only *accharāṭṭittha*=*apsarāṭṭirtha*, *accharāṣaṇbandha* (Śak. 118,10;158,2), *accharākāmua*=*apsarākāmuka*, *accharāṇvāra*=*apsarāṇvāpāra*, *accharāviraḥhida* (Vikr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), *accharājana* (Pārvaṭip. 9,9;10,2); AMg. *kiḍḍakara*=*kriḍākara* (Ovav.); M. *jāṇṇaḍa* beside *jāṇṇāḍa* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31), *jāṇṇasaṅga* (G. 1053); Ś. *jaṇṇasaṅgama* (Vikr. 23,13); M. *bhicchara*=*bhikṣācara* (H. 162); AMg. *bhikkhakāla* (Dasav. 618,17); AMg. *muttājāla*, *muttadāma*—, beside *muttājāla* (Ovav.). —M. *vahumā*=*vadhūmukha* (H. 508); *vahuma* beside *vahūmuha*=*vadhūmukha* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. *vahū-ahijja*=*vadhūsaḥāya* (Erz. 6,12); Ś. *navavahūkesakalāva*=*navavadhūkesakalāpa* (Mṛcch. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word *śrī* is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epitheton ornans; it so happens also in the case of *krī* in AMg. (Ki. 2,57). M. *sirithaṇa*=*śristana* (G. 28), *sirisevia*=*śrisevita* (R. 1,21), *siridamaṣaṇa*=*śridarṣana* (G. 514); AMg. *sirigutta*=*śrigupta*, *sirihara*=*śridhara* (Kappas.); JM. *sirikantā*=*śrikantā*, *sirimai*=*śrimati* (Erz.); Ś. *siripavada*=*śripavata* (Ratn. 297,31; Mālatim. 30,2.8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. LASSEN 11,6;12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21,9;22,1]). —M. *mahusiri*

pariṇāma = *madhuśrīpariṇāma* (G. 791), *nahasirikaṇṭha* = *nabhaśśrīkaṇṭha* (H. 75), *rāasiribhāṇa* = *rājaśrībhāṇa* (R. 4,62); AMg. JM. *sirivacca* = *śrīvatsa* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *sirighara* = *śrighra* (Vivāhap. 820,962), *hirisiriparivajjiya* (Vivāhap. 250), *hirisiridhiikittiparivajjiya* = *hriśridhītiparivajjiya* (Uvās. § 95), *sirisamudaya* (Kappas. § 42); JM. *sirisūyaga* = *śrīsūcaka* (Erz. 67,32), *sirikaṇṭha* = *śrīkaca* (Kk. 276,13); A. *siriānanda* (Hc. 4,401,3).—M. *sirijasavamma* = *śrījaśovarman* (G. 99), *sirihāla* (H. 698), *sirikalālāuha* (G. 798), *sirirāstha* (Karp. 6,5); JM. *sirilakkhaṇa* = *śrilakṣmaṇa*, *siriharianda* = *śriharicandra*, *sirirajjila*, *sirināhaḍa*, *siribhillua*, *sirikakka*, *sirikkuya* (Kl. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. *sirikaṇḍadāsa* (Ratn. 297,31), *siricārudatta* (Mṛcch. 94,5; so with GODABOLE 267,5 it is to be read); Mg. *śilīsomeśālaeva* = *śrīsomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); JM. *sirisamaṇasaṅgha* = *śrīsramaṇasaṅgha* (Kk. 266,3; 270.5.38).—The long vowel is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. *sirisamullāsa* (G. 856) and so it is also in AMg. in prose *sirisamāṇavesāo* = *śrīsamāṇaveśyāḥ* (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *sirisamāṇavesāo* (Vivāhap. 791). In Kappas. § 35, for *vajjanasiripallava* we have to read °*siri*° with the v. l. In *śrika*, the vowel wavers: AMg. *siriya* (Kappas.), *siriya* (Nāyādh.), *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 96), but *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, *sassiriya* (Samav. 213,214; Paṇḥāv. 263; Vivāhap. 168. 194 f.; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *sassiria* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 62,13; Vikr. 41,4; so it is to be read),¹ but *sassiriāda* (Mṛcch. 68,21; 73,11; 107,2), *sassiriattana* (Ratn. 292,12; text. *sasi*°; the ed. Calc. *sassiriāda*). AMg. *hiripaḍicchāyaṇa* = *hripraticchādana* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1); *sirihiri*° (Nirayāv. 73); *hiri*° (Thāp. 151). The word that, in AMg., is used as a proper noun as well, as in *hiri cceva* = *hrireva*, (Thāp. 76), and in the plural *hiriō* (acc. plur. beside *siriō*; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects.² This word *hiri* occurs as an adjective by the side of *ahirimāne* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2); the reading *harime* for *hirimān* (Uttar. 961) is to be corrected to *hirime*; likewise for Ś. *ohiriāmi* (Uttarar. 23,12) should be read *ohiriāmi* = *apahriye*; so stands Ś. *hiriāmi* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 108, 21). The Bengal recension (164,5) has the form *lajjāmi* which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has *arihāmi* = *arhāmi*. Cf. § 135.195.

1. Wrongly, BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 62,13; BOLLESEN on Vikr. 41,4.—2. PUSHEL on Hc. 2,104.

§ 99. The original short of *i* and *u* is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. *diabhūmisu* = *doijabhūmiṣu* (Hc. 3,16 = G. 727); *añjalihim* = *añjalibhiḥ* (H. 678), °*ppaṇaisu* = °*pranaiṣu*, *virahisu* = *virahiṣu*, *caūsasthaisu* *suttisu* = *cauḥṣasthyām śuktiṣu* (Karp. 2,3; 38,5; 72,6); AMg. *pakkhihim* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Uttar. 593), *vaggukim* = *vagnubhiḥ* (Samav. 83), *hetubhiḥ* (Dasav. 635,34), *pāṇiṇam* = *prāṇiṇām* (Āyār. p. 15,33; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), *kukammiṇam* = *kukarmiṇām* (Sūyag. 341), *pakkhiṇam* = *pakṣiṇām* (Uttar. 601), *tāiṇam* = *trāyīṇām* (Uttar. 692), *girisu* = *giriṣu* (Sūyag. 310), *jāisu* = *jātiṣu*, *gārisu* = *agāriṣu*, *jantusu* = *jantiṣu*, *joṇisu* = *yoṇiṣu*, *guttisu* = *guptiṣu* (Uttar. 155.207.446.574.992); JM. *vakkhāṇaisu* = *vākyhāṇādiṣu* (Āv. 41,28 in a quotation from Viśeṣ. 1,1466). So throughout AMg. JM. in *caūhim*, *caūsū* = *caturbhiḥ*, *caturṣu* (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMg. *thāṇao* = *sthānāt*, *saṃjamao* = *saṃyamāt* (Sūyag. 46), *kulalao* = *kulālāt*, *viggahao* = *vigrahāt* (Dasav. 632,37.38), *siriō* = *śrīyāḥ* (Dasav. 641,28); JS. *uvasamado* = *upaśamāt* (Kattig. 399,308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. *divosahio* = *divyaupadhyah* (Mudrār. 60,9); AMg. *osahio* (Dasav. N. 648,10), *itthio* = *striyaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76,921, also

itthiu (Uttar. 373), *nārio* (Uttar. 679 [text °r°] = Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), *koḍio* = *koṭayāḥ* (Uttar. 502; text °i°), *rāio* = *rātrayāḥ* (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416,436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. *itthihim* = *stribhiḥ* (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur.: AMg. *iṣiṇām* = *ṛṣiṇām*, *bhikkhuṇām* = *bhikṣuṇām*, *muninām* = *muninām* (Uttar. 375,377,409,921); in the loc. sing. AMg. *rājahāṇie* = *rājadhānyām* (Uttar. 86; text °i°, the correct form occurs in the commentary), *kāṣibhūmie* = *kāṣibhūmyām* (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. *itthisu* = *striṣu* (Sūyag. 185 [text °i°]; Uttar. 204). So also A. *radie* = *ratyā* (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in *ahiśālianti* for *ahiśālianti* = *abhisāryamānā* (Mṛcch. 11,19), even in AMg. *paḍiṇaṁ* for *paḍiṇaṁ* = *prācīnaṁ* (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa, 152: *prācīnaṁ prācīnaṁ ca syāt* the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Piṅgala goes furthest in this respect. Hemacandra: *sāmalā dhaṇa suvaṇṇareha* = *śyāmalā dhaṇyā suvaṇṇarekhā* (4,330,1), *sakaṇṇī bhallī* = *sakaraṇā bhallīḥ* (4,330,3), *phala lihiā* = *phalāni likhitāni* (4,335); *paḍia sila* = *patitā śilā* (4,337), *addhā valaā mahihī gaa addhā phuṭṭa* = *ardhāni valayāni mahyām gatāni ardhāni sphuṭitāni* [4,352]; *vihi viṇaḍaū pīdantu gaha* = *vidhir viṇaḍayatu pīdantu grahāḥ* [4,385]; Kālidāsa, Vikr.: *parahua mahurapalāviṇi kanti* . . . *bhamanti* = *parabhṛte madhurapralāpini kānte* . . . *bhramanti* (59,11,12), *sā paī diṭṭhi jahaṇabharālasa* = *sā twayā dṛṣṭā jaghana-bharālasa* in rhyme with *gailālasa* = *gatilālasam* (62,12), *kiṭṭanti dhaṇia na diṭṭhi paī* = *kṛiḍanti dhanikā na dṛṣṭā twayā* (63,5); Piṅgala: *sūi meru ṇisaṅku* = *sūcyate meruṇiṣaṅkam* (1,40), *mahihara taha a suraṇṇā* = *mahidharāstathā ca surajanāḥ* (1,80), *jasu* . . . *kaṇṭhaṭṭhia viṣā pindhaṇa diṣā saṁtāria saṁsārā* = *yasya kaṇṭhe sthitam viṣam pindhānam diṣaḥ saṁtāritāḥ saṁsārāḥ* (1,81), *varisae* for *varisai* = *varṣati* in rhyme with *diṣae* = *dṛśyate* (1,142), *naṇṇanti saṁhāro dūritā haṁmāro* = *ṇṛtyanti saṁharatu dūritam asmaḍiyam* (2,43) etc. See also § 85,128.

(c) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. *a* can become *i* (Schwā) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1, 46 puts the words in which this phonetic alteration must take place in the ākṛtiṅgaṇa *svapnādi* and in 1,48 adds also *madhyama* and *katama*; in 1,47 he allows option for *pakva*, *aṅgāra*, *lalāṭa*, in 1,49 for *saptapaṭṭa*. Vr. 1,3; Kī. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5 limit it to *īṣat*, *pakva*, *svapna*, *vetasa*, *vajjana*, *mṛdaṅga* and *aṅgāra*. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JM.; Ś. and Mg. always retain *a* in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for *aṅgāra* and *vetasa*. So: AMg. *aṣiṇa* = *aṣana'* (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JM. *ultima* = *uttama'* (Hc. 1,46; Kī. 9), AMg. JM. *ultimāṅga* = *uttamāṅga* (Paṇḍāv. 274,285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JM. *ultimāṅga* (Pāyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JM. *ultima* (G.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. *kaiṇa* = *katama'* (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but Ś. Mg. *kadama* (Mṛcch. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vikr. 35,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 130,3).—M. Mg. A. *kiviṇa* = *kṛpaṇa'* (Hc. 1,46; G.H.; Mṛcch. 19,6; 136,18,19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. *akiviṇa* (Mṛcch. 55,25).—AMg. *ghimṣu* = *ghraṁṣa'* (§105).—AMg. JM. *JŚ. carima* = *carama'* (Paṇḍāv. 65 ff.; Vivāhap. 113,173,598 ff. 1254,1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), *acarima* (Paṇḍāv. 66 ff.).—AMg. *nigina* = *nagna'* (§ 133).—M. AMg. Ś. *pikka* = *pakva'* (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,8; Vivāhap. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. *vivikka* = *vīpakva* (Thāṇ. 377,378), Ś. *paripikka* (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. Ś. *pakka* (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4,2,14,15; Thāṇ. 218; Paṇḍāv. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dhūrtas. 12,9), Ś. *supakka* (Mṛcch. 79,25), *paripakka* (Ratn. 301,19).—M. *pusia* = *prṣata'*

(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. *phusiya* (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1,5).—M. AMg. JM. *majjhima*=*madhyama* (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thāp. 128.141.152.175; Sūyag. 334; Paṇṇav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Aṇuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), AMg. *majjhima*=*madhyama* (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine *majjhimiā* (Jiv. 905 ff.), *majjhimilla* (Aṇuog. 383), but S only *majjhama* (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65.5;133,9; Venis. 60,6;63,4;64,23;99,12).—AMg. JM. *minjā*=*majjā* (§ 74).—AMg. JM. *muṅga*=*midaṅga* (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Paṇhāv. 512; Paṇṇav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text *mujaṅga*, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. l.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also *miṅga* (Hc. 1,137), but S. *mudaṅga* (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. *midaṅga* (Mṛcch. 122,8; GODABOLE, 337,7 more correctly *mudaṅga*). Cf. § 51.—M. *vedisa*=*vetasa* (Grr.; H.), but P. *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307), S. *vedasa* (Śak. 31,16;105,9).—M. AMg. JM. *sejjā* from *sijjā* (T. 5,15 and often v. l.; § 107)=*śayyā* (Vr. 1,5;3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Ki. 1,4,2,70; Mk. fol. 5.21; G.; Karp. 25,1;39,3;70,6; Āyār. 2,2,1,1,3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97.771; Paṇhāv. 372.398.410.424; Vivāhap. 135.185.839.1310; Paṇṇav. 844; Uttar. 489.495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *seyyā* (Cait. 149,19; text *sejjā*); AMg. *nisejjā* (Dasav. 642,36), *nisijjā* (Kappas. § 120), *paḍisejjā* (Vivāhap. 964); JM. *sejjāyara* (Kk.), *sijjāyari* (T. 4,17).¹

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, *kaṣm* will have developed its *i* through its connection with *kati*; *antima* (as it is also in Sanskrit), *uttima*, *carima* and *majjhima* have developed their *i* through the influence of analogy with *paścima*, and *sijjā*, *nisejjā*, *sahijjā*, *minjā*, through the influence of *jja*.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. *aṅgāra* (Hc. 1, 47; Pāiyāl. 158), *aṅgāraa* (H. 261), *aṅgārānta*=*aṅgārāyamāṇa* (G. 136), S. Mg. *aṅgāla* (Pras. 120,2,13;121,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as **ra*]); Mṛcch. 10,1), S. *aṅgāraka* (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. *aṅgāra* (Paṇhāv. 202.534), *aṅgāraka*=(Paṇhāv. 313; Ovav. § 36), *aṅgāraga* (Paṇṇav. § 116), *aṅgārāja* (Thāp. 263)=Skt. *aṅgāra*, *aṅgāraka* (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. *iṅgāla* (Grr., also C. 2,4; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thāp. 230.391.478; Paṇṇav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237.254.322f. 349.480.609.883.1286.1293; Jiv. 51.257.293; Nirayāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text **ra*]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), *saṅgāla*, *vīṅgāla* (Vivāhap. 450.451), *iṅgālaga* (Thāp. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* (Hc. 1,89), S. *iṅgudī* (Śak. 39,4), *aṅgālia* beside *iṅgālī* (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśin. 1,28.79) are related to one another like *aṅgati* and *iṅgati*, *aṭati* and *iṭa'nt*, *addhā* and *iddhā*, that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From *iṭa't* the Prākṛtamañjarī, in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions *isa*, *isi*, *isī*. Of them we have S. *isa* in Mālatīm. 239,3, in all the editions: *isa maṇṇuṃ* (v. l. *maṇṇe*) *ujjhīa*, and so we have to read also in Venis. 12, 10; 61, 15 *isa vīhasia* with the v. l. to 12, 10 and in M. *cirehi isa tti* (Pratāp. 206. 11; text *isi*), *pāvai isisa* (H. 444; correctly in the v. l. and ed. Bomb.; or *isampī* with v. l.); correct is *isisa*.....*maṇaṃ kuṇanti* (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. l.), because *iṭat* here stands by itself. Otherwise it occurs throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. *isijalapesiaccha*=*isajjalaprekṣitākya*, *isiraabhiṇṇa*=*isadrajobhinna*, *isiṇiha*=*iṣannibha*, *isiviatta*=*iṣadvivṛtta* (R. 2, 39;11,43;12,48;13,70), *isiditṭha*=*iṣaddiṭṭa* (Bālar. 120,5), *isasaṃcaraṇa-caṇcurā* (Karp. 86,1; the v. l. has *isam*, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads *isa saṃcaraṇabandhurā*), *isubbhijjanta* [text *isubbhijjandam*]=*iṣadubbhidyamāṇa* (Mallikām. 239,5); JM. *isiviāsam*=*iṣadvikāsam* (KI. 7); S. *isiparissantā*

=*īṣatpariśrāntā* (Śak. 133,1), *īṣiviasida*=*īṣadvikasita* (Mālatīm. 121,5), *īṣimaulida*=*īṣanmukulita*, *īṣimasina*=*īṣanmasṛṇa* (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), *īṣi-rala* (Uttarar. 73,5), *īṣivalida* (Nāgān. 8,15), *īṣadāradesadāvida*=*īṣaddvāra-deśadāpita* (Mudrār. 43,8), *īṣiniddāmuddida*=*īṣannidrāmudrita* (Bālar. 220,6); *īṣiliriechi* (text °ra°)=*īṣattiryak*, *īṣisuñijanta*=*īṣacchrūyamāṇa*, *īṣicauria*=*īṣaccaturita*(?), *īṣimaulanta* [text °mmu°]=*īṣanmukulāyamāṇa*, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also *īṣi* in M. *īṣivalanta*- (H. 370) and Ś. *īṣiṣjaradhāmāṇa* (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. *īṣi veaṇā samuppanṇā* (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as *īṣiṣa* by KONOW. The *i* is, therefore, explained from the cases in which *īṣat*, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Prākṛtamañjari l. c. teaches also *īṣi*, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: *īṣisicumbia* occurs in Śak. 4,9 ed. BÖHTLINGK. S. *īṣa-saṃkamida* (Jivān. 43,8) for *īṣi°*, *īṣi samive hohi*=*īṣat sāmīpe bhava*, *īṣi vilambia*=*īṣadvilambya*, *īṣi uttāṇam kadua*=*īṣad uttāṇam kṛtvā* (Mallikām. 87,18;124,5;222,8) for *īṣa°*, and JM. *īṣi hasiṇa* (Erz. 57,17) for *īṣim* always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Ṭhāṇ. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [*īṣi°*]. 21 [*īṣi°*]. 22 [*īṣi°*]; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhap. 239. 248.920 [*īṣi°*], Jiv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. § 33.49, VII [so read everywhere for *īṣi*]; Kappas. § 15; Āv. 48, 14; Erz.). AMg. has also an adjective *īṣija*=**īṣatka* (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule *i* occurs in forms like JŚ. A. *kiḍha* (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMg. JM. A. *kiha* (Āyār. 1,6, 1,6; Āv. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,401,3)=Vedic *kathā*. On its analogy are formed A. *jidha*, *tidha*, *jiha*, *tiha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of *ā* has been brought in on the analogy of M. AMg. JM. A. *jaha*, *taha*, JŚ. *jadha*, *tadha* (§ 113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMg. JM. *tise*, *jise*, M. *tissā*, *jissā*=*tasyāḥ*, *yasyāḥ* as formed on the analogy of *kise*, *kissā* (§ 425 ff.).¹—*ghisai* (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=*gha'sti*=*gha'santi* has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§ 482).—M. A. *candimā* (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Kī. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pāṇiyāl. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such], R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with *candrikā*, nor with LASSEN², E. KUHN³, S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ and JACOB⁵ with *candra'mas* against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with **candriman*⁶, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as *candrimā* (B. -R. s. v.). Pāli *candimā* (nom. sing.), AMg. *candima*- (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMg. A. nom. *candimā* (Sūyag. 433 [text °da°]. 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Piṅgala 1, 30 [text °da°]) are masculine and mean 'the moon', and are secondary derivatives from *candimā* (fem.) with a dependence upon *candrimas*. *candrikā* becomes Ś. *candīā* (Cait. 40,15; Adbhutad. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49.265; Mk. fol. 18, besides *chattavaṇṇa* we may say *chattivaṇṇa* (Vr. 2,41; Kī. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as=*saptaparna*, which is to be accented as *sapta'parṇa*. But *sapta'n* nowhere shows *ch* initially and the *a* originating from *an* never becomes *i*, as we learn from *pañcama*, *sattama*, *aṭṭhama*, *navama*, *dasama*, etc. (§ 449).⁷ *chattavaṇṇa*, therefore, is not=*saptaparna*, but=*chattraparna*, and *chattivaṇṇa*=**chatriparṇa* from *chattri* (Hc., Upādi-gaṇas. 446)=*chattrā*. In AMg. the word occurs as *sattavaṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhap. 41.1530; Ovav. § 6) and *sattivaṇṇa* (Ṭhāṇ. 266 [commentary *satta°*]. 555; Vivāhap. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of *chattivaṇṇa*; Ś. has *chattavaṇṇa* (Śak.

18,5; cf. v. 1.) and *sattavaṇṇa* (Priyad. 10,13).—AMg. JM. *puvviṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203 [text here °an^o]; Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.) is not=*pūrvam*, but=**pūrvī'm*; cf. AMg. *puvāṇupuvviṃ* (Nirayāv. § 1), which has already been shown by WARREN as=*pūva+ānupūrvī'm*.—AMg. JM. *saddhiṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav. § 15,16; Kappas. etc.; Erz.) is not=*sārdha'm*, but=*Vedic sadhri'm*.⁸ We cannot ascertain the accent in *avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka*, which, in AMg., become *vaḍiṃsa* (Rāyap. 102), *vaḍiṃsaga* (Samav. 10,12,16,23; Rāyap. 103,139; Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), and *vaḍiṃsaya* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.). *i* and the dropping of the initial *a* point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMg. *kuṇima*=*ku'ṇapa* and *viḍima*=*viṣa'pa* (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. nīḍāla*, M. AMg. *nīlāda*=*lalāṭa* see § 260; on AMg. *āikkhaī*, § 492, on *diṇṇa* § 566, and on AMg. JM. *appiṇai* § 557.

1. FRANKÉ opines differently with regard to the genitive forms like *tissā*, GN. 1895,329, note 1.—2. Inst. p. 203.—8. Beiträge p. 22.—4. Rāvaṇavaho p. 156, note 1.—5. Kalpasūtra. s. v., KZ. 35,573.—6. PSCHHEL, KZ. 34,572.—7. JACOBI has not taken these into consideration, KZ. 35,572.—8. PSCHHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,235.

§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes *a* becomes *u*: *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma*=*prathama* (C. 3,9 p. 48; Hc. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is *paḍhama*. So M. (G. H. R.); AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,3,18;2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.); JM. (K1. 1; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. (Kattig. 398,304;400,332,401,342,344); Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,23,94,3;138,15; Śak. 43,6;50,1;67,11; Vikr. 22,20;27,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 130,13,18;139,10;153,21); D. (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. (Piṅgala 1,1,10,23,40 etc.). *puḍhama* occurs in M. (H. 832), in Ś. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have *puḍhama*, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. *pu*^o). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has *puḍhuma* several times in R.; likewise BOLLENSSEN in Vikr. 23,19;24,1;83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read *paḍhama*, everywhere in M.Ś. Mg.¹ P. has *puḍhuma* (Hc. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write *puḍama*.²—M. *pulaai*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* (Vr. 8,69; Hc. 4,181; Pāiyal. 78; H. R.), M. *puloei*, *puloia* beside *paloai*, *paloia* (Hc. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. *puloedi*, *puloanta*, *puloida*, and so on and so forth (Mahāv. 99,3;100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9;15,1;17,1;22,9;24,2;42,10; 48,10;55,3;57,1;59,17; Pras. 11,14;12,1;13,14;16,17;35,7;44,3;115,17 [here they often write *pulovedi* and so forth])=*pralokayati*.—A. Mg. *pūraṇa* (Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,5,1,5; Paṇhāv. 534; Uttar. 489)=*Pāli pāṭuraṇa*, *pāpuraṇa*=*prāraṇa*; AMg. *kaṇṇapāuraṇā*=*kaṇṇaprāvaraṇāḥ* (Paṇnav. 56; Thāṇ. 260; *pāuraṇi* (coat of mail; Deśin. 6,43)=**prāvaraṇi*.³—M. *vppei*, *uppia* (Hc. 1,269; G. s. v. *r*; Karp. 48,4)=*arpayati*, *arpita* beside *appei*, *appia*, *o'ppei*, *o'ppia* (§ 125; Hc. 1,63).—AMg. *ummuggā*=**unmagnā* (rising above the surface; Āyār. p. 15,32;27,9), beside *ummaggā* (Uttar. 235), *omugganimmuggiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.)=**avamagnanimagnita*.—AMg. *kammunā*, *kammunāu*, *kammuno*, *kammunaḥ*, *dhammunā*, JM. *kammunā*=*karmaṇā*, *karmaṇaḥ*, *karmaṇām*, *dharmaṇā* (§ 404).—AMg. JM. *paṇuvisāṃ*, *paṇuvisā*=*pañcaviṃśati* (§ 273).—M. AMg. *vo'cchaṃ* from **vucchaṃ* (§ 125)=*vakṣyāmi*, M. AMg. JM. *vo'ttum* from **vuttum*=*vaktum* (§ 529,574).—A. *vuḥai*=Mg. *vañṇadi*=**vrañṇāti* from *vraj* (§ 488).—*vo'jjhaa*, *vo'jjhaamalla* for *vu*^o (§ 125; burden; Deśin. 7,80) is traceable to AMg. *vo'jjha*=*vahya* (§ 572).—AMg. *susāṇa* from **śmāśāna*=*śmāśāna* (Hc. 2,86; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; Paṇhāv. 177,419; Uttar. 1006; Ovav.;

Kappas.; Āv. 31,24); but M. Ś. *masāṇa* (Vr. 3,6; C.3,23; Hc. 2,86; Ki. 2,53; Mk. fol. 21; Pāiyāl. 158; G. H.; Karp. 101, 7; Mrcch. 72,8; 155,4; Mālatim. 30,4;224,3; Anarghar. 279,10; Caṇḍak. 86,7;92,11); Mg. *maśāṇa* (Mrcch. 168,18; Mudrār. 267,2; Caṇḍak. 61,11;63,11;64,9; [°ṇaa]; 66,13;71,9.11). On M. JM. AMg. *muṇai*, JŚ. *muṇadi* see § 489, on A. *jhuṇi*, Ś. *dhuni*=*dhvani*, § 299. Cf. also § 337.

1. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,55.—2. FISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 13; e.g. Vikramorvaśīya, ed. FISCHEL 629,26;630,18.20;633,18; Pārvatīp. 28,22 ed. GLASER; Mallikām which, beside *puḍhama* (152,13), has also *paḍama* (56,11). On the variation between *pa* and *pu*°, in the MSS. in Ś. cf. the v. l. e. g. also on Mālav. 39, 5.6.7.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 3,247.

§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in -a have become -u stems. This takes place especially in compounds with -jña, -jñaka in M. AMg. JM. JŚ when jña becomes nna, in AMg. also nna (Hc. 1,56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. *akaṇṇua*=*akṛtajñaka* (H. R.), *aṇṇua*=*ajñaka* (H.); *ahinṇu*=*abhijña* (Hc. 1,56), but Ś. *aṇahinṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1 [°bhi°]); *āgaṇṇu*=*āgamajña* (Hc. 1,56); M. *guṇaṇṇua*=*guṇajñaka* (G.), *guṇaṇṇua* (H.), but Ś. *guṇaṇṇa* (Kāleyak. 25,22); AMg. *doṣaṇṇu*=*doṣajña* (Dasav. 627,36); AMg. *paḍirūvaṇṇu*=*pratirūpajña* (Uttar. 694), *paraḥkamaṇṇu*=*parākramajña* (Sūyag. 576.578); AMg. *vinṇu* (Āyār. 2,16,1.2; Sūyag. 26), M. *viṇṇua* (Mk. fol. 20)=*viñña*, *viññaka*; AMg. *vihinṇu*=*vidhijña* (Nāyādh. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *savaṇṇu*=*sarvajña* (Hc. 1,56; Vajjāl. 324,9; Āyār. 2,15,26; Vivāhap. 916; Aṇuog. 95.518; Uttar. 689; Dasav. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,38; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text *savaṇṇu*]), but Mg. *śavaṇṇa* (Hc. 4,293). P. *savaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become u-stems : AMg. *ghinṇu*=*ghraṇṣa* (§ 101; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58,109); AMg. *pāṇu*=*prāṇa*°, when it is used as a unit of time¹ (Vivāhap. 423; Aṇuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), *āṇāpāṇu* (Thāp. 173; Aṇuog. 242; Dasav. N. 654,2; Ovav.); AMg. *pilāṇkhu*, *pilakkhu*=*plakṣa*° (§ 74); AMg. *manthu*=*mantha*° (Āyār. 1,8, 4,4;2,1,8,7; Uttar. 249; Dasav. 622,8;623,10); AMg. *milakkhu*=*mleccha*° (Āyār. 2,3,1,8; Sūyag. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 *milukkhaṇa*]. 928; Paṇṇav. 58; Paṇhāv. 41 [text °lu°; cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,510])=Pāli *milakkhu* (§ 233) beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *meṇṇa*, AMg. *miccha* (§ 84). Cf. *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu* § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base *āryā*°, in the meaning "mother-in-law" also becomes an u-stem,=ajjū (Hc. 1,77), and *āryakā*°, in the meaning "mistress", Ś. *ajjūā* (Mrcch. 27,2 ff.; 28,2 ff.; 29,1 ff.; 36,4;37,3ff. etc), Mg. *ayyūā* (Mrcch. 10,2; 39,20.24.25;40,2.4.10), *ayyukā* (Mrcch. 13,8). In Mg. *ayyūā* means "mother" also (Śak. 158,11, where Śaṅkara, following Candrasekhara, remarks: *ajjukāśabdo mātari deśīyah*). On AMg. *āhu*, *udāhu*, *addakkhu*, *miṇṇakkhu* etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., *pāṇu*, and especially Aṇuog. 431.

§ 106. A final a becomes u in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in -a, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person plural of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs : *suṇaṇṇu*=*sujanasya*, *piassa*=*priyasya*, *khandhassu*=*skandhasya*, *kantassu*=*kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.354.445.3), *tassu*, *tāsu*, *tasu*, *jāsu*, *jasu*, *kassu*, *kāsu*, *kasu*=*tasya*, *yasya*, *kasya* (§ 425.427.428); *paraṇṇu*=*parasya* (Hc. 4,338.354); *mahu*, *majjhu* in the sense of *mama*; *taū* for **tauv*=*tava*, *tuhu* [so it is to be read], *tujjhu* in the sense of *tava* (Hc. s.v. *ma-*, *tu*); *piu*=*piba* (Hc. 4,338,1), *piāhu*=*pibata* (Hc. 4,422,20); *bhaṇu*=*bhaṇa* (Hc. 4,401,4; Pingala 1,120; and read so everywhere for *bhaṇa*); *sikkhu*=*śikṣa* (Hc. 4,404); *icchahu*=*icchatha*, *pucchahu*=*pucchatha* (Hc. 4,

384.422,9), *kuṇḍhu*=*kṛṇṭa*=*kuruta* (Piṅgala 1,89.118), *dehu*=*dayata* (Hc. 4,384; Piṅgala 1,10), *jāṇḍhu*=*jāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,5.14.38), *viāṇḍhu*=*viājāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,25.50); *namahu*=*namata* (Hc. 4,446); *e'thu*, *je'thu*, *te'thu* in the sense of *atra*, *yatra*, *tatra*, (§ 107; Hc. s.v.; Piṅgala 1,114); *jattu*, *tattu*=*yatra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404); *ajju*=*adya* (Hc. 4,343,2.418,7 and read so everywhere for *ajja*).

§ 107. Only seemingly has *e* sometimes taken the place of *a*. The extremely frequent *e'tha* of M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mṛcch. 102,18; 103,16; 105,15), Ā. (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,4), A. *e'thu* (§ 106) does neither go back to *atra* (Hc. 1,57)¹ nor to **itra*² or **etra*³, but is related to *iha*, like *tattha* to *taha*, *jattha* to *jaha*, *kattha* to *kaha*: so stands for **ittha*=Vedic. *itthā*⁴. Cf. A. *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*), *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*=*atra* Piṅgala 1,5⁵.86), and AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=*kathā* (§ 103). A. *ke'thu*, beside *kidha*, *kiha*=*kathā*, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. *ukkera* (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Ki. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāiyāl. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Viddhaś. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6.7,167,10; 210,2), against *ukkara* (Caṇḍak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMg. also (G.; Nāyādh., Kappas.) is not=*utkara*⁶, but must be equated, with LASSEN⁶, as=**utkarya*, or connected with *utkirati*. In Bālar. 234,9 the word *vaiera*=*vyatikara* is wrongly printed: the correct form is *vadiara*, Śak. 13,2.—M. Ś. *ge'ndua* (Viddhaś. 56,2; 58,6; Mallikām. 134,21.23 [text *ga'*]), A. *gindu* (Piṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57.182 be traced back to *kanduka* that forms M. Ś. *kandua* (G. 752; Mālav. 68,10), but belongs with *ge'ndui* (game; Deśin. 2,94), Pāli *geṇḍuka*, as well as *genduka*, *ginduka*, *ge'ndu*, *ge'ndūka* that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root **gid*, **giḍ*, present **giṇḍai*, *ge'ndai* "to play". Cf. *jhe'ndua* "ball" (Deśin. 3,59).—*ghe'ppai* stands for **ghippai* and does not go back to *grabh*, but to **ghrp* (§ 212.518). *dhe'mkuna* (bug; Deśin. 4,14; Triv. 1,3,105,60) beside *dhāmkuṇa* (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMg. *dhimkuṇa* (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text **ka'*]), as Skt. *diṅka* also makes probable, and is=**damkhuna*, and can be traced back to **damkha*, connected to *damś* (§ 212.267).⁷—M. *ve'lli* (Creeper; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=*valli*, but stands for **villi*. With *ve'llā* (creeper), *ve'lla* (hair; a small lock, pleasure; Deśin. 7,94), *vili* (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Triv. 1,3,105,80), *ve'llari* (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. *ve'llira*, (automatically moving; G. 137; Viddhaś. 55,8. [text *ce'*]); Bālar. 203,13), A. *uvve'llira* (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. *uvve'lla*=**udvilna* (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1; 258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root **vil* (to be moved), to which also *velu*=*veṇu* (§ 243) also will have to be referred⁸. M. A. *ve'llai* with its compounds *uvve'llai*, *piṇve'llai*, *samve'llai* (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7; 182,2; Vikr. 67,19), Ś. *ve'llamāṇa* (Bālar. 168,3), *uvve'llida* (Ratn. 302,31), *uvve'llanta* (Mālatim. 76,3; 125,4; 129,2), which is frequent also in later Sanskrit, is either a derivative from *ve'lla*=**vilna*, or from **vilyati*, **vilvati*.—*se'jjā*=*śayyā* is regularly derived from *sijjā* (§ 101).—M. *suh'e'lli* (Pāiyāl. 159; Deśin. 8,36; H.) is to be explained from **suhilli*=*sukha*+suffix *-illa*, while its synonym *suhalli* (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to *sukha*+suffix *alla* (§ 595).⁹—AMg. JM. *he'tthā*=*adha'stāt* (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10.152; Erz.) presupposes **adheṣṭāt*, corresponding to *pure'kkhada*=**pureskṛta*, which has already been taken note of by WEBER¹⁰. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from *adhastāt*: therefore, the assumption of a form **adheṣṭha* is wrong: On AMg. *ahe*=*adhaḥ*, *pure*=*purah* see § 345. From *he'tthā* we have in AMg. JM. an adjective *he'ttha*,

wherefrom we have AMg. *he'ttham* (Hc. 2,141; Thāṇ. 179.492; text *he'tthim*), JM. *he'tthepa* (Erz.), AMg. JM. *he'tthao* (Vivāḥap. 143; Erz.) = Pāli *he'tthato*, M. *he'tthammi* (H. 365); JM. *he'tthayammi* (Erz.), *he'tthathia* (Hc. 4,448), also *hi'ttha* (Deśin. 8,67), *hi'ttham* (Thāṇ. 179; text °im) written with *i*, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pāli, a superlative AMg. *he'tthima* (Thāṇ. 197; Samav. 66.68.72; Vivāḥap. 524.529.1412; Aṇug. 266), *he'tthimaya* (Vivāḥap. 82), *hi'tthima* (Pannav. 76; Thāṇ. 197 [6 > < beside 1 > < *he'°*]; Uttar. 1086), and a very frequent adjective AMg. *he'tthilla* (Thāṇ. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Pannav. 478; Nāyādh. 867; Vivāḥap. 128.347.392ff. 437.1101.1240.1331ff. 1777; Aṇug. 427ff.; Jiv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308. — A. *he'tti* (O female friend! Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside JM. *hale*, A. *hali*, M. S. *halā* (§ 375) goes back to **hilli* = **hali* with doubling of the *la* according to § 194.

1. So also CHILDERS s.v.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 6.—2. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 129; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 1,133ff.—3. FAUSBÖLL, *Dhammapada* p. 350.—4. PISCHEL, *Ved. Stud.* 2,88.—5. BÜHLER, *Pāyāli* s.v.—6. *Inst.* p. 118.—7. PISCHEL, *BB.* 3,255f.—8. PISCHEL, *BB.* 3,263ff. Cf. JOHANSSON, *IF.* 3,249f.—9. Impossible is the derivation from *sukhakeli*, which according to the translation of the scholiasts is approved of by WEBER, *Hāla* p. 40; 2 s.v.—10. Bhag. 1,404; Cf. E. KUHN, *Beitträge* p. 21.—11. JOHANSSON, *IF.* 3,218. As Pāli has also *pure pure'kkhāra*, *sve*, *sue* etc. (KUHN p. 58), it is unnecessary to hypothesize the existence of a "Proto-Pāli *e*".

§ 108. Sometimes *a* becomes *i* (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. Thus: AMg. JM. *tesim* = *tēsām*, *tāsim* = *tā'sām*, *eesim* = *e'tēsām*, *eyāsim* = *etā'sām*, *jesim* = *yēsām*, *jāsim* = *yā'sām*, *kesim* = *kēsām*, *imesim*, *imāsim* from the stem *ima'*, *annesim* = *anyēsām*, *annāsim* = *anyā'sām*. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, as the very rare M. *esim* = *esā'm*, *paesim* = *pa'resām*, *savesim* = *sa'resām* (§ 425 ff.).¹ — M. *jānpimo* = *ja'lpāmah*; M. AMg. *namimo*, *nā'māmah*; M. JM. *bhaṇimo*, *bha'nāmāmah*; M. JM. *vandimo* = *va'ndāmahe*; A. *lahimu* = *la'bhāmahe* etc. Their analogy is followed by *pucchimo* = *prechā'mah*, *lihimo* = *likhā'mah*; *suṇimo* = **ṣruṇā'mah*, and so forth (§ 455).² This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in *-ami*, *-ama*, *-ima*, *-amo*, *-amu*, of which those in *-ami* are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMg. *sāhijja*, *sāhe'jja* = *sā'hāyya* (Pāyāli. 215; G. 1116; Vivāḥap. 502; Erz.)³ correspond to the rule.

1. PISCHEL, *KZ.* 34,570 f.—JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronouns *ta*—, *etā*—, *ya*—, *ka*—, *ima*— were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of *i*.—2. JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, *KZ.* 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to *gaminō*, *jāpimo*. Cf. § 455. According to him, *-ima* may have been borrowed from an Aśvabhāṣa dialect, in which till now *-ima* has not been found at all.—3. According to JACOBI, *KZ.* 35,573.575, here it would be *jja* as in *sijjā*, *niijjā*, *miijjā*, the origin of *i*. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, *Hāla* p. 38, that this took place due to the influence of *ya*. But *jja* has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one *ā*, like *a* (§ 101), sometimes becomes *i*: it takes place clearly after it is at first changed into *a*. So according to Hc. 1,81, °*mātra'* may become °*matta* or °*mā'tta*, from °*mitta*, thus for example AMg. *vikatthimitta* = *vilastimātra* (Sūyag. 280), *itthāmitta* = *itthāmātra* (Sūyag. 339), *vināyaparīṇāyāmitta* = *vijñātaparīṇāyāmātra* (Nāyādh. § 27 = Kappas. § 10.52.80), *sāyaṇamitta* = *svādanamātra* (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. l. °*mā'tta*, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMg. (Vivāḥap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (Śak. 39,12; 60,15; 96,2; Vikr. 7,12; 41,13; 80,

13;84,6; Uttarar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *meṭṭaka* (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), *adimeṭṭam*=*atimātram* (Mṛcch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mg. *yādameṭṭaka*=*jātamātraka* (Mṛcch. 114,8)¹. On *mahāmeṭṭha*=*mahāmātra*, and *meṭṭhapurisa*, see § 293.—*bhisai* is = **bhāsa'ti*, **bhāsa'ti* for *bhā'sati* with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. *Ṣ geṭṭjha*, Mg. *duggeṭṭya*, A. *duggeṭṭjha*=*grāṭhya*, *durgrāhya* is formed from the present stem, therefore, = **grhya*, **durgrhya*, and so stands for **giṭṭjha*, **duggiṭṭjha* (§ 572).—*śālmali* forms in AMg. *sāmalī*, dialectically *sāmārī* (§ 88). The other form *śimbali* that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāṭyā. 264; Deśin. 1,146; Vivāhap. 447 f.; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621,5 (text *sa*⁰)), *e'kkasimbali*=*śālmaliṭṭapūspair navaphalikā* (Deśin. 1,146) belongs to Vedic *śimbala'* (flower of the cotton tree.²). The form *kupṭṭisa* beside *kupṭṭāsa*=*kūrpāsa* (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent **kū'rpāsa*.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,198.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyaṇa. BÜHLER has already criticised Vedic *śimbali* [sic], Pāṭyā. sec under *śimbaliṭṭim*.

§ 110. In the ending—*māna* of the ātmanep. pres. participle *i* sometimes occurs for *ā*. So in M. *melīṇa* from *melāi* from *mil*, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in *āgamamīṇa*, *samaṇujāṇamīṇa*, *ādhāyamīṇa*, etc. (§ 562).—*khallīḍa*=*khalvāṭa* (Hc. 1,74), which, as *khallīṭa* and *khallīṭa* has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent *khalvāṭa'* (Pāṇini, 5,2,125; Hc., Unāḍiganas. 148). In A. *khallīḍaḍāu* (Hc. 4,389) *h* seems to go back to *dha* (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For *ā* occurs *u* in *sunhā* for **saṇhā*=*sāsnā* (Hc. 1,75).—*thuva* (Hc. 1,75) is not=*stāvaka*, but=**stuvāka*=**stuvā'n* from the pres. stem. *thuva-*, whence originated also the passive *thuvvāi* (§ 494).—M. AMg. *Ṣ. ulla* (Hc. 1,82; Pāṭyā. 185; G. H.; Pracandap. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5. 6; 2,1,7,9; 2,3,2,6.11.12 [udaṭṭa]); Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107,6 [rasoṭṭoṭṭa]), M. *ullaa* [R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read *jaloṭṭaam* with ed. Bomb. 89,5]] with the denominative M. *ullei* (G. H.), JM. *ulleṭṭā* (Erz.), AMg. *ullaṇa*, *ullaṇiyā* (Uvās.), and with *o'* according to § 125. M. AMg. *o'lla* (H. R.; Karp. 27,12;69,4;94,6;95,11; Dasav. 619,18;622,8), M. *o'llaa* (R.), M. *o'lli* (H.), *o'llaṇa* (R.), *Ṣ. o'llavida* (Mṛcch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to *ārḍra*, but with WEBER,¹ to *ud*, *unda* (to moisten), *udan*, *udaka* (water), and consequently corresponds to one **udra* which occurs in *udra'* (otter), *anudra'* (waterless), and *udri'n* (watery)².—*ārḍra* becomes M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. adda* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovav.; Erz.; Bālar. 125,13), M. AMg. also *alla* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. *devāṇuppiya* is not, with WEBER,³ LEUMANN,⁴ WARREN,⁵ STEINTHAL,⁶ JACOBI⁷ to be equated as=*devāṇāmpriya*, but with HOERNLE⁸ as=*devāṇupriya*=*deva*+*anupriya*, which in Pāli becomes *anuppiya*.⁹—*āsāra* [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not=*āsāra*, that remains in M. *Ṣ. A. as āsāra* (G. R.; Candak. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but=**uśāra*. On *ajjū*=*āryā* see § 105.

1. ZDMG. 26,741; H. s. v., falsely H1. p. 261, cf. Haripāla on G. 527 *ullam itti deṭṭi dhātur ārdribhāve*.—2. P. GOLDSCHMIDT on Specimen 28. p. 84.—3. Bhag. 1,405.—4. Aup. S. s. v.; WZKM. 3,344.—5. Nirayāv. s. v.—6. Specimen s. v. 7.—Kalpas. and Erz. s. v.; cf. also E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 15. 8.—Uvās., Appendix III, p. 31.—9. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886, p. 117.

§ 112. AMg. *pārevaṇa* (Hc. 1,80; Paṇṇav. 54,526; Jiv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text *pāreva*]; Uttar. 981), *pārevaṇaṇa* (Paṇḥav. 24,57), fem. *pārevaṇi* (Vivāgas. 107)=Pāli *pāreṇa* is a dialectical form allied to M. *pārāvaa* (Hc. 1,80; Pāṭyā. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), *Ṣ. pārāvada* (Mṛcch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhas. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli *pārā-pata*. *pāre* is locative as in *pāreṇaṇam*, *pāretaraṇiṇi*, etc. AMg. *pārevaṇa* "date-palm" (Paṇṇav. 483,531) is=*pārevata*.—AMg. *paccekamma*=

paścātkarman (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of *purekamma-* (§ 345). In Pañhāv. 492, occurs *pacchākammam* *purekammam*.—*dera* (door; Hc. 1,79) beside *dāra*, *bāra*, *duwāra*, *duāra* (§ 298.300.139)=Singhalese *dera* is perhaps=**darya*; cf. *dari* (cave).—AMg. *ukkosa*, which the scholiasts translate by *utkarṣa*, whereafter WEBER¹ explains it as having developed from **ukkāsa*, and which WARREN² will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is=**utkoṣa* from *kuṣa niṣkarṣe* (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with *ud*. Generally its instrumental form *ukkoseṇam* "at the highest", "at most" is used with its converse *jehanneṇam* "at the lowest" (Aṇuttar. 3; Thān. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Paṇṇav. 52,205 ff; Vivāhap. 26 ff. 59.60 143.182.272 ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Aṇuog 161 ff.; 398 ff.; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form *ukkosaṁ* (Vivāhap. 180.371. 390 f.; Uttar. 312 ff.). As an adjective (Pañhāv. 129), beside *majjhima jahanna* (Thān. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as=*utkrṣṭa*; *ukkosiya* (Thān. 505; Vivāhap. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas) is neither with WEBER³=*utkarṣika*, nor with JACOBI⁴=*utkrṣṭa*, but is to be equated as=**utkoṣita*.—On *dhovai*=*dhāvati* see § 482.

1. Bhag. 1,443; cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—2. Over de goodsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 43, note 1.—3. Bhag. 1,443.—4. Kalpas. s. v.

§ 113. A final unaccented *ā* of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. *añṇaha*=*anya'thā* (H.), beside M. JM. *añṇahā* (G.; Kk.), JŚ. *añṇadhā* (Pav. 385,63; text *ṇhā*); Ś. only *añṇadhā* (Mṛcch. 24,4; 51,24; 52,13; 64,25; Śak. 52,16; 73,8; 76,5; Vikr. 18,8; 40,16), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 165,4); M. AMg. JM. *jaha*, *taha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. *jadha*, (Pav. 386,4; 387,24 [*ṇhā*]), *tadha* (Pav. 379,4; 381,16 [*ṇhā*]; Kattig. 398,304 [*ṇhā*]); A. *jiha*, *jidha*, *tiha*, *tidha* (Hc. 4,401) with *i* on the analogy of AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=Vedic *kathā*, which owes the shortness of *a* in Pkt. to *jaha*, *taha* and M. *kaha* (G. H. R.) (§ 103). Ś. Mg. have, in prose only *tadhā*, *jadhā* (Mg. *yadhā*), *kadham* (never *kadhā*). Ā. has in verse *jaha* (Mṛcch. 100,12). For Mg. *taha* (Mṛcch. 123,7), in verse, read *tadha*, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. *va*=*vā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25; 620,32.33); Ś. Mg. in prose only *vā*. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse: thus M. *jaha...ṇa tahā* (H. 61); JM. *kiṁ calioṇva...kiṁ vā jaliṇo* (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. *guṇe ya jadhā tadha bandho* (Pav. 384,48); AMg. *paḍisehie va dinne vā* (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. *saī*=*sa'dā* (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Kī 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69.93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,24) *i* is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is *saā* (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for *jaī*=*yadā'* and *taī*=*tadā'*. This presupposes an accentuation **ya'dā*, **ta'dā*, as in the RV., after a negative the word *kadā* is accented as *ka'dā*, on which is based M. *kaī* (H.), that may have influenced *jaī*, *taī*. *taīam*, which according to JACOBI² is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of *i* for *ā* in a post-accentual syllable and is=*tadā'*, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of *taīā*, that is like *kaīā*, *jaīā* found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; *kaīā* also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. *taīyā* (Uttar. 279); *jaīā* has not been found. These words are=**kayidā*, **layidā*, **yayidā* from *ka'yā*, *ta'yā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening

takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. *ka'dua*, *ga'dua* for **ka'duā*, **ga'duā*=*kṛtvā*, *gato* (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by JACOBI as=*sayam*. 2.—KZ. 35,575. The word has been probably quoted by JACOBI from the word-index to Hc., where *taiam*=*ṛṣṭyam* and *tai*=*tadd* occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of *ā* that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anunāsika. M. AMg. JM. *jahā*, A. *jihā*=*yathā* (Hc. 4,337). Beside *mā*, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has *mā*, *man* (read so everywhere for *mā* according to Hc. 4,418, *mā* when a short and *man* when a long syllable is required; see the Wort-zeichniss zu Hc.), beside *vinā* of all the dialects A. *viṇu* (Hc. s.v.)=**vinām* (§ 351).—*mañā*=*manāk* (Hc. 2,169), beside M. Ś. *maṇam* (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Śak. 146,8; Karpas. 31,9); JM. *mañāgam* (Erz.), A. *mañāu* (§352), also JM. *maṇayam* (Hc. 2,169; KI.10), and *maṇiyam* (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. *musam* beside *musā*=*mṛṣā* (§ 78). AMg. *sakkham*=*sākṣāt* (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116.370; Ovav.), beside Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām. 190,19). AMg. *heṭṭham* beside AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in *sakkham* also. In AMg., beside *tahā* we have also *taham* before a vowel in the phrase *evam eyam taham eyam avitaham eyam*=*evam etat tathaitat avitatham etad* (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. § 13.83). This *taham* stands for *taham* (§ 349) and corresponds to a **tatham* beside *tathā*, like *kathām* beside Vedic *kathā*. So too can A. *jihā* be referred to **yatham* beside *yathā*. Cf. §72.74.75.86. So also AMg. *sōccam*, *dissam* occurring before a vowel for *sōccam*, *dissam*, beside *sōccā*, *dissā*=*śrutvā dṛṣtvā* (§334.349). Final *ā* in the inst. sing. and *ā* arising from -*āḥ* of the abl. and of the genit. as well as of the therewith connected locative of the feminines in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* are often shortened in M.: *bandia*=*bandya*; *koḍia*=*koṭeh*; *naaria*=*nagaryām*; *vahūa*=*vadhvā* (§ 385). The corresponding forms in -*a* of the feminine in -*ā*, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of KONOW (§ 373).

§ 115. A transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; KI.1. 18.19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example *paḍamsuā* (Hc. 1,26.88.206), *paḍamsua* (Mk. fol. 34) is not=*pratiśrut*, *pratiśruta*, but=**pratyāśrut*, **pratyāśruta*, as is shown by *pratyāśrāva*. *pratiśrut* in AMg. forms *paḍamsuyā* (Ovav. s. v.); for *pratiśruta* is found *paḍamsuda* (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *puhavi*, AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *puḍhavi* (§ 51) *a* is a separating vowel like *u* in *puhūi* (§ 139), both, therefore,=*prthvi*.—*bahedaa* (Hc. 1,88) is not=*vibhītaka*, but=*baheṣaka* (Vaijayanṭī 59.351; cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *vahedaka*.—*sadhila* (Hc. 1,89), AMg. *pasadhila* (Hc. 1,89; Pannav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. *sidhila* (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89.215.254; KI. 2,17; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyādh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39.136.382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4), M. *sidhilattana*=**siṭhilatvana* (G.), *siḍhiladā* (Śak. 63,1), M. Ś. *sidhilei*, °*di* (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Candak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. *pasidhila* (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Viddhaś. 64,5), back¹ to the original **śṛthila*, *a* and *i*, therefore, represent an original *ṛ* (§52), as already noted above.—In *haladdā*, *haladdi* (Grr.) beside M. AMg. JM. *haliddā* (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982.1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. *haliddi* (Hc. 1,88.254; G.; Karp. 69,3)=*haridrā*, AMg. *hālidda*=*hāridra* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Pannav. 525; Samav. 64; Jīva 224; Ovav.; Kappas.). *a* and *i* are presumably separation vowels. On *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* see §102.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *sidhila*; cf. B.-R. s. v. *sithira* and WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 15.

§ 116. For the second *i* of *iti*=Latin *ita*, there has been preserved in M. AMg. JM. an old *a*, when *iti* stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound: M. *ia* (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Kī. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4; 48,14; 57,7; Viddhaś. 64,7; Acyutaś. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. JM. *iya* (C. 2,28; Pāiyāl. 224; Āyār. 1.2,1,1; 1,2,3,1.5; 1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere *iti*]; Ovav. § 184.186; Kī. 14; Kk.); AMg. *iyaccheya*, *iyñiṇa*, *iyāyavādi*-, *iyāvāsaladdha*, *iyavinnānapatta*=*iticheka*, *itinipūṇa itinaya-vādin*, *ityupadeśaladdha*, *itiviññānaprāpta* (Uvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. *ii* for *iya* (Sūyag. 137.203 [*iti*]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626.11,630,14; Uvās. § 114). As *i* and *ya* always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JŚ., however, has *idi* (Pav. 385,65; 387,18.24; Kattig. 399, 314); it has it whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs *ia* (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic *iti* becomes *ti*, *tti* (§92), AMg. also *i* (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes *i* becomes *u* through assimilation to an *u* of the following syllable: M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu* (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95; 2,17; Kī. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 143; G. H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,9.12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7,2,5; Pañhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13; 621,5.41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also *ikkhu* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 554; Pañnav. 33,40; Jiv. 356; Vivāhap. 1526), *ikkhūya* (Pañnav. 33,40), and similarly in Ś. we must read *ikkhu* with the MSS., instead of *ucchu* in Śak. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukmiṇīp. 42,14. In M. JM. occurs *icchu* in H. 740.775; Kī. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣāka*, see § 84.—AMg. *usu*=*iṣu* (Sūyag. 270.286.293; Vivāhap. 121.122.348.505.506.1388; Raṇap. 257; Nirāyāv. § 5); AMg. *usugāra* (Ṭhān. 86), *usuṃyāra* (Ṭhān. 383; Uttar. 421.422.449; Pañhāv. 317 [text *ikkhu*°, but cf. the commentary])= *iṣukāra* (name of a hill). Yet AMg. JM. have also *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra*¹ (Pañhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67, 1.2); AMg. *iśāsaṭṭhāna*=*iṣuśasthāna* (Nirāyāv. § 5 beside *usu*); M. *isu* (Pāiyāl. 36; G. 1145 [*kāmesu*]; Karp. 12,8; 94,8; [*pañcesu*]).—AMg. *susu*=*śisu* in *susumāra*=*śisumāra* (Sūyag. 821; Pañhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50.186), oftener *sumsumāra* (Pañnav. 47.48; Jiv. 71; Nāyādh. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text °sa°]), *sumsumārī* (Jiv. 111); but AMg. *sisupāla* (Sūyag. 161), *sisunāga* (Uttar. 205); M. *sisu* (Pāiyāl. 58); Ś. *sisubhāva* (Viddhaś. 21,12), *sisuāla*=*śisukāla* (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeva on Pañhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=*iyāstra* by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOBI, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The *i* of the prefix *ni* becomes *u* before *ma*, that has originated from *pa* according to § 248 and from *va* according to § 251: *numajjāi*=*nipadyate* (Hc. 1,94; 4,123; Kī. 4,46), *numaṇṇa*=*nipanna* (Hc. 1,94.174). The forms referred by Grr. to *sad* cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. *nuvaṇṇa* (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Deśin. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of *ma* from *pa*. Derivation from *majj* is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530.608.669 WEBER reads with the MSS. *ṇimajjasu*, *ṇimajjanta*, *ṇimajjāi*, *ṇimajjihisi*. But in another place (under 669) he refers °to *ṇu*° that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvyaṇṇakāśa, p. 123 in the old Sāradā script¹, Śobhākara, Alambkāratnākara fol. 67^b (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No. 227). Hemacandra, Alambkāracūdāmaṇi fol. 4^b (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Śabdavyā-

pāravicāra fol. 6^a, Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā fol. 6^b 22^b, whereas Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 5 has *ni*^o. Everywhere *nu* should be read. *numanta*, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by *nimantra*, is a mistaken reading from *numanna* in Hc.—*numai* (Hc. 4,199) beside *nimāi*, M. *nime* (R.) “throw down” is=*vī* “to throw” (Dhātup. 24,39) with *nī*. Therefore, the v.l. *givia* (R. 12, 30) beside *nimia*²). Sometimes dialectically the suffix-*ka* steps in for the Skt. suffix *-ika*, so that apparently *u* stands for *i*. So M. *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuyā*, beside M. *vimchia*, AMg. *vicchiyā* = *vyśeika* (§ 50); AMg. *geruyā* beside M. *geriā* = *gairika*; AMg. *neyāyā* = *naiyāyika* (§ 60); M. *jānuā* = **jñānika*; (H. 286), *akaajānuā* = *akṛtajñā*, *viṣjānuā* = *viṣjñā*, *dēvujānuā* = *daivajñā* etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. *jānuā*, Mg. *yānuā* (Śak. 115,1.9.11); *pāvāsua*, A. *pāvāsua* = *prāvāsika* (Hc. 1,95; 4,395,4), also *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu* = *prāvāsīn* (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to **pavāsu* = *pravāsa*¹ (§ 105), whence may have originated also *pāvāsua*.—AMg. JM. *duruhai* (§ 482) is not = *adhi-rohati*³, but = **udruha*⁴ = *udrohati*⁴, however, not by metathesis, of *ud* to *du* as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial *u* from **uduruha* (§ 139.141).—*yudhiṣṭhira*, according to Hc. 1,96.107.254, can become *jahuṣṭhila*, *jahiṣṭhila* (also Bh. 2,30; Ki. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of *jahu* and *jahi*. In the text we find AMg. *juiṣṭhila* (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyādh. 1287ff. [text oftener *illa*]; Ś. A. *juiṣṭhira* (Karp. 18,4; Vepīs. 102,4; Pracapḍap. 29,12; 31,13; 34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvyaaprakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on H. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from *nimi*, particularly from *nimia* = *nimita*, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s.v. *pīma*.—2. WEBER, Bhag. 1,411; LEUMANN, Aup. s.s.v. STEINTHAL, Specimen s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group *i* may become *e* (Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1, 85; Ki. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 25; Deśin. 1,74): PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. *e*ṭṭha, A. *e*ṭṭhu = *iṭṭhā* (§ 107); AMg. *āgame*ṣṣa = *āgamigyaṇṭ* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2); *e*ṇḍha, beside *cinḍha* = *ciḥna* (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); *pe*ḍḍā, beside *niddā* = *nidrā* (Bh. 1,12); *dhamme*ḷla, beside *dhammilla* (Grr.); *pe*ṇḍa, beside *piṇḍa* (Grr.); *pe*ṭṭha beside *piṭṭha* = *piṣṭa* (Grr.); AMg. *le*ṇḍhai = *licchavi* (Sūyag. 495.585; Vivāhap. 800; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. *ve*ṭṭhi (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside *viṭṭhi* = *viṣṭi* (Ki.; Mk.); *ve*ṇḍu, beside *viṇḍu* = *viṣṇu* (Grr.); AMg. *ve*ḍḍhala = *viḥvala* (Paṇḍāv. 165); *se*ṇḍūra, beside *sindūra* (Grr.). So also *kesua* from **ke*ṣṣua = *kiṁśuka* (§ 76.) This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary *i*, particularly that which has developed from *r*: *me*ṭṭa from **mitta* = **mātra* (§ 109); *ge*ṇḍhai, beside *giṇḍha* = *grhṇāti* (§ 512); *ge*ṭṭha from **giṭṭha* = **giṇḍha* for *grāhya* (§ 109.572); *ve*ṇḍa beside *viṇḍa* = *vynta* (§ 53); AMg. *ge*ḍḍha (Ovav. § 70), beside *gidḍha* (§ 50) = *grdhra*; AMg. *gehi* (§ 60) from **ge*ḍḍhi = *gidḍhi* (§ 50) = *grddhi*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *e* never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ākṛtigana *piṇḍasama* by Vr. Pkl. and under the *piṇḍādi* by Mk. Ki. in which Bh. Ki. Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include *piṇḍa*, *dhammilla*, *sindūra*, *viṣṇu*, *piṣṭa*, Hc. and Mk. also *billa*, which forms *be*ḷla, *billa* (§ 296), Bh. also *nidrā*, *ciḥna*, Mk. Ki. *viṣṭi*, Ki. *kiṁśuka* which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids *e* in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. Ś. *piṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 41,11; 69,12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mṛcch. 125,5; Prab. 46,14), Mg. *ciṇḍha* (Mṛcch. 159,23); Ś. *niddā* = *nidrā* (Mṛcch. 45,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2,6; 39,8); Ś. *viṇḍudāsa* (Mudrār. 243,2; 247,1; 248,7; 249,5,6; 259,7). In the optative in *-e*ṭṭā, *-ijjā* in AMg. and JM. (§ 91.459 ff.) *e* occurs for and beside *i*.—*te* in the

numerals, such as AMg. JM. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* (23), AMg. JM. *teṭṭisam* (33), JM. *teṭṭālisam* (43), AMg. JM. *tesaṭṭhiṃ*, *tevaṭṭhiṃ* (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMg. *teindiya*, *tendiya* (§ 438) is perhaps not=*tri*, but=*traya*, *terasa*, therefore=**trayadaśan*.—AMg. *teicchā*=*cikitsā* beside *viligicchā* *viligimicchā* (§ 215) has the strengthened reduplication, like Skt. *cikile*, *cekitat*, *cekitāna*.

§ 120. In *haraḍai*=*haritakī*, *haritakī* (Hc. 1,99.206) *a* is probably a separation-vowel like *i*, *ī* in Skt. The *ḍa* of Pkt. points to an original **hartakī*.—*ā* for *i* is taught by Hc. 1.100;2,60;60.74 in *kamhāra*, *kambhāra*=*kāsmira*, for which we should, with Triv. 1,2,50, read *kāsmira*; cf. Skt. *kambhāri* beside *kāsmiri* "gmelina arborea". Š. has *kamhira* (Mudrār. 204,2).—On *i* for *ī* see § 79ff.—AMg. *uṭṭhubhaha* "spit" (Vivāhap. 1263), *uṭṭhubhanti* "they spit"; (Vivāhap. 1264; text **bhahanti*), AMg. *aṇiṭṭhubhaya* "not spitting", (Paṇhāv. 350; Ovav. § 30,V), dialectical *niṭṭhubhā* (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as Pāli *niṭṭhubhati*, *nuṭṭhubhati*, *nuṭṭhubhi*, *niṭṭhubhana* have nothing to do with *ṣṭhiv*, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root *√ stubh* (to drive out; *stumbhu* *niṣkāśane*, Dhātup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only = "to emit a sound". The parallel root is *kṣubh* (*stubh* : *kṣubh*=*stambh* : *skambh*=Skt. *sthāpu* : Pkt. *khāpu*=*duṭṭha* : *dukkha* [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90.308.309) which occurs in Pkt. AMg. JM. *chubhai*, M. JM. *chuhai* and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli *nicchubhati* "springs forth" (from the sea)¹, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. *nirasana* (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth).—*hūṇa* (Hc. 1,103), M. AMg. JŚ. A. *viḥūṇa* (Hc. 1.103; Śukasaptati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202.1123.1816f. 1825; Nirayāv. 44; Uttar. 357.439.633.809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17;387,12; Piṅgala 1,7), AMg. *vippahūṇa* (Sūyag. 271.282; Nāyādh. 322; Paṇhāv. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as=*hīna*, *sthīna*, *viprahīṇa*, but they belong to *dhūṇa* (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from *dhu*, *dhū* "to shake off" which forms in AMg. *dhuṇai* and in M. AMg. *dhuṇai*, *viḥuṇai* (§ 503). In all the dialects *hā* regularly forms *hiṇa*. So M. AMg. JŚ. Š. *hiṇa* (G. H.; Uvās.; Pav. 382,24.25;388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. *aihiṇa* (Kk.); M. JM. JŚ. *parihiṇa* (H.; KI. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMg. *pahiṇa* (Bhag.); Š. *avahiṇa* (Śak. 30,2), M. *añohiṇa* (R.); JŚ. Š. *vihiṇa* (Kattig. 404,387.389; Mṛcch. 18,10).—On *juṇṇa*=*jūrṇa* and *tūha*=*tīrtha* see § 58.

1. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 18; FAUSBÖLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte vanskelige Pāli-Ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1888) p. 19. Not correctly TRENCNER, Milindapaṇho p. 423 f.

§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside *i*, partly have *e* in *idriśa*, *idṛkṣa*, *kidriśa*, *kidṛkṣa* : Aśoka *eḍisa*, *heḍisa* *heḍisa* (Khālsi) *eḍisa*, *heḍisa*; Pāli *eḍisa*, *erisa*, *edikkha*, *erikkha* beside *iḍisa* *irisa*, *idikkha*, but only *kidisa*, *kirisa*, *kidikkha*, *kirikkha*; M. AMg. JM. Š. *erisa* (Vr. 1,19.31; Hc. 1,105.142; Ki. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8.11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Sūyag. 197; Dasav. 626,27; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Āv. 24,3ff.; 25,31.32;27,2,6.25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitav. 555,6;562,22; Mṛcch. 151.20.155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prab. 4,9); AMg. JM. *erisaṇa* (Nāyādh. 1284; Āv. 24,10); A. *erisiṇa* (Piṅgala 2,185); AMg. *eliśa* (C. 2,5 p. 43), *aneliśa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1;1,7,2,4; 1,7,,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Sūyag. 301.434 [text *anā*], 533.544.546.549.869); P. *etiśa* (Hc. 4,317.323); Š. mostly *iḍisa* (Mṛcch. 24,20;39,11;54,1;72,19; 80,9;82,12;88,16;151,16; Śak. 103,5;104,7;123,12; 127,7;130,1;135,15; Vikr. 20,6;44,13. Ratn. 317,33;318,16.22; Karp. 19,6;21,4 etc.), Mg. only *iḍisa* (Mṛcch. 38,7;129,7;131,7;158,24;165,13;166,21;177,10); AMg. *elikkha* (Uttar. 237), *elikkhaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMg. JM. Š. *kerisa*

(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6;52,3; Prab. 10,15;39,13), JM. *kerisaya* (Kk.), Mg. *kelisa* (Prab. 46,14,16;50,14;53,15,16;56,1; Veṇis. 35,3); Ś. also *kidisa* (Mṛcch. 27,18; Śak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrār. 58,6;184,5). Doubtful forms are M. *irisaa* (H. 940), JM. *iisa* (Erz.), Ś. *irisa* (Uttarar. 26,6 beside *idisa* 26,8; Mālav. 6,1;44,18;47,3; Mahāv. 119,12.14.20; Mudrār. 233,1), *kirisa* (Mālav. 5,3,17)¹, Mg. *kiliśa* (Mṛcch. 125,2,4;132,9; GODABOLE 344,7;345,1 has *kelisa*, only 363,2 also *kiliśa*). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only *erisa*, *kerisa* and *idisa*, *kidisa* will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be **eliśa*, *kelisa* and *idisa*, **kidisa* (the v.l. often has *kelisa*). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained² *e* goes back to -*ayi*, -*ai*. From Vedic *ka'yā+dyś* has developed *kerisa*; *erisa* comes from Vedic *ayā+dyś*, like *kaīā taiā*, *jaīā* from *kāyā+dā*, *tāyā+dā*, *ya'yā+dā* (§ 113). *ayā* has been influenced by *kāyā*. In A. *aīsa=idīśa*, *kāisa=kidīśa* (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. *taīsa=tādīśa* *jaīsa=yādīśa*, as the intermediate forms for the development of *erisa*, *kerisa*. Cf. Vedic *kayasya* and AMg. *ayamsi*, M. *aammi* and A. *āammi* (§ 429). On *ēddaha*, *kēddaha*, *tēddaha*, *jēddaha* see § 122. Beside *piyūsa*, Skt. has *peyūsa*, so too Pkt. Ś. *piūsa* (Bālar. 266,19) and M.Ś. *peūsa* (Hc. 1,105; H.; Ś. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 223,5;294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On *bahedaa=vibhitakā* see § 115; in Pāṇnav. 31, in AMg. we have *vibhelae=vibhedakah* (§ 244).

1. An uncritical collection in BOLLENSON on Mālav. 5,2-5, p. 122.—2. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,134.

§ 122. Like *i* (§ 119), *ī* also may become *ē* before consonant-groups: AMg. JM. *kiddā*, AMg. *kheḍḍā* dialectical *khēḍḍa*, A. *khēḍḍaa=kriḍḍ* (§ 90); *nēḍḍa* beside *nīḍa* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jānījā*, *jāṇējā=jānīyāt* (§ 91); M. *ēddaha=idīśa*¹ with reduplication according to § 90 and *ha* for *śa* according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in Ś. Viddhaś. 71,1, everywhere *ēddahameṭta=idīśamātra*); *kēddaha=kidīśa* and on its analogy *tēddaha=tādīśa*, *jēddaha=yādīśa* (Grr.). Similarly is explained also *e* in AMg. M. JM. *āmeḷa* (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1,105.202,234; Ki. 1,15;2,9; Mk. fol. 8,16; Pāiyāl. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Pāṇnav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in *kamalāmeḷā*, Av. 29, 18ff.), M. *āmeḷaa* (R. 9,21), AMg. *āmeḷaga* (Rāyap. 111), *āmeḷaya* (Uvās. §206; read as such; Ovav.). *āmeḷa* is=**āpidya*, which passes through the stages **āpidḍa*, **āpēdda*, **āpeḍa* with *ma* for *pa* according to §248, *e* for *e* according to §66 and *la* for *ḍa* according to §240². Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatim. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as *āveḍa*. In the same way we must explain *nimeḷa* (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from **nīpidya*, and AMg. *veḍa* from **veḍḍa* for **viḍya* of the present stem *viḍya*; cf. §240. Doubtful is the origin of *e* in *peḍha* (Hc. 1,106) beside the common *piḍha=piḥha*. M. *peḍhāla* (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from *piḥhayukta*. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāiyāl. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with *piṇḍa*. *e* never appears in the passive in -*ijja* and the participles nec. and adjectives in -*añijja* in M. AMg. JM. JS. (§91).

1. The grammarians explain it by *itācat*, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by *iyat*. 2.—WEBER has correctly connected it with *idyā*, H. p. 59. The grammarians equate *āmeḷa* as=*āpiḍa*; likewise LASEN, Inst. p. 207; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakritica p.15; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v. Thereby it is only *e* that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has *ḥa* and the MSS. have *ḥa*.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times *a* in place of Skt. *u*, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has *u*. In most of such cases *a* might have been the original vowel

and the forms with *u* might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Ki. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Ś.Ā.A. *garua*, AMg. JM. *garūya* = *guru* (G.H.R.); Sūyag. 692.747.750; Paṇṇav. 8,10; Vivāhap. 126.436; Āṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Śak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9; 37,8; Priyad. 4,7; Ā. Mr̥ch. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. *garūi* (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. *garuattapa* = **gurutana* (G.H.R.), *garuia* (G.R.), *garui* (G.), JM. *garukka* = *gurutva* (Ki. 13; cf. § 299); Ś. *garuadā* (Priyad. 31,12), *agaruadā* (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. *gārava* and *gorava* § 61^a. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, *a* has come in only with the addition of the suffix *-ka*; in all the dialects *guru* retains its *u*¹. — A. AMg. JM. *agaru* (Grr.; G.; Sūyag. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside *aguru* (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also *agaluja* (Ovav.); M. *kālāaru* (G.), AMg. *kālāgaru* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *gaḷoi* = *guḷūci* (§ 127). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūḍa* = *mukūṣa* (Grr.; G.; Āyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇḥāv. 160. 234.251.440; Paṇṇav. 100.101.117; Vivāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35.92; p. 269.1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyap. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Venis. 59,22). — *maūra* = *mukura* (Grr.), but Ś. *radanamuura* (Mallikām. 194,4; text *rad*^o). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūla* = *mukula* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kāmsav. 9,3; Paṇḥāv. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mudrār. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. *maūlia* (G.H.R.), AMg. *maūlija* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *maūlida* (Śak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarar. 163,5) = *mukulita*; M. *maūlāia* (Ratn. 293,2); Ś. *maūlānta* (Mālatim. 121,5; 254,2); Ś. *maūlāvijjanti* (Priyad. 11,3; read *°vianti*); Mg. Ś. *maūlēnti* (Mr̥ch. 80,21; 81,2); AMg. *maūli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Paṇḥāv. 119)². In a similar manner is explained also *kohala* = *kuṭūhala* (Hc. 1,171) from **katūhala*, **kaūhala*, beside M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*, Ś. *kodūhala* (61^a), and M. *somāra* (H.R.), *somāla* (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171.254; Pāiyāl. 88; Lalitav. 563,2) from **sakumāra*, **saūmāra* (§ 166) = *sukumāra*, while AMg. *sūmāla* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. *sukumāla* (Vivāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7.16.21; Jiv. 350.549.938; Paṇḥāv. 278. 284; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also *suumāra* (Śak. 2,14), Ś. only *suumāra* (Mr̥ch. 37,5; Śak. 19,6; 54,4), *sukumāra* (Vikr. 5,9), JM. *sukumārayā* = *°ratā* (Erz.). *somāla* has been taken over to Skt. as well³. *soamalla* = *saukumārya* (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second *u* to *a*, as AMg. JM. too have *dugamchā*, beside *dugumchā* = *jugupsā* (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. *avarim* = *upa'ri* (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. *uvari* (Hc. 1,108; H.R.; Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samav. 101; Rāyap. 62; Vivāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Ś. *uvari* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 41,22; Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8), Ś. *uvaridana* (Mr̥ch. 42,13), Mg. *uvali* (Mr̥ch. 134,8), AMg. *uppiṃ*. (§ 148). To *avarim* belongs M. *avarilla* (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāiyāl. 175) as well as *varilla* (Karp. 56,7; 70,8; 95,11). In the same way is explained *a* in M. *avahovāsa*, *avahoāsa* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)⁴, beside AMg. *ubhaopāsam* (Samav. 151; Ovav.), *ubhayopāsam* (Paṇḥāv. 258), *ubhaopāsīm* (Samav. 98; Jiv. 496f.500.502.504; Nāyādh. 275; Vivāhap. 826.830), *ubhaopāse* (Kappas. p. 96,24), *ubhayokālam* (Hc. 2,138), *ubhaokāleṇam* (Ovav.) *ubhao* (Vivāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is = **ubhata* for *ubhayatas*⁵ from *ubha'*, *avaho* = **uba'thas* (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived *avaha*, and according to some (Hc. 2,138), is derived also *uvaha*. So also *bhamajā* = **bhruvakā* (§ 124) and *avajjhā* = *upādhyāya* (Deśin. 1,37; cf. § 28). — *tarakṣu*, in AMg. has become an *a*-stem: *taraccha* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine *taracchī* (Paṇṇav. 368). On *kattha* = *kutra*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kaohinto* = *katāḥ*, see § 293.428, on *jahiṭṭhila*, *jahuṭṭhila* = *yudhiṭṭhira*, § 118.

1. BOLLESEN wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is

garu, and when, a substantive, it is *guru*. In Jiv. 224, *garu* is a false reading, likewise Sak., ed. BÖHTLINGK 79,9;86,3.—2. On *mañḍa* and *mañḍa* cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 31, 324.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 10,135ff.—Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 81; WEBER, ZDMG. 28,390—LEUMANN, Aup. S.s.v.

§ 124. Beside *tumburu* (*Diospyros embryopteris*) there occur dialectically *ṣimbaru* (Deśin. 4,3) and *ṣimbaruṣa* (Pāṇyā. 258). In lieu of *u* there appears *i* as a separation-vowel¹ in all the dialects in *purisa*, Mg. *puliṣa*=*puruṣa* (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Ki. 1,26; Mk. fol. 9; e.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203; Paṇhāv. 222; Thāṇ. 360 and very often; JM.: Erz.; JŚ.: Kattig. 401,345; Ś: Mṛcch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25;29,3; Śak. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 113,21;116,17;157,14; Prab. 51,8;53,11;62,7; D.: Mṛcch. 104,7); *paūrisa* (Grr.), JM. *porisa*, AMg. *porisi*, *porasiṣa*, *aporisiṣa* (§ 61^a). False is AMg. JM. *porusa* in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35. In Ś. *purusoṭtama* (Vikr. 35,15) the *u* has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of *purūrava*-, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatīm. 73,6. Otherwise it is always *purisoṭtama* (Mālatīm. 266,4. Venis. 97,9), in Ś. and *puliṣoṭtama* in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. JM.Ś. *bhuḍi* (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.; Vivāgas. 90,121,144,157; Nāyādh. 753,1310,1312; Vivāhap. 237,254; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venis. 60,5;61,18; Bālar. 270,5); AMg. also *bhūḍi* (Paṇhāv. 162,285) the *i* is not=*u* in *bhrukuṣi*, but=*r* in *bhrkuṣi*. False is M. *bhuḍi* (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as *huḍi* (Acyutaś. 58). On the other hand *a* stands for *u* according to § 123 in *bhamayā* (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. *bhamuhā* (§ 206; Pāṇyā. 251; Āyār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovav.; Kappas.), A. *bhōhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. *bhumā* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121;2,167; Ki. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.), AMg. *bhumayā* (Pāṇyā. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), *bhumagā* (Paṇhāv. 272,285 [text *bhū*]; Uvās.); *bhumā* (Ovav. s.v. *koṭṭkuiya*). Cf. § 206,254,261.—AMg. *chiya* (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112;2,117; Nandis. 380) is not=*kṣuta*, but onomatopoeically=**chita*, corresponding to German *tsi*! To this refer AMg. *chiyamāna* (convalescent; Āyār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way is to be explained *chikka* (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. *chikkā*, *chikkana*.—On *sūhava*=*subhaga* see § 62, on *mūsala*=*musala*, § 66.

1. ZIMMER, KZ. 24,220 f.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,615; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 51.

§ 125. Like *i* becoming *e*, (§ 119), before consonant-groups *u* may become *o* (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1,116; Ki. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in Ś. except in *muktā* and *puṣkara*, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. *kham-dakoṃḍisa*=*skandakuṇḍinah* (6,19); M. *gōccha*=*guccha* (H.R.), *gōcchaa* (H.), M. *toṇḍa* (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. *tuṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 112,8); *mōṇḍa* (Grr.), but M.Ś.Mg. *muṇḍa* (G.; Mṛcch. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); Ś. *poṭṭkhara*=*puṣkara* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 2,16; 54,2;95,11), and AMg. JM. *pukkhara* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *pukkharakkha*=*puṣkarākṣa* (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. Ś. *poṭṭkhariṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2 [text *ra*]; Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. JM. *pukkhariṇi* (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. *poṣkaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 112,11) and *puskaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 113,22); AMg. *poṇḍariya* (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and JM. *puṇḍariya* (Erz.), Ś. *puṇḍariya* (Mālatīm. 122,2); JM. *koṭṭima* (Grr.; Erz.), beside M. *kuṭṭima* (R.); Ś. *poṭṭhaa*=*pustaka* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. *poṭṭhaya* (Ovav.); *toḍḍhaa*=*lubdhaka* (Grr.; Pāṇyā. 248); M. *mōṭṭhā*=*mustā* (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.Ś. *mōḡgara*=*mudgara* (Grr.; R.; Bālar. 245,18;251,3) beside *muggara* (R.); AMg. JŚ. *poḡgala*=*puḡgala* (Hc. 1,116; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),

beside JŚ.Mg. *puggala* (Pav. 384,36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); M.Ś. *mōṭṭā* (Bh.; Kī.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside M.Ś. *muttā* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. *muttāhala* = *muktāphala* (Karp. 72,3.8; 73,9), M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary *ō*, see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside *duṭṭa*, AMg. *dugulla*, according to grammarians, there occurs also *duṭṭa* (§ 90).—AMg. *uvvīdha*, which according to Hc. 1,120 = *udvīdha*, belongs rather to *uvvīhai* = *udvīdhyati* from *vidh* (*vyadh*) with *ud* (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388 : *se jahā nāmae ke i purise...usum...uvvīhai uvvīhittā...tassa usussa...uvvīdhassa samānassa*. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of *liḍha*, from *lih*, *mīdha*, from *mih*, from the secondary root *vih* = *viḍh*. *udvīdha* forms regularly *uvvīdha* (Hc. 1,120; Śak. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On *u* for *ū* see § 80-82. For *nūpura*, all the dialects have *neura*, Mg. *neula*, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as *nepūra*, *nepura*, which may be set side by side with Skt. *keyūra*, Pkt. *keūra* : cf. Ś. *neurakeūram*, (Bālar. 248,17), A. *neurakeurao* (Piṅgala 1,26). So M.Ś. *neura* (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Kī. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18; 114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. *neurilla* = *nūpuravat* (G.); *saṇeura* (Mālav. 37,15; 43,2); AMg. JM. *neura* (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]; 3,34 p. 35; Pāṇyāl. 118; Paṇhāv. 236.514; Nāyādh. § 65.102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6); Mg. *neula* (Mṛcch. 99,7.10); A. *neura* (Piṅgala 1,17.22.26). Hc. 1,123; Deśin. 4,28 knows also *niura* and 1,123 *nūra*; Pratāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading *nūburāiṇ*.

§ 127. Like *ū* (§ 125), before consonant-groups *ū* also may become *ō* : AMg. *koṭṭpara* = *kūṭpara* (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. *kuppara* (G.); AMg. JM. *mōṭṭa* = *mūṭṭa*¹ (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; 2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. *amōṭṭa* (G.), beside the more frequent *mulla* (§ 83). Like *ō* from *u* (§ 66), the *ō* from *ū* is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. *toṇa* = *tūṇa* (Hc. 1,125; Paṇṇav. 72.79.81.83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyādh. 1426), beside Ś. *tūṇi* (Veṇis. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. *tonīra* = *tūṇira* (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); *thonā* beside *thūṇā* = *sthūṇā* (Hc. 1,125). They go back to **toṇṇa*, **toṇṇiru*, **thoṇṇā* from **tulna*, **tulnira*, **sthulnā*². A similar explanation holds good for M. *thora* from **thōṛra* = *sthōṛa* (Hc. 1,124.255; 2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11; 64,2; 74,7; 81,4) beside AMg. JM. *thulla* = *sthūla* (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15.42), *aiṭhulla* (Āv. 22,35) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla* (Āyār. p. 133, 33; 136,3; Sūyag. 286; Paṇhāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303.305; Karp. 72,1; Hāsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 *thulla*, 22,33 *aiṭhulla* should be corrected]). Further for AMg. *ṇāṅgola* = *lāṅgūla* (Nāyādh. 502), *ṇāṅgoli* = *lāṅgūlin* (Jiv. 345), *ṇāṅgoliya* = *lāṅgūlika* (Jiv. 392), beside *ṇāṅgula* (Jiv. 883.886.887), *goṇāṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *ṇāṅgūli* (Aṇuog. 349), and M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *tambola* = *tāmbūla* (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8; G.; Aṇuog. 61; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mṛcch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kaśīnsav. 55,13 [text *tamboṭṭa*]), AMg. *tambolaṇa* (Sūyag. 250), *tamboli* (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The *o* presupposes final accentuation in *lāṅgūla* and *tāmbūla*, in which case *l* is doubled according to § 90, as in *thulla*, *dugulla*. The process of development was, therefore : *tāmbūla*, **tambulla*, **tamboṭṭa*, *tambola*.³ In *kohaṇḍi* = *kūṣmāṇḍi*, (Hc. 1,124; 2,73; Kī. 2,73; Pāṇyāl. 146), AMg. *kohaṇḍa* = *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 111), beside *kūhaṇḍa* (Paṇhāv. 172.230.312) and *kuhaṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 115; probably

falsely) *o* is secondary. For Ś. *kohaṇḍa* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for Ś. KonoW 103,1 reads *kumbhaṇḍa*, and we must read as such also in Viddhaś. 23,2. The series was : **kumhaṇḍi*, **koṃhaṇḍi*, **korihhaṇḍi*, *kōhaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi* (§ 76.89.312) *kehaṇi* (Hc. 1,24; 2,73), *kohaliya* (Pāiyal. 146) may in the same way be derived from *kōhōdi*. Cf. Marāṭhi. *kohaleṃ. gaḷoi*=*guḍūci* (Hc. 1,107.124; § 123) may be going back to **gaḍōcci*.

1. JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *moḷla*, falsely equates it as=*maulya* which is a back formation from Pkt.—2. WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 168; HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG. 39,92ff., FORTUNATOV. KZ. 36.18. Wrongly BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3,157ff.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. § 146 d note, 172 d note; JOH. SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie p.1, note.—3. Impossible is the derivation from *tāmragula* in LEUMANN, Aup. S. p.165.

§ 128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one *a* sometime becomes *i* (§ 79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes *e*, *i* (§ 84), in the auslaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes *e*, and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes *i* also (§ 85). A secondary *e* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.122). In A. *e* is shortened also in the inst. sing. in *-ena* and in the inst. plur. in *-ehim*, occasionally (cf. Saṅgitarātnākara 4,56). So *boḷliena* (Hc. 4,383; read as such); *pāṇiēna* (Hc. 4,434); *khaṇḍēna* (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); *amhēhī, tumhēhī*. (Hc. 4,371), *vaṇkēhī loṇēhī* (Hc. 4,356; read as such); *atthēhī, satthēhī, hatthēhī* (Hc. 4,358; read as such), *dentēhī* (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write *boḷliem, pāṇiem, vaṇkehī* or with the v.l. *vaṇkihī, loṇihī* etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in *-ahim, -ahī*, that are formed from the stems in *a*- (§ 308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in *-esu*, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in *-asu*, and Śākalya teaches also *tujjhum* and *tumbhum* (§ 415.422). JM. *eiṇā*, Ś.Mg. *ediṇā*, JM.Ś. Mg. *imiṇā*, beside *eena*, Ś. Mg. *edena, imeṇa* (§ 426.430) are best explained with LASSEN (Inst. § 107) as formed from an *i*-stem, which is certainly the case for *kiṇā*=*kena*, on the analogy of which are formed *jiṇā* and *tiṇā* (§ 428).—AMg.JM. *aūṇa*°, *aūṇa*° are not=*ekona*, but=*aguna* (§ 444). On JM. *āṇasu*, A. *āṇahi* see § 474, and on the causative in *-a* in stead of in *-e*, § 491.

§ 129. For *e* occurs *a* in *nāliara*=*nālikera* (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. *nālieri* (G.), Ś. *nāriela* (Śak. 78,12), and *pavaṭṭha*=*praveṣṭa*, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=*prakoṣṭha*°, which clearly forms M.Amg. *paōṭṭha* (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and *paūṭṭha* (G.; Kappas.); in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only *paōṭṭha* (Bālar. 80,1; Viddhaś. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mṛcch. 68,23ff.).—*thūṇa* (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside *theṇa*, AMg. *tena* (§ 307)=*stena*, cannot be separated from *thūṇa* (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=*tūrṇa* for **stūrṇa* "quick", "fast"; cf. *theṇilla* "fearful" Deśin. 5,32) and *velu* "thief" § 243.—AMg.JM.JŚ. *dosa* (bate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121; for example Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 198; Paṇṇav. 638; Dasav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199.446.648.707.822.876.902.910 ff.; Vivāhap. 125.832.1026; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 384,54; 385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMg.JM.JŚ. *padosa, paosa* (Sūyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=*dveṣa*, *pradveṣa*°, but=*doṣa, pradōṣa* with a change of meaning.³ Add to it also *doṣākaraṇa* (anger; Deśin. 5.51). *dveṣa* becomes *bosa* (§ 300).

1. So wrongly also LASSEN, Inst. p.136, note *. —2. CHILDERS, s.v.; WEBER, Bhag. s.v.; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; Erz. p.xxv, note 1; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; KLATT, Rṣabhap. s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 23.—3. FUSCHEL, BB. 13,14ff.

fol. 29; Pāṭyā. 245; Thān. 40), *garihāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *garihasi* (Sūyag. 912; read *ra^a), JM. *garihasu* (Erz. 42,18); AMg. *rayaṇi*=*aratni* (§ 141)¹; AMg. *rahasa*=*hrasva*, M.Amg. Ś.A. *dihara*=*dirgha* (§ 354); AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthini* (§ 358); AMg. *haraya*=*hrada* (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f.; Vivāhap. 105,194,270). A. *garāsa*=*grāsa* (Piṅgala 2,140), *tarāsai*=*trasyati* (P.2,96), *paramāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (P. 1,28), *parasanna*=*prasanna* (P. 2,49), *parāvahi*=*prāpnuvanti* (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. *raṇa*=*ratna* (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk fol. 29; G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *rayaṇa* (§ 70; C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. *radana* (Mṛcch. 52,9; 68,25; 70,24; 71,1; Śak. 38, 5; 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc.² D. *radana* (Mṛcch. 101, 12; 159, 12, 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. *ladaṇa*, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117,5), Ś. *sattuhana*=*satruggha* (Bālar. 310,15; Anarghar. 317,17), beside *sattuggha* (Bālar. 151,1); M.Ś. *śalāhā*=*ślāghā* (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2, 101; Ki. 2, 57; Mk. fol. 30; G.; Caṇḍak. 95,8), M. *śalāhāṇa*=*ślāghana* (H.); *śalahai* (Hc. 4,88), M. *śalāhamāṇa* (H.), *ahīśalāhamāṇa* (G.), *śalāhanijja* (H.), Ś *śalāhanja* (Mṛcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304, 18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. *śalāhanja* (Mṛcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. *śalāhiadi* (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. *śalahijjasu*, *śalahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,95,117); JM. *bhasama*=*bhasman* (Erz.); P. *dharamapatni*=*dharmapatni* (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of *gahara* from **grāhara*=*grāhra* (Pāṭyā. 126; Deśin. 2,84); *palakkha*=*plakṣa* (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMg. has *pilamkhu*, *pilakkhu* (§ 74,105); *sāraṅga*=*śārṅga* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. *purava*, and according to 4,302, in Mg. *pulava*=*pūrva* are used.³ Against the principal rule is P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4,314; Ki. 5,109; ed. *kaṣṭam*; cf. LASSEN, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. *parāṇa*=*prāṇa* (Cait. 54,10) for which read *pāṇa*, for example Mṛcch. 155,18; 166,9,14,15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMg. *ahārāṇijjāḍe*=*yathāratnikāya* (Thān. 355,356) is to be read as *ahārāyaṇijjāḍe*.—2. The printed editions write without exception *raṇa* in Ś. *laṇa* in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—3. For in Ś. and in Mg.; these are not attested by the texts (PUCHEL on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JŚ.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel *i*. In AMg. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMg. *usiṇa*=*uṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,6,4; 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132,590; Thān. 131,135; Pannav. 8,10,786ff.; Jiv. 224,295; Vivāhap. 194,195,250, 436, 465,147off.; Ānuog. 268; Uttar. 48,57), *accusiṇa*=*atyusṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), *siyosiṇa*=*śiṭosiṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862,863), beside *siuṇha* (Sūyag. 134); Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (Venis. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMg. *kasiṇa*=*kṛtsiṇa* (Hc. 2,75,104; Sūyag. 26,28,172,292,416,439,460; Vivāhap. 205; Ānuog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ovav.; Kappas.) and=*kṛṣṇa*, beside *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṇha*, *kiṇha* (§ 52); AMg. JM. *tusiṇiya*=*tūṣṇika*, beside *tunhia*, *tunhikka* (§ 81,90); AMg. *doṣiṇā*=*jyotsnā*, Ś. *doṣiṇi*=*jyautsni* (§ 215); AMg. *nigina*=*nagna* (Āyār. 2,2,3,11; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text *nigaṇa*]) with *i* in the first syllable according to § 101, beside *nagina* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), *naginiṇa* (sic; Uttar. 208), *nāgaṇiya*=Sūyag. 344)=*nagnatva*; AMg. *paṣiṇa*=*praṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17, Sūyag. 383,918; Nāyādh. 301,577,578; Vivāhap. 151,973,978,1251,1261,1408; Nandis. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *siṇāṇa*=*snāna* (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,2,1,8; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344,382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14; 134,9; 150,7; 260,4); AMg. *asiṇāṇa* (Dasav. 626,39), *pāosiṇāṇa*=

prātaḥsnāna (Sūyag. 337), *siṇāi=snāti* (Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 340); *asiṇāittā* (Sūyag. 994), *siṇāyanta-*, *siṇāyanti* (Dasav. 626,37.38), probably incorrectly also *Ś. siṇāveṇti* (Cait. 44,13), *siṇāyaga=snātaka* (Sūyag. 929.933.940), *siṇāyaya* (Uttar. 755; text *siṇāio*); P. *sināta=snāta* (Hc. 4, 314), *kalasinānena=kṛtasnānena* (Hc. 4,322; read as such); *siviṇa*, *simiṇa*, *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa=soapna* (§ 177). *i* is a separation vowel also in the declension of *rājan*, as in inst. sing. JM. *rāiṇā*, P. *rāciṇā* (§ 399).

§ 134. 2) One of the consonants is *ya*, which except in AMg. JM. JS. drops after the separation vowel *i*: AMg. JM. *ceiya=* Pāli *ceṭiya=caṭiya* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7;2,3,3,1;2,10,17;2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thāp. 266; Samav. 101.233; Paṇhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jiyāk. 6; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; T.6,24; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *ciyatta=*tiyakta=tyakta*, *jhiyāi=dhyāyati* (§ 280); AMg. *teṇiya=stainya* (§ 307); AMg. *bāliya=bālya* (Vivāhap. 132); AMg. JM. *bahiya=bāhyāt* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10); AMg. *viyaggha=vyāghra* (Paṇhāv. 20); *Ś. diṭṭhiā=diṭṭyā* (Hc. 2,104; Mṛcch. 68,2;74,11; Sak. 52,10;167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); *hijjo=hyas* (Deśin. 8,67; Pāṭiyāl. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). *Ś. hio* (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolutive in *-ya*, for example AMg. *pāsiya*, JM. *peṇciya*, *Ś. peṇkkhia*, Mg. *peṇskia*, Dh. *paḍissudia* (§ 590.591), the optative in *-yā*, as AMg. *siyā=syāt*, *haṇiyā=hanyāt* (§ 465), *bhuṇṇiyyā=bhuṇṇiyāt*, *karēṇiyyā=*karyāt* (§ 459), the participia nec. and adjectives in *-iyya*, as *karāṇiyya*, *ramaṇiyya* (§ 91. 571), the numeral, as M. *biia*, *biijja*, AMg. JM. *biīya*; M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taīya*, *Ś.Mg. tadīa*, A. *taijji* (§ 82.91.449). The separation-vowel *i* is especially frequent in the consonant-group *rya*. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81 under the ākṛtigaṇa *cauryasama*. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *rya*. Thus AMg. *āriya=ārya* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3;1,2,5,2,3;1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Paṇṇav. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovav.); *aṇāriya* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210. 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMg. JM. *āyāriya=ācārya* (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thāp. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Dasav. 633,41;634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17;38,13,18;40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.), also *āriya* (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), *Ś. ācāria* (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13), Mg. *ācālia* (Prab. 28,14;29,7;58,17;61,5;62,1.2.6; Cait. 149,17.19;150,2.33); M.Ś. *coria=caurya* (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1), AMg. JM. *bhāriyā=bhāryā* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *viṇiya=viṇya* (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,2;381,19;386,1); M.Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya=vaidūrya* (§ 80); AMg. *sūriya* (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040. 1273.1282; Ovav. § 163; Kappas.), *asūriya* (Sūyag. 273); *soria=saurya* (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Ki. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples *theria=sthairya*, *gambhīria*, *gahīria=gāmbhīrya*, and after a short vowel *sundaria=saundarya*, *varia=varya*, *bamhacaria=brahmacarya*. Corresponding to AMg. *moriyaputta=mauryaputra* (Samav. 123.151; Bhag.), JM. *moriyavamsa=mauryavamsa* (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has *molīa=maurya* (Mudrār. 268,1). After a short vowel *i* has entered into the group *rya* in AMg. *tiṇiyam=tiṇyak* (Āyār. 1, 1,5,2,3;1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191.273.304.397.428.914.931; Kappas.), *tiṇiyā* (Hc. 2,143), AMg. JM. JS. *tiṇiya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380.12;383,70.27); AMg. *pariyāga=paryāya* (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235.796.845; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), often beside *pariyāya*; AMg. *vipariyāsa=viparyāsa* (Sūyag. 468.497.498).

§ 135. 3) Consonant-groups with *r* besides *rya* (§ 134): PG. *parihartavān*=*parihartavyam* (6,36); M. *kiriā*, AMg. JŚ. *kiriā*=*kriyā* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.: Sūyāg. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381,21; 386,6.10; Kattig. 403,373.374); AMg. *darisaṇa*=*daršana* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyāg. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), *darisi*=*darśin* (Nandis. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *darisaṇijja*=*darśaṇiya* (Paṇṇav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); *darisai*, JM. *darisei*, Ā.D. *darisedi*=*darśayati* (§ 554); *āarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMg. *ādarisa* (Ovav.)=*ādarśa*; M.Amg. *pharisa*=*sparśa* (Vr. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāiṇal. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); AMg. *pharisaga*=*sparśaka* (Kappas.), *dupparisa*=*duḥsparśa* (Paṇḥāv. 508); *pharisai*=*sparśayati* (Hc. 4,182); *marisai*=*marśayati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. *amarisa*=*amarśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. *āmarisa*=*āmarśa* (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarar. 20,11), Mg. *āmalisa* (Mallikām. 143,11); Ś. *parāmarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mṛcch. 15,6; 70,1), *marisedu* (Mṛcch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), *marisehi* (Mālav. 38,4; 55,12); cf. Śak. 27,6; 58,9.11; 73,6; 115,2; M. Amg. JM. Ś. *varisa*=*varśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.H.; Ovav.; KL 19; Āv. 13.25; 14,12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Bālar. 276,3; Venis. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2; 259,6); AMg. *varisā*=*varśāḥ* (Hc. 2,105; Nirayāv. 81); *varisaṇa*=*varśaṇa* (Mk. fol. 29); Ś. *varisi*=*varśin* (Venis. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMg. A. *varisai* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Dasav. N.648,10; Piṅgala 1,62); A. *varisei* (Vikr. 55,2); JM. *varisum*=*varśayitum* (Āv. 40,4); Ś. *varisidum* (Mālav. 66,20), *varisanta* (Prab. 44,3; Caṇḍak. 16,18); Mg. *valisa* (Venis. 33,4); AMg. *sarisava*=*sarśapa* (Paṇṇav. 34,35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424f. 1526; Ovav. § 73); M.Amg.JM.Ś. *harisa*=*harśa* (Vr. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; Ki. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venis. 62,12; 65,7); AMg. *lomaharisa* (Paṇṇav. 90); Ś. *saharisa* (Mṛcch. 71,19; Venis. 65,7); *harisai*=*harśati* (Hc. 4,235), AMg. *harise*=*harśet* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), Ś. *harisāvida* (Bālar. 242,6); AMg. *vairā*=*vajra* (Sūyāg. 834; Thāp. 265; Vivāhap. 499.1326; Uttar. 589.1041; Kappas.), *vairāmaya*=*vajramaya* (§ 70). On *siri*=*śri* and *hiri*=*hri* (Vr. 362; C.3.30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; Ki. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

§ 136. One of the consonants is *l* (Vr. 3,60.62; Hc. 2,106; Ki. 2,59.104; Mk. fol. 29): M. *kilammai*=*klāmyati* (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMg. *kilamejja*=*klāmyet* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), Ś. *kilammadi* (Śak. 123,8; Mālatim. 135,5; Mallikām. 69,7; 133,14; 159,8; [text °ai]), M. A. *kilāmia*=**klāmita* (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M.Amg.JM.Ś.Mg. *kilanta*=*klānta* (Grr.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyap. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarar. 18,12 [text *kilinta*]; Mṛcch. 13,7.10 [text *kilinte*]; see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM.Ś. *kilammanta* (Erz.; Mālatim. 81,1); Ś. *kilamnida*=**klāmita* (Karnas. 47,12; text °h°), *adikilammida* (Mālatim. 206,4); JM. *kilissai*=*kliśyati* (Erz.), AMg. *samkilissai*=*samkliśyati* (Ovav.; Ś. *adikilissadi* (Mālav. 7,17), *kilissanta* (Ratn. 304,30); JM. *kiliṭṭha* (Grr.; Erz.), AMg. *samkliṭṭha* (Ovav.), *asamkliṭṭha* (Dasav. 642,41); Ś. *kilesa*=*kleśa* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 68,8.10; Lalitav. 562,22); MŚ. *kiliṇṇa*=*klinna* (Hc. 1,145; 2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. *kilinnai* (Hc. 4,329), beside *kiṇṇai* (cf. § 59); AMg. *kiliṇṇa*=*kliṇṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMg. *gilāi*, *vigilāi*=*glāyati*, *viglāyati* (Hc. 2,106; Sūyāg. 200.215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *milāi* (Hc. 2,106; 4,18; Āyār. 1,1,5,6); M. JM.Ś. *milāṇa*=*mlāna* (Grr.; G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cait. 73,9), Ś. *milānta* (Mālatim. 249,4), *milāamāṇa* (Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for Ś. *pammalādi* (Mālatim. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read *parimilādi* § 479); *miliccha*, AMg. *milakkhu*, beside AMg. JM.Ś.A. *me'ccha*, AMg. *mieccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105); *siliṇṇa*=*śleyman* (Hc. 2,106); AMg. JM. *siliṭṭha*=

śiṣṭa (Grr.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 38,10,12), *asiliṣṭha* (Āv. 38,8); *Ś. susiliṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 71,13; Mālatīm. 234,3), *dussiliṣṭha* (Mahāv. 23,19); AMg. *silesa=śleṣa* (Hc. 2,106; Vivāhap. 658); AMg. JM. *siloga=śloka* (Sūyag. 370,497,938; Anuog. 557; Dasav. 637,31,44; 638,8; 641,7; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *silōja* (Sūyag. 405,417,506), *Ś. siloa* (Hc. 2,106; Lalitav. 554,13; Mudrār. 162,6; Viddhaś. 117,13; Karpas. 30,3,5); *suila* (Hc. 2,106), AMg. *sukkila=sukla* (Hc. 2,106 [read as such]; Thāp. 569; Jiv. 27,33. 224,350,457,464,482,554,928,938; Anuog. 267; Uttar. 1021,1024,1041; Ovav.; Kappas.¹; JM. *sukkiliṣṭha* (Āv. 7,16).

1. The Indian editions very frequently write *sukkila* (e.g. Thāp. 339-345,348-349, 406,568, Vivāhap. 436,532,535,544,1033,1322,1323,1421,1451,1456, Paṇṇav. 8,11ff. 46,241, 379,380,481,525, Paṇḥāv. 167; Samav. 64; Rāyap. 50,55,104-110,120 (*sukilla*) etc. Sometimes both the forms stand side by side, thus Thāp. 568 *sukkila*, but 569 *sukkila*, Anuog. 267 *sukkila*, but 269 *sukkilla*. According to Hc. 2,106, the correct form is *sukkila* in spite of § 195.

§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr*, *ml* (§ 295): *ambira=āmra* (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. *tambira=tāmra* (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. *āmbira=ātāmra* (G.H.); *tambirā* (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMg. JM. *ambila=amla* (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,7,7; 2,1,11,1; Thāp. 20; Paṇṇav. 8,10,12ff.; Vivāhap. 147,532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N.656,29; Kappas.; Āv. 24,18); AMg. *aṇambila* (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), *accambila* (Dasav. 621,14); *ambiliyā* (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMg. *āyambila=ācāmla*¹ (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovav.; Dvār. 498,2), *āyambilaṣṭha=ācāmlaṣṭha* (Thāp. 352; Ovav. [text *°bilie*]). For Mg. *tikkhā-bilakeṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,19), according to v.l. in GODABOLE p. 442, we should read *tikkhambilakeṇa*.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in LEUMANN, *Sup. S. s.v. āyambiliyā* and in WEBER, *IS. 16,305*, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in -ia as in *paḍhiadi=Pāli pathiyate=paṭhyate*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍhijjāi*, P. *paḍhiyyate* (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in -aṇia as in Ś. *karaṇia*, Mg. *kalāṇia=karaṇiṣṭha*, Ś. *ramaṇia*, Mg. *lamaṇia=ramaṇiṣṭha*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja=*karaṇyā,*ramaṇyā'* (§ 91,134,571), and in M.AMg. in the ending -mīṇa=Skt. -māṇa as in AMg. *āgamamīṇa* (§ 110,562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in M.Ś. *accharia* JM. *acchariṣṭha=āścarya* (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mṛcch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2; 85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatīm. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.¹; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. *aścalia* (Lalitav. 565,11 [°ja°]; 566,3; Venis. 34,6) and Ś. *accharia* (Hc.; Mṛcch. 73,8; Śak. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25; 300,7,13; 306,1; 313,23; 322,23 etc.); M.AMg. also *acchera* (Bh. 1,5; 3,18,40; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Ki. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇḥāv. 380 [text *acchera*]), AMg. JM. *accheraṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas.; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *accheraṣṭha* (Paṇḥāv. 288), according to Hc. also *accharijja*, a form which points to accentuation as *āścaryā*, and *acchaara*, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside M. *piloṣa* (G. 589; [read as such])=*ploṣa*, *piluṣṭha=pluṣṭha* (Hc. 2,106) we have also *piluṣṭha* (Deśin. 6,51). M.Ś. *jīā* (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Ki. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=*jyā*, but=*jivā*. In PG. *āpiṣṭiyam=āpiṣṭyām* (6,37), and in inscriptions *i* frequently stands for *ī*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *accae*. Cf. § 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. *uddhumāi=*uddhmāti* (Vr. 8,32;

Hc. 4,8), *uddhumāa*=*uddhmāta* (G.R.), *uddhumāia* (R.); *khuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. § 206); AMg. *chaūma*=*chadman* (Hc. 2, 112), especially in *chaūmattha*=*chadmastha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thāp. 50,51, 188; Vivāhap. 78,80; Uttar. 116,805,812; Ovav.; Kappas.); *tuvarai*=*tuvarate* (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. *tuvara*=*tuvarasva* (H.; Śak. 77,3;79,6), Ś. *tuvaradi* (Mṛcch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); *tuvaradu* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7), *tuvaradu* (Mālav. 39,11), *tuvaramha* (Ratn. 293,31), *tuvaranta* (Mālatim. 119,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālatim. 24,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālav. 33,7;39,13), *tuvarāvedu* (Mālav. 27,19), *tuvarānti* (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. *tuvaladu* (Mṛcch. 170,5), *tuvalēṣi* (Mṛcch. 165,24); AMg. JM.Ś. *duvāra*=*doāra* (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Pāiyāl. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff.; Vivāhap. 126,4; Nāyādh.; Āv. 25,34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,8 [read as such with v.l. for *dāra*]; Ratn. 303,2;309,10;312, 22; Mālav. 23,6;62,18;65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9;38,7), *duāra* (Mṛcch. 39,3;50,23;70,9;72,13;81,25; Śak. 115,5; Viddhaś. 78,9;83,7); *duāraa* (Mṛcch. 6,6;44,25;51,10;68,21;99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. *duvāla* (Prab. 46,12), *duāla* (Mṛcch. 43,11; Cait. 150.), *duālaa* (Mṛcch. 45,2; 97,17); AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (§ 244); M.AMg.Ś. Mg. *duve*, A. *dui*=*dve* (§ 437); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *paūma*=Pāli *paduma*=Skt. *padma* (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112; Kī. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutaś. 36,44,90,94 [text *paduma*]; Thāp. 75ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 [°du°]); Ś. *paūmarāa*=*padmarāga* (Mṛcch. 71,1); AMg.Ś. *paūmiṇi*=*padmini* (Kappas.); Mṛcch. 77,13); AMg. *paūmāvaī*=*padmāvaī* (Nirayāv.), Ś. *padmāvaī* (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *puruvva*=*pūrva* (Mṛcch. 39,23; 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMg. *riuvveja*=*rgveda* (Thāp. 166; Vivāhap. 149, 787; Nirayāv. 44; Kappas.); M.AMg. JM. *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaradi*, Mg. *sumaladi*=*smarati* (§ 478); AMg. *suve* (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114), *sue* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Uttar. 103; Dasav. 639,15), Ś. *suva* (Mukund. 14,18)=*svah*. The separation vowel *u* appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in *-u* (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Kī. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in *guruvi* (Grr.)=*guroi*, while *garui* belongs to *garua*=*guruka* (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with *b* is to be corrected as *guruvi*; *taṇuvi*=*tanvi* (Grr.), M. *taṇui* (H.); *lahuvi*=*laghvi* (Grr.), M.Ś. *lahui* (G.; Mṛcch. 73,11); *maūvi*=*mydvi* (Grr.), M. *maūi* (G.); *bahuvi*=*bahvi* (Grr.); *sāhvi*=*sādhvi* (Mk.). The feminine of *prthu* is *puhvi*, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131;2,113), against which M. JM.Ś.A. *puhavi*, *puhai*, AMg. JM.Ś. JŚ. *puḍhavi* in the meaning "the earth" (§ 51,115). In the same way may be explained also the absolutive Ś. Mg. Dh. *kadua*=*kṛtvā*, *gadua*=*gatvā* from **kaduvā*, **gaduvā* (§ 581), and the absolutive in *-tuāṇam*, *-tuāṇa*, such as *kāuāṇam*, *kāuāṇa*=**kartvānam* (§ 584).—Sometimes *u* is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains *u* or *o*. Thus *murukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the *prācyā bhāṣā* that should be spoken by the Vidūṣaka (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in Ś. [text *murukha*], whilst otherwise *mukkha* is used (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 52,11,15;81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5,14;38,1,8; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 81,17,19; Prab. 50,13); P. *sunusā*=*snuṣā* (Hc. 4, 314), to which *sunhā* and *soṇhā* of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *duruhaī*=**udruhati* (§ 118,141,482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between *a* and *i* in *kasana*, *kasina*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); M.Ś. *barahi*-, AMg.Ś. *barahiṇa* (§ 406)=*barhin*, beside *bariṇa*=*barha* (Hc. 2,104), A. *bariṇa*=*barhin* (Hc. 4,422,8); *saṇeha*=*sneha* (2,102), A. *sasanehi* (Hc. 4,367,5), *saniddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. JM.Ś. *siṇeha*, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only

form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,17; 28,10; Śak. 9,14; 56,15; 90,12; 132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatīm. 94,6; Uttarak. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) *Ś. nissineha* (Mṛcch. 25, 21), *M. AMg. JM. Ś. siniddha=snigdha* (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,52; 57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24; 72,7; Śak. 53,8; 84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10; 60,6); *M. siniddhaam* (Vikr. 51,7; 53,5); *AMg. sasiniddha=sasnigdha* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6.7.9 [sasa^o]; v. l. Kappas.). Beside these forms, we have also *M. A. neha*, *AMg. JM. neha*, *AMg. JM. niddha*, *M. niddha=snigdha* (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between *a* and *u* in *puhavi*, *puhai*, *puḍhavi* and *puhuvi* (§ 139); *AMg. suhuma* (§ 131) and *AMg. suhama* (Hc. 2,101; Sūyag. 174); *Ś. sakkaṇomi* and *sakkuṇomi=sāknomi* (§ 505). Dialectically *a*, *i* and *u* are exchanged in *arh*, *arha* and *arhant* (Hc. 2,104.111): *AMg. araha-* (Sūyag. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *AMg. JŚ. arahanta-* (Sūyag. 322; Thāṇ. 288; Vivāhap. 1.1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3.4 [here the text has ^ori^o]; 383,44; 385,63); *AMg. JM. M. arihai* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyag. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Śak. 120,6), *Ś. arihadi* (Śak. 24,12; 57,8; 58,13; 73,8; Ratn. 323,1), *Mg. alihadi* (Śak. 116,1); *Ś. ariha=arha* (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4); *arihā=arhā* (Ki. 2,59); *AMg. JM. mahariha=mahārha* (Vivāgas. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), *JM. jahāriha=yathārha* (Erz.; Kk.), *Ś. mahāriha* (Śak. 117,7), *Mg. mahāliha* (Śak. 117,5); *Mg. a'ihanta-* (Prab. 46,11; 51,12; 52,7; 54,6; 58,7; 59,9; 60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Latakam. 12,13; 14,19; Amṛt. 66,2); *JM. aruha* (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside *arahantānam*, v. l. ^ori^o). The reading *aruhadi* is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (BÖHTLINGK on 17,7.8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1; 65,2), likewise we find it in Priyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in *Ś.* assuredly falsely. — *aruhanta-* (Hc. 2,111).

g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation: *AMg. daga=udakā* (Sūyag. 203.209.249.337.339.340; Thāṇ. 339.400; Paṇḍav. 353.551; Vivāhap. 942; Dasav. 619.27; 630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside *udaga*, *udāja* (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyag. 337 *udageṇa* [= *dageṇa*] *je siddhim udāharanti sāyam ca pāyam udagam phusantā*¹ [*udagassa*] = *dagassa phāseṇa siyā ya siddhi sijjhiṇṇsu pāṇā bahave dagaṇsi*. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: *M. uaa* (G.H.R.), *udāja* (Erz.), *Ś. udaa* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 112,10; 133,7; 134,7). *JM. AMg. duruhai=udruhāti* (§ 118.139.482). — *AMg. pāhaṇāo=upānāhau* (Sūyag. 384 [text *pānāhāo*]; Thāṇ. 359 [text ^ova^o, commentary ^opa^o]; Paṇḍav. 487 [text ^ova^o] 1212 [text *vānāhāo*]; Ovav. ^opa^o and ^ova^o), beside *Ś. uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), *AMg.; chattoṇāhana* (Sūyag. 249 [text *vāṇaha*]; Vivāhap. 153), *anovā-haṇaga*, ^oja (§ 77). — *AMg. JM. JŚ. posāha=upavasathā* (Antag. 19; Sūyag. 771.994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,359; 403,376); *AMg. posahiya=upavasathika* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). — *AMg. rayani=aratri* (§ 132; Vivāhap. 1563; Ovav.). — *AMg. lāu=alābū*, *lās=alābu* (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Aṇuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VII [to be read as such]), *lāuja=alābuka* (Āyār. 2,6,1,4; Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 41.1033; Paṇḍav. 31), also *lāum* (Hc. 1,66), beside *AMg. alāu* (Sūyag. 245), *alāuja* (Sūyag. 926.928 [^obu^o]), *Ś. alāu* (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in *AMg. gāra=āgāra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 126.154.345), *gārathā=agārastha* (Sūyag.

642.986; Uttar. 208), *gāri*=*agārin* (Uttar. 207), beside *agāra* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,5; Nāyādh.).—M. AMg. *rahaṭṭa*=*araghaṭṭa* (H. 490; Panhāv. 67), beside M. JM. *arahaṭṭa* (G. 685; Rṣabh. 30,47; not correctly the ed. Bomb. 47 *palliā rahaṭṭa vva*).—M. *vaamsa*=*avalaṃsa* (H. 439), AMg. *vaḍḍisa*, *vaḍḍiṃsaga* (§ 103), beside M. *avaamsa* (H. 173.180), *avaamsaanti* (Śak. 2,15).—Mg. *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakah*; A. *haū*=*ahakam* (§47). AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā*=*adhastāt* and derivatives (§ 107).—To this further belong the cases like AMg. *tīya*=*atīta* (Sūyag. 122,470; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.155; Uttar. 833; Uvās.; Kappas.).—AMg. *piṇidhatta*=**apinidhātave* (Ovav. §79,X).—AMg. *pūha*=**apyūha* (§286).—AMg. *vakkamaī*=*apakrāmati* beside *avakammaī*, Ś. Mg. *avakkamadi* (§ 481), AMg. *vakkanta*=*apakrānta* (Paṇṇav. 41; Kappas.), *vakkanti*=*apakrānti* (Kappas.); M. *valagganti*=*avalagyanti* (G. 226.551); Ś. *vaṭṭhida*=*avasthita* (Mṛcch. 40,14); *vamhala*=*pasmārah* (Hc. 2,174), where also the shortening of the *ā* points to final accentuation. Agreeing with Skt. is M. AMg. *piṇaddha*=*pinaddha* (G.H.R.; Rāyap. 81f; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). A different accent from that of Skt. is presupposed in M. AMg. JM. A. *raṇṇa*=*dranya* (Vr. 1,4; Hc. 1,66; Ki. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117.1439; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 58,9; 71,9; 72,10), beside the rarer *araṇṇa* (G.H.; Āyār. p. 133,32; Kappas.; Erz.), which is the only form in Ś. (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Mālatim. 30,9; Uttarar. 190,2; Dhūrtas. 11,12; Kaṇṇas. 46,12; Vṛṣabh. 28,19; 50,5; Caṇḍak. 17,16; 95,10); against the dialect is *pāraddhirāṇṇa* (Viddhaś. 23,9).—M.A. *riṭṭha*=*ariṣṭa* (R. 1,3; Piṅgala 2,72), JM. *riṭṭhanemi*=*ariṣṭanemi* (Dvār. 496,2; 499,13; 502,6; 505,27), beside AMg. JM. *ariṭṭhanemi* (Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9; 497,26; 504,19; 505,5); AMg. *riṭṭha* (a precious stone; Jiv. 218; Rāyap. 29; Vivāhap. 212. 1146; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.)=*āriṣṭa*, Pāli *ariṭṭha*¹, AMg. *riṭṭhaga* (Nāyādh. §61; Uttar. 930), *riṭṭhaya* (Ovav.)=*ariṣṭaka*, *riṭṭhāmaya*=*ariṣṭamaya* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), beside *ariṭṭha* (a tree; Paṇṇav. 31). Cf. *ariṣṭdātū*. Probably to this group belongs also M. AMg. JM. Mg.A. *tā*, which the grammarians and, with them, S. GOLDSCHMIDT², connect with *ta-*, but which could better be derived from *dātas*.

1. WINDISCH, ZDMG. 49,285 against whose explanation goes Pkt.—2 Prākṛtica p. 22.

§143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus : *api* after an anusvāra becomes *pi*, after a vowel, *vi*, as PG. *anne vi*=*anyān api* (5,6), *amheli vi*=*asmābhirapi* (6,29); M. *maraṇam pi* (H. 12), *taṃ pi* (G. 430), *caḍulaṃ pi* (R. 2,18), *ajja vi*=*adyāpi* (H. s.v. *vi*), *taha vi*=*tathāpi* (R. 1,15), *ṇimmalā vi*=*nirmalā* *api* (G. 72), *amhe vi*=*asme api* (H. 232), *appavaso vi*=*alpapaso'pi* (H. 265). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence *a* remains: PG. *api* (6,37), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *avi* (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mṛcch. 46,5; 57,6; 70,12; 82,12; Śak. 49,8; often in *avi a* and *avi nāma*), so in verses after *m*, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMg. *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *kālagam avi* (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMg. *-ām* remains against the rule (§68); further in AMg. JM. *puṇar api* (§342) and in AMg. JM. *jāvi*=*ja+api*=*cāpi* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5; 1,1, 5,3; Sūyag. 120; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. *keṇāvi* (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. *teṇāvi* (Erz. 10,25; 17,17; 22,9; Mālatim. 78,8), Ś. *ēttikeṇāvi* (Śak. 29,9); Ś. Mg. *mamāvi* (Mṛcch. 65,19; Śak. 9,13; 19,3; 32,3; 50,4; Mṛcch. 140,1); Ś. Mg. *tavāvi* (Mālatim. 92,4; Mṛcch. 124,20); AMg. *khaṇam avi*=*kṣaṇam api* (Nāyādh. § 137); JM. *evam avi* (Āv. 16,24); JM. *sayalam avi* *jivalayam*

(Kappas. § 44); M. *piḍḍantaṇṇāvi* = **priyātoṇṇāvi* (H. 267); Ś. *jivida-savvasseṇāvi* = *jivitasarvasseṇāvi* (Śak. 20,5). In all such cases an special emphasis is to be laid on the word standing before *avi*¹. On AMg. *app* see §174.—After anusvāra *iti* becomes *ti*, after vowels, *tī*; and long vowels are shortened before it (§92): PG. *ca tti* = *ceti* (6,37); *jivitaṃ ti* = *jivitaṃ ti* (R. 5,4), *natthi tti* = *nāstīti* (G. 281); AMg. *iṇaṃ ti* = *enad iti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3), *aṇupariyaffaṇi tti* = *aṇuparivartata iti* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *lahoṃ ti* = *labheyam iti* (Śak. 13,9), *pekkhadi tti* = *prekṣata iti* (Śak. 13,6). So in all the dialects. On AMg. *i* see §93, on M. *ia*, AMg. JM. *iya* at the beginning of a sentence see §116, on AMg. *icc* §174. In M. AMg. JM. after anusvāra and short vowels *iva* becomes *va*, after long vowels which are shortened (§92), in verses sometimes even after short vowels it becomes *vva*: M. *kamalaṃ va* = *kamalaṃ iva* (G. 668), *uaassa va* + *udakasyeva* (H. 53), *pakkehi va* = *pakṣair iva* (H. 218), *ālāṇakkhambhesu va* = *ālāṇastambhesu iva* (R. 3,1), *mahumahaṇṇa vva* = *madhumathaneneva* (H. 425), *samūsasanti vva* = *samucchvasanti iva* (H. 625), *dāru vva* = *dāroiva* (H. 105); AMg. *puṃchaṃ va* = *pucchaṃ iva* (Uvās. 94); JM. *puttaṃ va* = *putraṃ iva* (Erz. 43,34), *kaṇagaṃ va* = *kanakam iva* (Kk. 258,23). Ś. Mg. do not know the word but substitute *via* for it (Vr. 12,24). In M. AMg. JM. occurs also *iva*: M. (G.); AMg. *ṭaṅkaṇā iva* (Sūyag. 198), *mehaṃ iva* = *megham iva* (Uvās. §102); cf. §345; JM. *kiṇṇaro iva* (Āv. 8,28), *tiṇaṃ iva* = *trṇam iva*, *vammaho iva* = *manmatha iva* (Erz. 24, 34; 84,21). On A. *jīva*, M. AMg. JM. P. *piva*, *viva*, *miva* see §336.

1. BOLLSEN, Vikr. p. 156f. wrongly rejects the writings of this sort.

§144. In Ś. Mg. *idāṇim* is often used enclitically in the weakened sense of "well", "now", "then", and then it becomes *dāṇim* (Hc. 4,277.302). Ś. *vācādo dāṇim ahaṃ* = *vyāpṛta idāṇim ahaṃ* (Mṛch. 4,24), *jo dāṇim...so dāṇim* (Mṛch. 6,4,8; 147,16.17), *kiṃ khu dāṇim* = *kiṃ khalo idāṇim* (Mṛch. 13,3), *ko dāṇim so* = *ka idāṇim saḥ* (Mṛch. 28,13), *aṇantara-karaṇiaṃ dāṇim āṇavedu aṇjo* = *aṇantarakaraṇiyam idāṇim āṇāpayaḥ āryaḥ* (Hc. 4,277 = Śak. 2,5); Mg. *āyiviā dāṇim samvuttā* = *āyivikedanīm samvuttā* (Mṛch. 37,6), *se dāṇim, ke dāṇim*, (Mṛch. 37,19.25), *ē'ttha dāṇim* (Mṛch. 162,18), *toṣide dāṇim bhaffā* = *toṣita idāṇim bhartā* (Śak. 118,1). In other dialects this use is rare, as PG. *ē'ttha dāṇi* (5,7); M. *aṇṇam dāṇim bohiṃ* = *anyōm idāṇim bodhim* (Hc. 4,277), *kiṃ dāṇi* (H. 390), *to dāṇi* (R. 11,121). In the beginning of a sentence and when stress is to be laid on the meaning "now" the *i* is retained in Ś. Mg.¹ too: *idāṇim* (Mṛch. 50,4; Śak. 10,2; 18,1; 25,3; 56,9; 67,6; 77,6; 87,1; 139,2; Vikr. 21,12; 22,14; 24,1; 27,4 etc. (read so everywhere). M. hardly uses the word, but it employs *inhiṃ*, *ē'ñhiṃ*, *ē'ttahe*, that are quite foreign to Ś. and Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. have *iyāṇim*, *idāṇim* even inside sentences (e.g. Āyār. 1.1.4,3; Uvās. §66; Ovav. §86.87; Āv. 16,14; 30,10; 40,5; Pav. 384,60), metrically also AMg. *iyāṇi* (Dasav. N. 653,40).

1. CAPPELLER, Jenber Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125, who in his edition of Ratn. rightly maintained the distinction.

§ 145. An initial *a* generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root as "to be" in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically: AMg. JM. *mi* (§ 498), M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* [text *mhi*], *si*. Thus for example AMg. *vañcio mi tti* = *vañcito smi* (Uttar. 116); JM. *viddho mi tti* = *viddho smi* (Āv. 28,14); M. *ḥia mhi* = *sthitāsmi* (H. 239); Ś. *iam mhi* = *iyamasmī* (Mṛch. 3,5; Śak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [read so]; Nāgān. 2,16 [and so on]; Pārvatīp. 1,18 [and so on]; Mg. *kilante smi* = *klānto smi* (Mṛch. 13,10). cf. § 85.96.—M. *aṇja si* = *adyāsi* (H. 861), *taṃ si* = *tvam asi* (G.H.R.), *diṭṭhā si* = *dṛṣṭāsi* (R. 11,129) *mūḍho si* (G. 487); JM. *kā si* (Erz., 4,8,12), *mukko si* = *mukto si* (Kk. 266,25),

taṃ si = *toam asi* (Rṣabhap. 15); *pacādiṣṭho si* = *pratyādiṣṭho 'si* (Mṛcch. 5,3), *pucchidā si* = *prṣṭāsi* (Mṛcch. 28,21), *dāṇiṃ si* (Mṛcch. 91,18), *sariraṃ si* (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. *śante si kilante śi* = *śrānto 'si klānto 'si* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *eśā śi* = *eśāsi* (Mṛcch. 17,1). — *atthi* = *astī* is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense = “there is”, “it actually exists” and remains, whilst as copula are used M.AMg. JM. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati*, as already pointed out by LASSEN, Inst. p. 193. On AMg. *namo 'tthu naṃ* see § 175.498, on M. JM. *kim tha* § 175, on AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *naṃ* = *nūndm* § 150.

§ 146. Final *a* has dropped in the ins. sing. of *a*-stems in A.: *aggiē* = *agnikena*, *vām* = *vātena* (Hc. 4,343,1); *em cīṇhem* = *ena cīṇena* (Vikr. 58,11); *koheṃ* = *krodhena* (Piṅgala 1,77^a); *daieṃ* = *dayitena* (Hc. 4,333.342); *daiveṃ* = *daivena* (C. 4,331); *pahāreṃ* = *prahāreṇa* (Vikr. 65,4); *bhamanterṃ* = **bhramanlena* = *bhramatā* (Vikr. 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *rūeṃ* = *rūpeṇa* (Piṅgala 1,2^a); *sahajeṃ* = *sahajena* (Piṅgala. 1,4^a). In the ins. sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems, *ā*, after its transition into *a*, (§100) has dropped off likewise: *aggiṃ*, beside *aggiṇa* from *aggiṇā* = *agninā* (Hc. 4,343). On *m* from *n* see §348. In A. *a* has decayed in the absolutive in *-i* from *-ia* = *ya*, as *daī* = Ś. *daīa* (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of *strī* shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *itthi* (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97. 160), AMg. JM. *itthiā* (Dasav. 628,2; Dvār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. *itthā* (e.g. Mṛcch. 44,1,2; 148,23; Vikr. 16,9; 24,10; 45,21; 72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5; 39,6 etc.), also Ā. (Mṛcch. 148,22), Mg. *istiā* (§ 310) = *strikā*, the *i* is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by JOHANSSON¹. In M. *itthi* is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityad. 178,3), *iṭhiajāṇa* (Sukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires *itthi* for Ś.² In AMg. we also find, mostly in verses, *thī* (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483.485) and *thiā* = *strikā* (Sūyag. 285) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AMg. *itthi*. A. also has *thī* (Kk. 261,4).

1. Shāhbāzgarhi 1,149. But his etymology is not correct; Correct BEZZENBERGER, GN. 1878, 271ff. — 2 PACHEL on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 26,745 WEEBER, H.² p. 454.

h).—DROPPING OFF OF VOWELS

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially *a*, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words: *katta* “wife” (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251) = *kālatra*, **kaltra*; AMg. *piusiā* = *pitṛsvasṛkā* from **piusasiā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. *piussiā* (Mk. fol. 40), AMg. *piussiā* (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AMg. *māusiā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Pāyāl. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text *māsiā*; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text *māu siu iti*], M. *māussiā* [Mk. fol. 40; MS. *māussāā*] = *māṭṛsvasṛkā*. M. *piucchā*, *māucchā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāyāl. 253; H.), AMg. *piucchā* (Nāyādh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. *māucchāa*, *māducchiā* (Karp. 32,6. 8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of *sa* into *cha* according to §211. *pupphā*, *pupphiā* = *pitṛsvasā* (Deśin. 6,52; Pāyāl. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding BÜHLER, ZDMG. 43,146; E. KUHN, KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of *i* is without an analogy. M. *po'pphala* = *pūgaphalā* from **pūgphala*, **pupphala* (§ 125.127; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AMg. *pūyaphala* (Sūyag. 250), M.Ś. *po'pphali* = *pūgaphali* (Hc. 1,170; Sukasaptati 123,9; Viddhaś. 75,2 [text *pophalli*]); AMg. *saṇapphaya* = *sānakhapada* Sūyag. 288,822; Thāṇ. 322; Paṇṇav. 49; Paṇhāv. 42; Uttar. 1075)¹;

AMg. *subbhi*=*surabhi*' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4; 1,8,2,9; 2,1,9,4; 2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409. 590; Thān. 20; Samav. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇhāv. 518.538; Vivāhap. 29.532.544; Uttar. 1021.1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhap. 29 has *subbhi durabhi*, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has *surabhi durabhi* side by side. In *khu*, *hu*=*khālu* (§ 94) the dropping off of *a* is explained through **khlu*, by the enclitic use of *khālu*. AMg. *uppiṃ* (e.g. Thān. 179.492; Vivāgas. 117.216.226.227.235. 253; Vivāhap. 105.199.233.250.410.414.797.846; Jiv. 439.483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation **ūpari* or **uṇari*', whilst *upāri* becomes M. JM. *Ṣ. uvari*, M.AMg. JM. *uvariṃ*, Mg. *uvali*, M. also *avarin* (§ 123).—*ā* has disappeared in JM. *bhāujjā*=*bhrātrjāyā* (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.1.]).—*i* has dropped off in M.Ś. *majjhanna*=*mādhyaṃdina* (Vr.3,7; Hc. 2,84; Kī. 2,54; Mk. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikām. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also **ṇha* 46,10.17]), Mg. *mayyhaṇṇa* (text *majjhanna*; Mṛcch. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3), *mayyhaṇṇika* (Mṛcch. 117,14), beside Ś. *majjāṃdina* (Śak. 29,4). The grammarians derive *majjhanna* from *madhyāhna*, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH² has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL³; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disinclination, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disinclination is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—*u* has dropped in AMg. JM. *isattha*=*iṣuṣāstra* (Samav. 131; Paṇhāv. 322 [text *i*?]; Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1.2)*; AMg. *challūja*=*śaḍulūka* (Thān. 472; Kappas. Th. §6 [read so], with shortening of *ū* of *ulūka*, according to §80; JM. *dhīyā*, Ś.Mg. *dhidā* (Prākṛtamañjari on Vr. 4,33 *dhidā ca duhitā matā*) mostly in the compounds JM. *dāśiedhiyā*, Ś. *dāśiedhidā*, Mg. *dāśiedhidā* (§ 392)=**duhitā* for *duhitā*⁵; M. AMg. JM.Ś. *suṇhā* (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 628.631.633.634.647.660. 820.1110; Vivāgas. 105; Vivāhap. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. *soṇhā* with *o* according to § 125 (Vr. 2,47; Kī. 2,91; Mk. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in Ś. [text *soṇhā*]=*snusā*, from P. *sunusā* (§ 139), **suṇukā* (§ 263)*; so also AMg. *suṇhatta*=**snusāṭva* (Vivāhap. 1046), beside AMg. *ṇhusā* (Sūyag. 377) and Ś. *susā* (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—*ū* has dropped off in *ohala*, *o'kkhala*, AMg. *ukkhala*=*udūkhala* (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than *ulā'khala*⁷. On *ētto*, *aṇṇo* see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an *avyayibhāva*. JACOBI, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a *bahuvrīhi*, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. Vr. and Hc. p. 33f.—3. KZ. 33,573f., Altind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEU-MANN, Aup. Ś. s.v. and JACOBI Erz. s.v. explained the word with *īvastra*, that is factually and linguistically impossible, Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as=*iṣuṣāstra*. Cf. §117 HOEPER, De Prākṛita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,693 reject the derivation of the word from *dhitā* from √ *dhai*, BOLLNSEN on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another *duhidā*=*duhitā*, wherein *i* remains unexplained.—5. Wrongly JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxii, note 3, has understood the word *suṇhā* to have developed from *ṇhusā* through metathesis. AMg. proves that *ṇhusā* was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Kī. 2,91 there occurs also *gohā* beside *soṇhā*.—7. Wrongly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,582; PSCHL, KZ. 34,573f.

i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable *ya* occurs in M. A. *attha-maṇa*=*astamāyana* (H.; Hc. 4,44,2), the form has crossed also into Skt. as *astamana*; A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (Piṅgala 1,104.143) with reduplication of *ma* according to §194; *ṇisaṇi*, *ṇisaṇiā* (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)

=*niḥśrayaṇī*, *niḥśrayaṇikā*, beside AMg. *niḥśreṇī* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,6).—*va* has dropped in *aḍa*=*avaḍ* (Hc. 271; Pāiyāl. 130); AMg. JM. *em*=*evam* in AMg. *em ee*=*evam ete* (Thāp. 576. 579; Dasav. 613,9). JM. *emāi*=*evamādi* (Erz.; Śagara 8,12), M. *emea* (G.H.), AMg. JM. *emeva* (Hc. 1,271; Pāiyāl. 166 [*emeya*]); Āyār. 2,1,6,4,7,5; 2,5,1,11; Uttar. 442.633.804; Dasav. N.646,9; 650,28; 652,21; 660,29; 662,43; Āv. 19,37). In JM. *evadḍa*, *evadḍaga* (so big; Āv. 45,6,7), AMg. *emahālaya*, *femin. emahāliya* (Vivāhap. 412.415 [femin.]. 1041; Uvās. §84), *emahiddhiya* (Vivāhap. 214), *esuhuma* (Vivāhap. 1191f.; Ovav. § 140) *e* should not with HERNLE¹ be equated as=*evam*, but with WEBER² as=*iyat*, more rightly **ayat* (§153), to which AMg. *evaiyā* (Vivāhap. 212.214.1103; Kappas.), *evaikhutto* (Kappas.) and the parallel *kemahāliya* (Paṇṇav. 599ff.; Jiv. 18,65; Aṇuog. 401ff.; Vivāhap. 415), *kemahiddhiya*, *kemahajuiya*, *kemahābala*, *kemahāyasa*, *kemahāso'kkha*, *kemahānubhāga* (Vivāhap. 211), *kemahesakkha* (Vivāhap. 887), *kevaiya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Vivāhap. 17.26.209.211.239.212.734.738.1076ff.), *kevaciraṇ* (Vivāhap. 180.1050; Paṇṇav. 545ff.), *kevaciraṇ* (Jiv. 108.128ff.) M.*ke'ccira*, *ke'cciraṇ* (R.3,30.33)³, Ś.*ke'cciraṇ* (Mālatīm.125,2 [read so]; 278,8; Viddhaś. 18,11; 61,8; Kāleyak. 9,22), *ke'ccireṇa* (Mālatīm. 276,6) point. WEBER has likewise already compared Vedic. *ivat*; Vedic *īvat* stands in the same relation to *keva-*. Cf. also §153.261.434. Dropping off of *va* occurs in *kalera* (rib; Deśin. 2,53; Triv. 1,3,105) from *kalevara*=*kalebara*⁴. An isolated case is *duggāvi*=*durgādevi* (Hc. 1,270).

1. Uvās. s.v. *emahālaya*.—2 Bhag. 1,422.—3 S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica' p.23, note 1.—4 FISCHER, BB. 6,95.

§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. *ṇaṃ*=*nūndm* (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1; 1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,3; 16,17; 17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,12; 17,22; 23,10; Śak. 3,4; 27,5; 37,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,16; 22,5; 31,2; 81,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 32,23; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,10,13). The usual derivation of the word from *nanū*¹, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since *ṇaṃ* in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard AMg. *ṇaṃ* with WEBER², as the remnant of an old pronominal stem *na* and separate it from the *ṇaṃ* of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, AMg. sometimes employs *nūṇaṃ* exactly like *ṇaṃ*; e.g. *se nūṇaṃ* (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against *se ṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff.). Sometimes *nūṇaṃ* as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. JM. *nūṇaṃ gahēṇa gahia tti teṇa tie mamaṇ dinnā* (Āv. 12,28); Ś. *nūṇaṃ esa de attagado maṇoradho* (Śak. 14,11); Mg. *nūṇaṃ... takkemi* (Mṛcch. 141,1), as otherwise in Ś.Mg. *ṇaṃ*. That in AMg. JM. *ṇaṃ* is always written with cerebral *ṇa* (§224) is also an argument for its having been originally used within a word, although it may have its source in the enclisis.—M. *ḍhilla*=*sithild* (§194; Karp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian³, beside *sadhila*, *sithila* (§ 115). Identical with it is *ḍhe'lla* (poor; Deśin. 4,16), with *e* for *i* according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in *ova* (elephant-trap; Deśin. 1,49)=**dvapata*, AMg. *ovā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside *oā* (Deśin. 1,166)=*avapāta*; *kisala*=*kisālaya* (Hc. 1,269); cf. *pisalla* (§232); M. AMg. JM. *je*, A. *ji* for *jeva*=*eva* (§336); M. *dā* for *dāva*=*tāvat* 'a mā dā (R. 3,10.27) against the dialect (§185); Mg. *ghaḍukka*=*ghaḍotkaca* (Mṛcch. 29,20). In *sahia*=*sahṛdaya* (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is=**sahrd* with a regular descent to the *a*-declension. Likewise is *hia* (Mk. fol. 33), AMg. *hiya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5)=*hṛd*, Mg. *haḍakka* (§194)=**hṛdaka*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 173; BONTLINGK on Śak. 4,4 p 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 FISCHER on Hc. 1,89.

k) SAMPRĀSARANA

§151. Samprasāraṇa takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Skt.; *ya* in an unaccented syllable becomes *i*, and *va* becomes *u*: Ś. *iṣṭhi*=*iṣṭi* from *yaj* (Śak. 70,6); M. *ulta*=*upta* from *vap* (G); M. AMg. JM. *sutta*=*supta* from *svap* (H; Kappas.; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Skt. shows *ya* and *va*. Thus *ya* becomes *i*: AMg. *abhintara*=*abhyantara* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *tirikka*=*tiryakṣa* from *tiryak* (Thāp. 121,336; Sūyag. 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. *tiricchi* (Hc. 2,143; 4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text °ra°]; Hc. 4,414, 3,420,3), Mg. *tiliṣci* (Hc. 4, 295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. *tiriccha* (Bālar. 68,14; 76,19; 246,9; Viddhaś. 34,10; 124,3); AMg. *vitiriccha* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. *padipiya*=*pratyantika* (Ovav. §117; *viṇa*=*vyajana* (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Ki. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5); M. *vilia*=*vyalika* (Hc. 1,46; H.); in future such as *kāhimi* from **karsyāmi*, *dāhimi* from **dāsyāmi*, and the endings *-ihisi*, *-ihii* in M. AMg. JM. (§520ff.). On *bāhimi* see §181. In AMg. sometimes even the secondary *ya*, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes *i*: *āriya* beside *āyariyā*=*ācāryā* (§81,134), *rāiṇṇa* for **rāyāṇṇa*=*rājanya* (Thāp. 120; Sam. v. 232; Vivāhap. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).¹ *ya* has become *i* in AMg. *viikkanta*=*vyatikrānta* (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text *vi*°]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. *viikkanta*; Uvās. s. v. *vaikkanta*); *viṇayamāṇa*=*vyatitorajamāṇa* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *viṇaṭṭā*=**vyatitorajito* (Ovav.)². For *yā* has developed *i* in *thiṇa*, *thiṇa*=*styāna* (Hc. 1,74; 2,33,99), beside *thiṇṇa*, M. *thiṇṇa* (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; falsely JACOB, KZ. 35,573. The frequent interchange of *ya* and *i* in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with *i*, and for *āriya* the change to *i* has been explicitly taught by the grammarians.—2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is *vi*, and not *vi* or *va* that is to be written. The lengthening of the second *i* is explained according to §70.

§ 152. *va* is changed to *u*, before double consonants also to *o* (§125) AMg. *aṃso'tha*, *asso'tha*, *āso'tha*=*aśvasthā* (§74); *gaūā*=*gavayā*, femin. *gaūā* (Hc. 1,54,158; 2,174; 3,35°); A. *jāū*=*ydaat*, *tāū*=*tdaat* (Hc. 4,406,423,3; 426, [read *jāū*]); M. A. *turiā*=*tvaritā* (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Piṅgala 1,5), AMg. JM. *turiya* (Pāyāl. 173; Vivāhap. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). Ś. *turiḍa* (Mr̥cch. 40,24; 41,12; 170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Vcñis. 22,20; Mālatim. 284,11; 289,6 etc.), Mg. *tulida* (Mr̥cch. 11,21; 96,18; 97, 1; 98,1,2; 117,15; 133,11; 171,2; Caṇḍak. 43,8), A. D. Ā. *turiā* (Vikr. 58,4; Mr̥cch. 99,24; 100,3,11); *viṣum*=*viṣvak* (Hc. 1,24,43,52); M. *suai*, *suvoi*, JM. *sujaṭ*=**svapḍti*=*svapiti*, JM. Ś. *suṇāmi*, A. *suahī* (§497), AMg. *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa*, A. *suina*=*svāpnā* (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. *so'tthi*=*svasti* (Ki. 2,148; H.; Mr̥cch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11,19; 73,18; Vikr. 15,16; 29, 1; 44,5 etc.), *so'tthivāṇā*=*svastivācāna* (Vikr. 43,14; 44,13), *so'tthivāṇāna* (Vikr. 26,15), AMg. *so'tthiya*=*svastika* (Paṇḍāv. 283,286; Ovav.); AMg. *soṇiṇya*=*śauvanika* (dog-keeper; Sūyag. 714; but *soṇiṇya* 721). Also secondary *va*, which has first arisen in Pkt., sometimes becomes *u* through ablaut in the prefix *upa* (§155); further in A. *ṇāū* from **ṇāvaṇa*=*nāma* (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary *u* is sometimes also raised, as in *sovaṭ*, JM. *soveṇti*, *soum*, A. *soevā*; *sovaṇa*, AMg. *osovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *svap* (§78,497); AMg. *sovaṇa*=*svapāka*, *sovaṇi*=*svapāki* (§78), and *o* arising from *u* is lengthened, as in M. *soṇāra*=*svaṇakāra* (§66).—*vā* appears as *ū* in the absolutive in PG. M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇam*, P. *-tūnam*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇa*, P. *-tūna*, JŚ. *-dūṇa*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇa*=Vedic *tvānam*, as in PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūnam*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇam*, JŚ. *kādūṇa* M.

JM: *kāūga* = **kartvānam*, **kartvāna* (§ 584 ff.). On *do*, *du* apparently = *doi*, see § 435.

§ 153. Under the law of *saṃprasāraṇa* falls also the change of *aya* into *e* and of *ava* into *o*. Thus *aya* becomes *e* in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as PG *anuvasthāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati*, AMg. *thāvei*, M. AMg. JM. *thavei* = *sthāpayati* (§ 551f.); M. AMg. *kahei*, Mg. *kadhedi* = *kathayati*, Ś. *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (§ 490); Ś. *sīdalāvedi* = *śīlalayati* (§ 559). Further in cases like M. *nei*, JM. *nei* = *nayati*, Ś. *nedu* = *nayatu* (§ 474); M. JM. *dei*, Ś. *dedi* = **dayati*, Mg. *dedha* = **dayata* (§ 474); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* = **trayadaśa* = *trayodaśa* (§ 443), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* = **trayaviṃśati* = *trayaviṃśati*; AMg. JM. *tēttisam*, *tittisam* = *trayastrīṃśat* (§ 445); AMg. *nissenī* = *nīhśrayaṇī* (§ 149). — AMg. *leṇa* = *layana* (Sūyag. 658; Thāṇ. 490.515; Pañhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.). — M. Ś. A. *e'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mṛcch. 41,19; 60,12; 77, 10.24; Vikr. 45,4; Mālav. 26,10; Mālatīm. 82,9; Uttarar. 18,2; 66,1; 72,6; Hc. 4.341.2), JM. *e'ttiya* (Āv. 18,6; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *e'ttika* (Śak. 29,9; 59, 3; 70,10; 71,14; 76,6; Vikr. 25,7; 46,8; 84,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 125,24; 165,14; Śak. 114,11), *ittia* (Hc. 2,156) can neither with LASSEN¹ be referred directly to **ati* nor with S. GOLDSCHMIDT² with the support of Hc. directly to *iyat*, but it presupposes one **ayat*, from which was derived **ayattiya*, with a separation-vowel **ayattiya*, corresponding to Skt. *ihatya*, *koatya*, *tatraiya*. In the same way M. Ś. A. *ke'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mṛcch. 72,6; 88,20; Vikr. 30,8; Hc. 4,383,1), JM. *ke'ttiya* (Erz.) = **kayattiya*, **kayattiya* from the stem *kaya-*. So we must explain *e-* and *ke-* also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. Ś. (§ 149). Analogous formations are M. *je'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. *ye'ttika*, *ye'ttia* (Mṛcch. 132,13; 139,11); *jittia* (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. *te'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 139,12; Hc. 4,395,7), Mg. *te'ttika* (Mṛcch. 132,14); *tittia* (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are *e'ttila*, *ke'ttila*, *je'ttila*, *te'ttila* (Hc. 2,157), JM. *e'ttilliya* (Āv. 45,7), A. *e'ttula*, *ke'ttula*, *je'ttula*, *te'ttula* (Hc. 4, 435).

1. Inst. p. 125. — 2. Prakṛtica p. 23.

§ 154. *ava* becomes *o* through *au*, e.g. in M. *oaraṇa* = *avataraṇa* (G.H.); M. *oāra* (G.H.), Ś. *odāra* (Śak. 21,8), beside *avadāra* (Vikr. 21,1) = *avatāra*, Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati*, Mg. *odala* = *avatara* (§ 477); JŚ. *o'ggaha* = *avagraha* (Pav. 381,21); AMg. *oma* = *avama* (Thāṇ. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), *aṇoma* = *anavama* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), *omāṇa* = *avamāṇa* (Uttar. 790), *vodāṇa* = *vyavadāṇa* (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix *ava* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *osā* = *avaśyā* (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also *ussā* for *o'ssā* (Thāṇ. 339; Kappas. S. § 45; v.l. *osā*, as should read be everywhere), *bahuosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1), *apposa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,1,2); M. Ś. *osā* = *avaśyā* (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v.l. and the Drāviḍa recension 625,11, ed. PISCHEL]); M. AMg. JM. *oḥi* = *avadhi* (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *joṇijā* = *yavanikā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), but *jovaṇa* (Pañhāv. 41; Paṇṇav. 58), *javanijā* (Kappas.); M. Ś. *ṇomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mṛcch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560.9.17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatīm. 81,1; Śak. 9,11; 12,13; 13,3; 15,3), *ṇomalliā* = *navamallikā* (Vr. 1,7); M. *ṇohaliā* = *navaphalikā* (Hc. 1,170; Ki. 2,148 [°am]; H.); M. AMg. JM. A. *loṇa* = *lavaṇa* (Vr. 1,7; Hc. 1,171; Ki. 1,8; Mk. fol. 6; G.H.; Kāleyak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9; 2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15.16; 625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418,7.444,4), PG. JM. *aloṇa* = *alavaṇa* (6,32; Āv. 22,39), JM. *loṇiya* *aloṇiya* (Āv. 22,14.30.31). According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lavaṇa* only. M. AMg. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati* (§ 475f.).

The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become *o* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. *osarai*=*apasarati*, JM. *ś. osara*=*apasara*, Mg. *osaladi*=*apasarati* (§477).—*āva* appears as *o* in M. *oli*=*āvali* (Hc. 1,83, who equates it as=*āli*; G.H.R.) and in *loṇṇa*=*lāvanya* (Mk. fol. 6), A. also *salona*=*salāvanya* (Hc. 4,444,4) in rhyme with *loṇa*=*lavana*. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lāvanya* only, and so it occurs in Śak. 158,10.

§155. According to Hc. 1,173, *upa* may become either *ū* or *o*. His examples are : *ūhasiaṃ*, *ohasiaṃ*, *uvahasiaṃ*=*upahasitaṃ*; *ujjhāo*, *ōjjhāo*, *uvajjhāo*=*upādhyāyaḥ*; *ūāso*, *oāso*, *uvavāso*=*upavāsaḥ*. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (*kasyacinmate*). *ujjhā*, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69,28;72,39), stands for **ūjjhā* from **uvjjhā*=M. Ś. *uvajjhā* (H.; Karp. 6,3; Vikr. 36,3.6.12; Mudrār. 35,9;36,4 6;37,1; Priyad. 34,14.17.21;35,15), AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff; Samav. 85; Thāp. 354f. 366.384ff.; Erz.)= *upādhyāya*. There arises, therefore, *u* from *va* according to §152 and the two colliding *u*'s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in *ūhasia* (Hc.) from **uvhasia*=*upahasia*, beside the dialectical *ūhaṭṭha* (laughter; Deśin. 1,140)=**upahasta*; further in *ūāsa* (Hc.)= **uūāsa*=*upaāsa*=*upavāsa*; *ūnandī* (overjoyed; Deśin. 1,141)=**upanandita*; *ū'aṭṭha*=**upaṛṣṭa* (Pāṇīyāl. 197); *ūsitta*=*upasikta* (Pāṇīyāl. 187)¹. Against these there occur the parallel forms with *o*, not going back to *upa*. In *ōjjhā*, from which is derived NI. *ojhā*², *ō* is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. *paḍḍyāra*=*pratyupacāra*, *paḍḍyārei*=*pratyupacāraya'i* (§163) *o*, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases *o*=*ava* or *apa* according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Skt. Thus :—*ohasia* (Hc.)= *apahasita*, as *ohaṭṭha* (Deśin. 1,153)=**apahasta*, *oāsa* (Hc.) is=**apavāsa*; *ositta* (Deśin. 1,158)=*avasikta*. *ua* never becomes *o*, for the Pāli, M. *o* (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1,172 and most of the scholiasts to=*uta*, and by others is explained with *atha vā*³, is=Pāli *ādu*⁴, AMg. *adu* (Sūyāg. 118.172.248.253.514; Uttar. 90), *adu vā* (Sūyāg. 16,46.92.142; Uttar.28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), *adu va* (Sūyāg. 182.249; Samav. 81), Ś. Mg. *ādu* (Mṛcch. 2,23;3,14;4,1;17,21;51,24;73,4; Mālātīm. 77,3; Priyad. 30,13;37,14; Adbhutad. 53,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,14; 132,21;158,7), which, as sometimes *o*, is explained as=*atha vā*. *o* has, therefore, developed from **āu*, **au*.⁵

1. In the last two examples *ū* can be equated also as=*ud*, as usually it is according to § 64.327a.—2. CROOKE. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, FISCHER, GGA. 1894.419. note 1.—3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s. v. o.—4. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as=Vedic *ād u*. Cf. also FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1881) p. 25f. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5. Falsely JACOBZ ZDMG. 47,578; KZ. 35,578. Pāli *oka*=*udoka* is to be explained from **ukka*, **o'kka* according to 66. AMg. *adu* cannot be=*atah* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,422; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p.36), because *ta* does not become *da* in AMg. Cf. §203.204.

1) VOCALIC SĀNDHI

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt. : *a*, *ā*+*a*, *ā* becomes *ā*; *i*, *i*+*i*, *i*=*i*; *u*, *ū*+*u*, *ū*=*ū*. PG. *mahārājādhiraḥ* (5,2), *ārakhādhikate*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5), *saḥassāṭṭireka*=*sahasrāṭṭireka* (7,42), *vasudhādhīpataye*=*patin* (7,44), *narādhama* (7,47); M. *kaṇvārāha*=*kṛtāparādhā* (H.50); AMg. *kālākāla* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM.

AMg. *Ś. mahesi* from *mahā + isi = ṛṣi*, M. *Ś. rāsi* from *rāa = rāja + isi = ṛṣi* (§57); AMg. *savouya* from *savva = sarva + uya = rtuka = sarvartuka* (Panhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Vivāgas. 10; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. 527; Paṇṇav. 111; Ovav. 3; Kappas.), *niccouga*, *ya = nīrtartuka* (Samav. 233; Thān. 369), *anouya = anytuka* (§77; Thān. 369). In AMg. the vowels often remain uncontracted: *savvaūvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), beside *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879); *paḍhamasamaūvasanta = prathamamasanopasanta* (Paṇṇav. 65); *kakkoloustra* (Panhāv. 527); *āyariyaūvajjhāya = ācārropādhyāya* (Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Samav. 85); *heṭṭhimaūvarima* (Samav. 68; Thān. 197 [hi°]); *vōyaghaṇatidahi vataghaṇodadhi* (Vivāhap. 102); *kaṇṭhasuttairattha = kaṇṭhasūtrarahsṭha* (Vivāhap. 791); *appaūdāya = alpodaka* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *divadisāndhīnam = dīpadigudadhīnam* (Vivāhap. 82). *mahāudoga = mahodaka* (Uttar. 714); also in the secondary second vowels: *iḥmigaūsabha = iḥmygorṣabha* (Jiv. 481.492.508; Nāyādh. 721 [ha]); Ovav. §10; Kappas. §44); *khaggāūsabha = khadgarṣabha* (Ovav. §37). In other dialects the vowels seldom remain uncontracted, such as in JM. *pravayaṇaūvoghāya = pravacanopaghātaka*, *saṃjamaūvoghāya = saṃyamopaghāta* (Kk 261,25.26); *Ś. vasantussavaūdāya = vasantotsavopāyana* (Mālav. 39,10; uncertain; cf. v.l.); and in the secondary second vowel *Ś. visajjidaīsiddāra = visarjitarṣiddāra* (Uttarar. 123.10).

§158. If the second member of a compound begins with *i*, *u*, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary *i*, *u*, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2,2; of Hc. 1,10). So M.A. *gaīnda = gaṇendra* (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1), A. *gaīndaa* (Vikr. 59,8; 60,21; 63,2); J. *Ś. A. narinda = narendra* (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatim. 206,7 [so to be read]; 292,4; Piṅgala 1,21.24), Mg. *nalinda* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. *Ś. Mg. mahinda = mahendra* (Thān. 266; Mālatim. 201,5; Mṛcch. 128,8); AMg. *J. devinda = devendra* (C. 2,2; Hc. 3, 162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. *joisinda = jyotiṣendra* (Thān. 138); AMg. JM. *J. jīṇinda = jīnendra* (Ovav. §37; Āv. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,42); *Ś. mōinda = mṛgendra* (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]; 156,7) and so many compounds with *indra* in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. *māindajāla = māyendrajāla* (Āv. 8,53); AMg. *egindiya = ekendriya* (Vivāhap. 100.109.144); AMg. *soindiya, ghāṇindiya, jibbhindiya, phāsindiya = śrotrendriya, ghrāṇendriya, jihvendriya, sparśendriya* (Thān. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. p. 40, VI; Uttar. 822), A. *jibhinda = jihvendriya* (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. *taddiasindu = taddivasendu* (G. 702); *tiasisa = tridaśeśa* (Hc. 1,10); JM. *rāsara = rājeśvara* (Erz.); *parvadāsara = parvateśvara* (Mudrār. 40,6; 46,9; 216,13); M. *kaṇṇuppala = kaṇṇopala* (G. 760), AMg. JM. *niluppala, Ś. niluppala = nilotpala* (Uvās. §95; Ovav. §10; K1. 18 [ni°]; Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8; 33,2; 39,2); Mg. *nahuppala = nakhotpala* (Mṛcch. 122,19); M. *khaṇḍhukkheva = skandhotkṣepa* (G. 1049), CP. *pātukkheva = pādokṣepa* (Hc. 4,326); AMg. *gandhuddhuṣa, A. gandhuddhua = gandhoddhuta* (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. *raṇṇajjāla = ratnojjāla* (Āv. 8,4); *Ś. mandamāruduvēllida = mandamārutodellita* (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatim. 76,3), *parvadummulida = paratonmulita* (Śak. 89,13); Mg. *savouyyāna = sarvodyāna* (Mṛcch. 113,19); M. *kaūsāsa = kṛtocehvāsa, liḍhūsa = liḍhoṣa* (G. 387.536), *gamaṇūsua = gamanotsuka* (R. 1,6); AMg. *egūna = ekona* (§144), *pañcūna* (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219), *desūṇa* (Samav. 152.219), *bhāgūna, koṣūṇa* (Jiv. 228.231); M. *gāmūsava = grāmotsava* (G. 598); M. JM. *Ś. mahūsava = mahotsava* (Karp. 12,9; Erz., Mṛcch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9.12; 293,13; 295,19; 298,30; Mālatim. 29,4; 119,1; 142,7; 218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2; 113,6; Caṇḍak. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text °āssa°]; 53,19; Vṛṣabh. 11,2; Subhadr. 11,5.17); *Ś. vasantūsava = vasantotsava* (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the case of secondary

second vowels : AMg. *uttamidḍhi*=*uttama*+*ṛddhi* (Thāp. 80), *deviḍḍhi* (Uvās. *mahiḍḍhi* (Thāp. 178), *mahiḍḍhiya* (Ovav.); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. *viṣesuvaogo*=*viṣeṣopayoga* (Kk. 277,9) and Ā. *addhuia*=*ardhodita* (Mṛcch. 100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with *i*, *ū* and is followed by a simple consonant : Ś. *vāderida*=*vālerita* (Śak. 12,1); M. *kariaroru*=*kariara*+*ūru*=*karikaroru* (H. 925), *piṇoru*=*pīna*+*ūru* (R. 12,16), *pāaḍoru*=*prakaṣoru* (H. 473), *valīoru*=*valitoru* (G. 1161); AMg. *varoru* (Kappas. 33,35), *pīvaroru*, *disāgaīndoru*=*diggaḍendruru* (Kappas. §36), *egoru*=*ekoruka* (Pannav. 56), but *egūruya* (Jiv. 345ff.; Vivāhap. 717); JM. *kariaroru* (Erz. 16,12); Ś. *mantharoru* (Mālatīm. 108,1), *pīvaroru* (Mālatīm. 260,3 [so to be read]). If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg.AMg. JM. *peṇchāi*, JŚ. *peṇchadi*, Ś. *peṇkkhadi*, Mg. *peṇskadi*=*prekṣate* (§84); M. *aṇaveṇkkhia*=*anapekṣita* (R.), JM. *aveṇkkhāi* (Erz.); Ś. *aveṇkkhadi*=*apekṣate* (Śak. 43,10; 130,2); M. *uveṇkkhia*=*upekṣita* (H.); M. *peṇllia*=*perita* (G.H.). Also in the case of *i*, *u* with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. *nisārenda*=*niśācarendra* (R. 7,59); M. Mg. *mahenda*=*mahendra* (R. 6,22; 1320; Mṛcch. 133,12); M. *rakkhasenda*=*rākṣasendra* (R. 12,77); Ś. *ṇarenda*=*narendra* (Mālatīm. 90,4; 179,5); *rattoṇṇpala*=*raktotṣala* (Mṛcch. 73,12). JŚ. *pañcendiya*=*pañcendriya* (Pav. 388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with *i*, *u*, as for example Ś. *mahenda* (Vikr. 5,10; 6,19; 8,11.13; 36,3; 83,20; 84,2) which always occurs as *mahinda* in the Bengālī recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158)¹; for Ś. *ṇiṇṇoṇṇa*=*nimnonnata* (Śak. 131,7) we should read *ṇiṇṇuṇṇa* with the v.l., as there stands in M. *ṇiṇṇuṇṇa* (G. 681); for Ś. *iṇṇoṇṇa* (Śak. 29,6), the correct form will be *uṇṇuṇṇa*, for Ś. *maddaloḍḍāma*=*marḍaloddāma* (Ratn. 292,11), *maddaluddāma*². Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. *ahe-sara*, *khajāresara*, *naresara* (Erz.); Ś. *paramesara* (Prab. 14,9; 17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary *isara*, and certainly in Ś. *purisoṭtama*, Mg. *puliṣoṭtama*=*puruṣoṭtama* (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. *purisuttama* (Dasav. 613,40 [at the original place Uttar. 681 has ^oso²]; Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following *loguttama*]).

1. In any case BOLLENSSEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr. 8,11p. 176, considers that *mahinda* has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—2. Explanation of ^o in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 175, note.

§160. In AMg. *a*, *ā* is often retained, even when a double consonant follows *i*, *u*, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. *kakkejaṇaīndaṇila*=*karkatanendranila*, *mādambijaiḍḍha*=*mādambikebha*, *koḍumbijaiḍḍha*=*kaṭumbikebha* (Ovav. §10.38.48); *piṣāyoinda*=*piśācendra* (Thāp. 90), but *piśāinda* (Thāp. 138.229); *bhūyoinda*=*bhūtendra* (Thāp. 90), but *bhūinda* (Thāp. 229), beside *jakkhinda*, *rakkhasinda*, *kiṇnarinda* etc. (Thāp. 90; cf. §158); *annāya-ūṇha*=*ajñatoṇha* (Dasav. 636,17); *lavaṇasamuddoṭṭarāṇa*=*lavaṇasamudrotṭarāṇa* (Nāyādh. 966); *pehunaṭikkhevaga*=*preṇkhaṇotkṣepaka* (Panhāv. 533); *nāḍaüssi-ñcaja*=*nāvotsiñcaka* (Āyār 2,3,2,19,20); *indiyaṭṭdesa*=*indriyoddesa*, *dugulla-sukumālaṭṭariija*=*dukūlasukumārotṭariya*, *aṇegaṭṭama*=*anekottama*, *bhaja-ūvoigga*=*bhayodoigna*, *sohammakappaṭṭḍhaloya*=*saudharmakalpordhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 177f. 791.809.835.920); *āyāmaūsseha*=*āyāmotsedha* (Ovav. §10). Very

rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. *paṇaṭṭhaññjo* = *pranaṣṭoddyota*, *khaṇṇpā* = *khotpāta* (R. 9,77,78), *piṇaṭṭhaññā* = *pinastanuttambhitānana* (H. 294), *mahaññovūḍha* = *mukho-doyūḍha* (Śak. 88,2). False is Ś. *mōttiaṇṇupatti* = *mauktikopatti* (Viddhaś. 168,2), for which we should read *mōttiuppati* [v.l. °oṇṇa°]; as for example M. *piāmahuppatti* = *pitāmahopatti* (R.1,17), AMg. *aṇkuruppatti* (Paṇṇav. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17,2 Ś. *pabhoṇṇupatti* = *prabodhopatti* is to be corrected to *pabohuppatti*. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in *ittih* = *strī* (§147) : AMg. *asurakumārāittihio*, *thaṇṇiyakumārāittihio*, *tirikkhajoniyāittihio*, *maṇus-saittihio*, °*devaittihio* (Vivāhap. 1394); JŚ. *paraṭṭhiāloa* = *parastryāloka* (Kattig. 401,344), *bhūsaṇaṭṭhisamsagga* (Kattig. 402,358); Ś. *anteuraṭṭhi* (Śak. 38,5). However, there occurs also AMg. *maṇussittihio*, *devittihio*, beside *tirikkha-jonittihio* (Thāṇ. 121); JŚ. *purisittih* (Kattig. 401,345).

§161. Falling out of *a*, *ā* is also to be assumed before original or secondary *e*, *o*, but not before the *e*, *o* going back to Skt. *ai*, *au* : *gāmeṇī* (goat; Deśin. 2,84) = *grāma* + *eṇī*; M. *ṇavelā* = *nava* + *elā*, *phullela* = *phulla* + *elā* (R. 1,62,63), *ukkhapṇeṇī* = *utkhaṇḍitaikapārśva* (R. 5,43); Ś. *avalambiderāvaṇahattha* = *avalambitairāvaṇahasta* (Mṛech. 68,14), *silādaleṇṇakadesa* = *silātalaikadesa* (Śak. 56,11), *karuṇēṇṇakamaṇa* = *karuṇaikamanas* (Mālatim. 251,7); M. *kusumōṭṭhaa* = *kusumāvastṛta* (R. 10,36), *paḍhamosaria* = *prathamāpasṛta* (H. 351), *bāhumaṭṭha* = *bāṣpāvamṛṣṭa* (R.5,21), *jāloli* from *jāla* + *jvāla* + *oli* = *āvali* (§. 154; H. 589), as *vaṇoli* = *vana* + *āvali* (Hc. 2,177 = H. 579, where *vaṇāli*), *vāoli* = *vāta* + *āvali*, *paholi* = *prabhā* + *āvali* (G. 555,1008); AMg. JM. *udaōṭṭla* from *udaka* + *ōṭṭla* = **udra*, (§111; Dasav. 625,27; Āv. 9,3), beside AMg. *udaṭṭla* = *udaka* + *uṭṭla* (Āyār. 2,1,5,6; 2,6,2,4); AMg. *vāseṇōṭṭla* = *vārṣeṇa* + *ōṭṭla* = (Uttar. 673); AMg. *mālohaḍa* = *māla* (platform; pedestal; Deśin. 6,146)² + *ohaḍa* = *avahṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), *maṭṭioliṭṭa* = *maṭṭiā* = *myttikā* + *oliṭṭa* = *avalīpta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); JM. *jāloha* = *jalaugha* (Erz. 3,26), *saṁthāṇosappiṇi* = *saṁsthānāvāsarpiṇi*⁹ (Rṣabhap. 47); Ś. *guḍodaṇa* = *guḍaudana* (Mṛech. 3,12), *vasantodāra* = *vasantāvatāra* (Śak. 21,8), *kararuherampa* = *kararuha* + *orampa* (attack; Mālatim. 261,2; so to be read; cf. Deśin. 1,171; Pāiyāl. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. *vāndolanaṇṇavāia* = *vātāndolanāvanamita* (H. 637); AMg. *khuddagaṇṇāvali* = *kṣudrakāikāvali* (Ovav. [§38]), *vippahāiṇṇolamba* = *vippabhājitāvalamba* (Ovav. §4); JM. *sabhāovāsa* = *sabhāvakāśa* (Āv. 15,12).

1. In cases like *ṇavelā*, *jāloha*, *guḍodaṇa* one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the help of the compounds with secondary *e*, *o*, *o*, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 103 note 1.

§162. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, as a rule, do not undergo *saṁdhi* with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1,6) : M. *ṇahappahāvaliaruṇa* = *nakhaprabhāvaliaruṇa* (Hc. 1,6), *rattiaṇḍhaa* = *rātryaṇḍhaka* (H. 669), *saṁjhaṇṇavavavūḍha* = *saṁdhyā-vadhvaṇavagūḍha* (Hc. 1,6); AMg. *jāiāriya* = *jātyārya* (Thāṇ. 414), *jāiaṇḍha* = *jātyaṇḍha* (Sūyag. 438), *sattiogga* = *śaktyagra* (Dasav. 634,11), *puḍhaviāu* = **prithivyāpaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 742), *paṇṇavahiṇṇavaraṇa* = *prāntopadhyupakaraṇa* (Uttar. 350), *pagaiṇṇavāsanta* = *prakṛtyupaśānta* (Vivāhap. 100,174), *puḍhaviṇṇadhalaṇṇa* = *prithvyūrdhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 920), *kadalīūsuga* = *kadali* + *ūsuga* (middle, inside; cf. BÖHLINGER 2, ūsa 1) b) c); Āyār. 2,1,8,12), *suahijjiya* = *svadhīta* (Thāṇ. 190,191), *bahuaṭṭhiya* = *bahvastika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5 [to be read thus] 6; Dasav. 621,4), *sāhuajjāva* = *sādhvārjāva* (Thāṇ. 356), *sualamkiya* = *svalamkṛta* (Dasav. 632,39), *kavikacchugaṇi* = *kapikacchvagni* (Paṇṇāv. 537), *bahuosa* = *bahva-vaśya* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. *suiṣi* = *svrṣi* (Paṇṇāv. 448), *bahuiddhi* = *bahuvradhi* (Nāyādh. 990). Beside AMg. *cakkhiṇṇiya* = *cakṣurindriya* (Samav. 17) more frequent is *cakkhiṇṇiya* = *cakkha*

cakṣas + *indriya* (Samav. 69.73.77ff; Vivāhap. 32; Uttar. 822; Ovav. p. 40, VI). JM. *osappiṇiussappiṇi*^o = *atasarpinyutsarpini*^o (Rṣabhap. 47), *suapuyatta* = *suavuytta* (Āv. 11,15), *meruāgāra* (7.5.8); Ś. *santiudaa* = *sāntiyulaka* (Śak. 67,4), *uvarialindaa* = *uparyalindaka* (Mālatim. 72,8; 187,2), *uvvasiakkhara* = *urvasyakṣara* (Vikr. 31,11), *sarassadiuvāṇa* = *sarasvatyupāyana* (Mālav. 16,19), *sidāmaṇḍavūmmilā*^o = *sītāmāṇḍavyūmilā*^o (Bālar. 151,1), *dehacchaviullūcīda* = *dehacchavyullūcīta* (Prab. 45,11). Quite isolated is the dropping off of *i* in AMg. *itthatta* = *stryartha* (Dasav. 638,18) and *kimcūna* from **kimciūna* = *kimcidūna* (Samav. 153; Ovav. 30,II,e), as well as of the initial *i* in AMg. *bendiya* (Thān. 275; Dasav. 615,8), *tendiya* (Thān. 275.322), beside *beṇḍiya*, *teṇḍiya* (Thān. 25,122.322 [ve^o]; Samav. 228; Vivāhap. 30.31.93.144; Dasav. 615,8 [te^o] = *dvīndriya*, *trīndriya*. AMg. *isāsa* = *iṣvāsa* (§ 117) is directly derived from Skt.

§ 163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same saṁdhi as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (G.; Nirāyān.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; 389,1; Mṛcch. 60,25; Mālav. 28,13); AMg. *acceti* = *atyeti* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna* = *adhyupapanna* (§ 77); M. *abbhāga* = *abhyāgata* (H.); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvīya*, *abbhuvagāya* = *abhyupagamita*, *abhyupagata* (Āv. 30,9.10); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna* = *abhyupapanna* (Mṛcch. 28,18; Vikr. 8,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 175,18); M. AMg. Ś. A. *paṇḍatta* = *paryāpta* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Śak. 71,7; Vikr. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. Ś. *nivvūḍha* = *nirvūḍha* (G.H.R.; Mālatim. 282,3); M. *annesai*, Mg. *anneṣati* = *anveṣati* (G.; Mṛcch. 12,3); JM. Ś. Ā. *annesanta* = *anveṣat* (Erz.; Vikr. 52,20; Mṛcch. 148,7.8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in AMg. JM., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in AMg. and JM., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in § 162, come beside one another. M. *aiāara* (H.); JM. *aiyāyara* (Erz.) = **aiyādara* = *atyādara*; AMg. *nāiunha* = *nātyuṣṇa* (Vivāhap. 954), beside AMg. *accuṇha* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), M. *accuṇha* (H.); M. *aiujja* (H.), Ś. *adiujja* (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15) = *atyujka*; AMg. *ahijāsijjanti* = *adhyāyante* (Ovav.); JM. *paḍijāgāya* = *pratyāgata* (Erz.), beside M. *paccāga* (H.). JM. *paccāgāya* (Erz.), Ś. *paccāgata* (Uttarar. 106,10); AMg. *paḍijāikkhiya* = *pratyākhyāta*, beside *paccakkhā* (§ 565); AMg. *paḍiuccāreyaava* = *pratyuccārayitavya* (Vivāhap. 34); AMg. *pariyāavanna* = *paryāpanna* (Āyār. 2,1,9,6.11,7.8); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *paryutkṣūḍha* (§ 66); M. *viola* = *vyākula* (§ 166). In AMg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prati* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus beside AMg. M. *pāḍiēkka* = *pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; R.; Nāyādh. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovav. [read so in all the places for *pāḍiyakka*]) also *pāḍikka* for **pāḍēkka* (§ 84; Hc. 2,210); *paḍaṁsuā* = **pratyāśrut* (§ 115); *paḍāyāna* = **pratyādāna* (§ 258); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *vaccāi* = *orajati* (§ 202.590), *pāḍucciya* = *prāṭiika* (Thān. 38); AMg. *paḍuppanna* = *pratyuppanna* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 533; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.78.79.80.651; Jiv. 337.338; Apuog. 473.510ff.; Uvās.), JM. *apaḍuppanna* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *paḍoyāra* = *pratyavatāra* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and = *pratyupacāra* (§ 155; Vivāhap. 1235.1251), *paḍyāreṇu* = *pratyupacārayantu*, *paḍoyāreha* = *pratyupacārayata*, *paḍoyāreṇi* = *pratyupacārayantu*, *paḍoyarijjamāna* = *pratyupacāryamāna* (Vivāhap. 1235.1251). On M. *paṭṭai*, JM. AMg. *paṭṭiyāi*, Ś. Mg. *paṭṭiādi*, AMg. *paṭṭeya* see § 281.487.

§ 164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§ 186), is called *udvṛtta*¹. An *udvṛtta* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no saṁdhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So

M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G. H. R.²); *gaa*=*gaja* and *gata*; *paavi*=*padavi* (G. H.); *saala*=*sakala*; *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *ghāa*=*ghāta* (H. R.); *kāi*=*kati* (R.), = *kapi* (G. H. R.)= *kavi* (G. H.); *jāi*=*yadi*; *naī*=*nadi*; *gāiā*=*gāyikā* (H.); *taūsi*=*trapuṣi* (H.); *paūra*=*prapura* (H.); *piā*=*priya*; *piāma*=*priyatama*; *piāsā*=*pipāsā* (H.); *riu*=*ripu*, *juala*=*yugala*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *sūi*=*śūci* (G. H.); *aṇca*=*aneka* (G. H.); *joaṇa*=*yojana* (R.); *loa*=*loka*. The rule holds good also for compounds of all kinds: M. *āira*=*acira*; *āūva*=*apūva*; *avaamsa*=*avatamsa* (H. R.); *āaa*=*āyata* (H. R.); *uvaūdhā*=*upagūdhā*; *paūva*=*pratāpa*; *paiva*=*pradīpa*; *dāhināmsaada*=*dakṣiṇāmsataṭa* (G. 104); *saāṇha*=*satṛṣṇa* (H.). *golādaḍa*=*godātaṭa* (H. 103); *disāala*=*diktala* (R. 1,7); *vasahaīndha*=*vr̥ṣabha-cihna* (G. 425); *nisiara*=*nisicara* (R.); *saūrisa*=*satpuruṣa* (G. 992); *gandhaūdi*=*gandhakuṣi* (G. 319); *golāūra*=*godāpūra* (H. 231); *viīṇṇaūra*=*vitīrṇatūrya* (R. 8,65); *guruāṇa*=*gurujana* (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1,8 calls the vowel *udvṛtta*. In C. 2,1 p. 37 it is called *uddhṛta*. Triv. 1,1,22; Sr. fol. 9; Narasiṃha 1,1,29; Appayadikṛita 1,1,22 call it *śeṣa*, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2,89 and Triv. 1,4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§165. *Udvṛtta* vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus *a*, *ā* with *a*, *ā*: *attamāṇa* beside *āvattamāṇa*=*āvartamāṇa* (Hc. 1,271); AMg. *āra* from **aara*=*avāra* (Sūyag. 106,322) and JM. *ādara* (Kk. II); *oāva* (time of the sun's set; Deśin. 1,162)=**oāava*=*apagatātapa*, whereas *oāāa* (Triv. 1,4,121; ed. *oāava*; cf. also BB. 13,13) is=*apa-vātaka*; *kālāsa* beside *kālāsa*, as according to Mk. always in Ś.,=*kālāyasa* (Vr. 4,3; Hc. 1,269); A. *khāi* beside *khāi*=*khādanti* (Vr. 8,27; one: Kī. 4,77; Hc. 4,228; 419,1); A. *khanti*=*khānti*, **khānti*=*khādanti* (Hc. 4,445,4), *khāu*=*khādanti* (Bh. 8,27), from which a root *khā* has been deduced, from which have been formed a future *khāhii* (§525), a second person singular imperative A. *khāhi* (Hc. 4,422,4,16) and a past passive participle *khāa*=**khāta* (Hc. 4,228); *gāna* from *gāṇa*=*gāyana* (Deśin. 2,108); *gāni* (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from **gāṇāni*, AMg. *gaoṇi* (Āyār. 2,10,19)=*gavāṇi*; Mg. *gomāu* from **gomāao*=*gomāyavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 168,20); A. *campāvaṇṇi*=*campakavarṇi* (Hc. 4,330,1); *chāṇa* (clothing; Deśin. 3,34)=*chādana*; A. *jāi* from *jaai*=*jayati* (Piṅgala. 1,85^o); *dhāi* beside *dhāvai*=*dhāvati* (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,228), M. *uddhāi*=*uddhāvati* (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of *khā*, a root *dhā*, from which are formed *dhāu* (Bh. 8,27), *dhāha* (Hc. 2,192), *dhāhii* (§525), *dhāo* Hc. 4,228); AMg. *pacchitta* (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,428), beside AMg. *pāyacchitta* (Jiyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.)=*prāyaścitta*; *pāvaḍana*, beside M. *pāvaḍana* (H.^opa^o)=*pādapātana* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. JM. Ś. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (§194); *pāvīdha* beside *pāvīdha*=*pādapiṭha* (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); AMg. *bhante*=*bhadantaḥ* (§366^b); *bhāṇa*=*bhājana* (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Kī. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only *bhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,6; Śak. 72,16; 103,9; Prab. 59,4; Venis. 25,3,5; Mallikām. 289,3; Adbhutad. 2,15). On forms like *gāi*=*gāyati*, *jhāi*=*dhyāyati*, *jāi*=*jāyate*, *palāi*=*palāyate* see §479. 487,567.—i, ī get contracted with *udvṛtta* i, ī in M.A. *bia* (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. *viya*; H. s.v. *vīa*; R. s.v. *biia*; Piṅgala. 1,23,49,56,79,83), A. also *bia* (Piṅgala. 1,50), AMg. JM. *biya* (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kī. 21; Erz.), beside M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biija* (§82)=*dvītiya*; A. *tia* from **tiia*=*ītiya* (Piṅgala. 1,49,59,70); AMg. *paḍiṇa*, *uḍiṇa*=*praticīna*, *udicīna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4; 1,6,4,2; Ovav. §4), *paḍiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically *paḍiṇa* (Dasav. 625,37; cf. §99); AMg. *siā*=*śibikā* (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyādh. 865ff.; 1021f. 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirayāv. 61,62;

Vivāhap. 275.277.362.1262; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside AMg. JM. *sivā* (Āyār. 127,15 [to be read so]; Ovav.; Erz.); in future, as JM. *hohi* beside M. JM. *hohi*=*bhogiyati=bhaviyati (§521). JM. *viṇāsihi* (§527), *jarehi*, *niwārehi* (§528), *ehi*, A. *eṣi* (§529), JM. *dāhi* (§530), *sakkehi* (§531), AMg. JM. *kāhi* (§533), AMg. *nāhi* (§534). M. *cīa* (H. 104) is=*cīa from *citiya=cīya, AMg. *cī* in *civandana*=cāityavandana, according to Hc. 1,151 is=*cīi=Skt. *citi*.-u, ā with the udvṛtta -u, ā, are contracted in AMg. *umbara* from *uumbara*, *ūmbara=udumbara (Vr. 4,2; Hc. 1,270; Ki. 2,152; Aṇuttar. 11; Nāyādh. §137; p. 289.439; Thāp. 555; Jiv. 46.494; Nira-
yāv. 55, Paṇṇav. 31; Vivāhap. 807.1530).

§166. Sometimes *a*, *ā* becomes contracted with an udvṛtta *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* : *ke'i* from *kāli= *kadili= *kadali' with *i* according to §101, and on the same model *kela* from *kāla= *kadila= kadala (Hc. 1,167.220)¹; M. AMg. JM. *Ś. therā* from *thāira=sthavira (Hc. 1,166; 2,89; Pāiyāl. 2; Deśin. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text *therā*); Kāvyaṇṇakāṣa 73,9=H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text *therā*]; Sarasvatik. 8,13 [*therā*]; Acyutaś. 32 [*therā*]; Thāp. 141.157.286; Vivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173. 185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk.; Anarghar. 63,4 [*therā*]; M. *Ś. also thavira* (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P.M. *thavira*]); Nagān. 3,2 [v.l. *thavira, therā*]; M. *theri* (Pāiyāl. 107; H. 654 [text *theri*⁰; ed. Bomb. 7,52 *therā*⁰]); AMg. *theraya* (Sūyag. 176), *theraga* (Sūyag. 334), *theriyā* (Kappas.); *therāsaṇa* (lotus; Deśin. 5,29), *therosaṇa* (lotus; Triv. 1,4,121)=*sīha-virāvasana²; *meḍambha* from *maḍambha= *mṛgidambha (noose for catching a roe; Deśin. 6,139); *mehara* beside *maihara= *matidhara (headman; Deśin. 6, 121); AMg. *vera* (Kappas. §45) from *vāira* (§135)=*vajra*; A. *eha*, *jeha*, *teha*, *keha* (H. 4,402) from and beside *aīsa*, *jāisa*, *taīsa*, *kāisa* (Hc. 4,403)=*idṛśa*, *vāḍṛśa*, *tāḍṛśa*, *kīḍṛśa* (§121); A. *jē* for the common *jāi*=*yadi* (Piṅgala. 1,4^e.97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *jam*]); A. *de* beside *daī*=*Ś. daī*, absolutive from *daya* (§594). In AMg. A. -*aī*=*-ati*, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -*e* in poetry. So AMg. *aṭṭe* (Sūyag. 412) from *aṭṭai* (cf. *pariṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230)=*atya'i from *aṭ* (not from *aṭṭa*=*ārta*), *kappe*=*kalpati (Āyār. 1,8,4,2), *bhuñje* from *bhuñjai* (§507)=*bhunakti* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), *abhibhāse*=*abhibhāṣate*, *paḍiyākkhe*=*pratyākhyāti* (§491), *sece*=*sevati, *paḍiseve*=*pratiṣevati (Āyār. 1,8,1,7.14.17.4,5); A. *ṇacce*=*ṇṛtyati*, *sadde*=*śabdanti=śabdayati, *gaṇje*=*garjati*, *bo'lle*=*bo'llai* (Hc. 4,2), *ugge* from *uggai=*udgāti (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82.90.228.268), *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6) from *hosai* (Hc. 4,388.418,4)=*bhogiyati=bhaviyati (§521). Similarly are explained also AMg. *bemi* from *bāimi=bravimi (§494).—A. *co*=*cāi*=*catur* (Piṅgala. 1,65; GOLDSCHMIDT, however, reads *aṭṭha vi lahuā* for *co laghu kattha vi* of the ed. Bomb.), *covisa*, *covisa* beside *cāuvisaha*=*caturvimsati*, *codāisa* beside *cāuāisā*, AMg. *cōyālisam* bes. d: *cāyālisam*=*catuscatvāriṃśat*, *cō'ttisam*=*catusstrīṃśat*, etc. (§445); M. *cō'ttha* beside *cāu'ttha*=*caturtha* (§449); *cō'ddaha* beside A. *cāuddaha*, AMg. *cō'ddasa* beside *cāuddasa*=*caturdasa* (§443), AMg. *cō'ddasama*=*caturdāsama* (§449); *cō'gguna* beside *cāugguna*=*caturguṇa*, *cō'ovāra* beside *cāuovāra* (Hc. 1,171); *toaṭṭa* beside *tāuṇṇa* (an ear-ornament; Deśin. 5,23; 6,89); M. AMg. *pō'mma*=*padma* (Hc. 1,61; 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15; Pārva. ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 (text *pomaṇ*)), *pō'mmā*=*padmā* (H.); M. *Ś. pō'mmarā*=*padmarāga* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2; 103,4 (Ś.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Ś.); Pras. 121,8 (Ś.; text *pā*⁰); 155,12; Bālar. 157,12 (Ś.); 168,4 (Ś.); M. *pō'mmāsana*=*padmāsana* (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMg. JM. *Ś. paūma*, *paūmarā* (§139); *bohāri* beside *baūhāri* (brush; Deśin. 6,97; 8,17); A. *bhōhā* from *bhāuhā=bhamuha (Piṅgala 2,98; §124.251); *moḍa* beside *maḍi* (tress; Deśin. 6,117; Pāiyāl. 57), M. AMg. JM. *Ś. A. mora* (Vr. 1,8; Ki. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāiyāl. 42, H.;

Ānuog. 502.507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas.; Kk.; Śak. 155,10; 158,13; Uttarar. 163,10; Jivān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90), A. *mōraa* (Piṅgala 2,228), femin. M. Ś. *mōri* (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viddhaś. 20,15), Mg. *mōli* (Mṛcch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMg. *mōraga*=*mayūra* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūra* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMg. *mayūra* (Vivāgas. 187.202), *mayūratā*=*mayūratva* (Vivāgas. 247), Mg. *maūlaka* (Śak. 159,3), femin. AMg. *mayūri* (Nāyādh. 475.490.491). *mōra* has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc. 1,171. M. *mōha*=*mayūkha* (Grr.; R. 1,18) from and beside M. Ś. *maūha* (Grr.; Pāyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. *viola* from **viāula*=*vyākula* (Deśin. 7,63; R.; cf. §162)⁴; A. *saṃhāro* from *saṃharaū*=*saṃharatu* (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also *kohala*, *samāra*, *somāla* §123, o §155. M. AMg. *bōra*=*badara* (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Ki. 1,8; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 609.1256.1530), AMg. *bori*=*badari* (Hc. 1,170; Mk. fol. 5; Pāyāl. 254; Ānuttar. 9) presuppose one **badura*, **baduri*⁵. AMg. *būra* (v.l. *pūra*; Jiv. 489.509.559; Rāyap. 57; Uttar. 986; Vivāhap. 182; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) is not=*badara*, but=*pūra* (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as *vanaspativiśeṣa*.⁶ Obscure is *pōra*=*pūtara* (Hc. 1,170).

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573.—
2. FISCHER BB. 13,3.—3. FISCHER, Deśin. Introduction p. 7.—4. FISCHER, GGA., 1880, p. 335.—5. FISCHER, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *baam* only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. *andhāra*=*andhakāra* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Piṅgala. 1,117^a; 2,90), A. *andhāraa* (Hc. 4,349), M. *andhāria*=*andhakārita* (H.), JM. *andhāriya* (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. *andhāra* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 44,19; 80,9; 88,17; 138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Cait. 40,15), Mg. *andhāla* (Mṛcch. 14,10 22; 16,22), AMg. JM. *andhajāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ṛṣabhap.), JM. *andhajāriya* (Erz.); M. JM. A. *āa* from and beside *āaa*=*āgata* (Hc. 1,268; H.; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255.264); *kamsāla*=*kām-syātāla* (Hc. 2,92), Ś. *kamsālāla* (Mṛcch. 69,24); AMg. *kammāra*=*karmakāra* (Jiv. 295) and other compounds with *kāra*, like AMg. *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra* (Hc. 1,8; Mk. fol. 32; Uvās.), beside *kumbhāra* (Grr.), AMg. *kumbhakāra* (Uvās.), JM. *kumbhagāra* (Erz.), D. *cammaāraa*=*carmakāraka* (Mṛcch. 104,19), M. *mālāri*=*mālākāri* (H.; Deśin. 1,146,114), AMg. *lohāra*=*lohakāra* (Jiv. 293), M. *valāraa*=*valayakāraka* (H.), *sonāra*=*svarna-kāra* (§66), AMg. *dodhāra*=*dvidhākāra* (Thāp. 401); A. *piāri*=*priyakāri* (Piṅgala 2,37); JM. *khandhāra*=*skandhāvāra* (Mk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside *khandhavāra* (Erz.); M. *cakkāa*=*cakravāka* (Hc. 1,8; Ki. 2,151; Mk. fol. 32; Candrasekhara on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMg. *cakkāga* (Paṇṇav. 54); AMg. *niṇṇāra*=*nirnagara* (Vivāhap. 1277); AMg. *nimboliyā*=*nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173); *talāra*=*talavāra* (Deśin. 5,3; Triv. 1,3,105; FISCHER, BB. 3,261); *pāra* beside *pāraa*=*prākāra* (Hc. 1,268); M. *pāraa* (Hc. 1,271; H.; Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside *pāvāraa*=*prāvāraka*; *pāraa* beside *pāravāa*=*pāravata* (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. *pāvāliā*=*prapāpālikā* (H.); JM. *varisāla*=*varṣākāla* (Erz.); *vāraṇa* beside *vāraṇa*=*vyākaraṇa* (Hc. 1,268); M. *sālahaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc. 1,8.211; H.); M. *sāhāra*=*sāhakāra* (Karp. 95,1); AMg. *sūmāla* beside *sukumāla*=*sukumāra* (§123); *sūrisa*=*beside suūrisa*=*supuruṣa* (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. *jālā*, *tālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too; falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11; 124,14) and Mg. (Mallikām. 144,3)=**yāt kālāt*, **tāt kālāt*, *kālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46)=**kāt kālāt* (FISCHER, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254.

§168. In some cases *a* at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udytta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member : *indova* from **indaova*=*indragopa* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1,81), beside AMg. *indagova* (Anuog. 344), *indagovaga* (Uttar. 1062), **ya* (Pannav. 45); *indovatta*=**indragopātma* (cochineal; Deśin. 1,81); *gharoli* from **gharaoli*=**gharagoli*=*grhagoli* (domestic multipede; Deśin. 2,105), AMg. *gharoliyā*=**grhagolikā* (Panhāv. 22; Pannav. 53 [text *gharoila*]); *gharola* from **gharaola*=**gharagola*=*grhagola*(*ka*) (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśin. 2,106); M.AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *deula*=*devakula* (Hc.1,271; Mk.fol. 33; H.; Anuog. 387; Nāyādh. 535; T. 4,9;7,18; Erz.; Mrcch. 151,14; Karpas. 25,1; Mrcch. 29,24;30,11,12), beside and from JM. Ś. *devaūla* (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Viddhaś.59,7; Cait.134,10.14), AMg. *devakula* (Āyār.2,2,2,8;2,10,14;2,11,8; Panhāv. 521; Nāyādh. 581; Kappas.); JM. *deuliā*=*devakulikā* (Āv. 31,10); JM. D. *rāula*=*rājakula* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mrcch. 105,4), Mg. *lāula* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.15;566,13.12; Mrcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5.9;49,13.15; ed. M. has throughout *lāūla*, ed. P. 47,9), where *rāūla* (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3,6; 119,1; Ratn. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9.13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. *lājaūla* (ed.M. *rājāūla*) we should read *lāūla*; JM. has *rāyaūla* (Erz.)¹ also; Mg. *lāutta* from **lāūtta*=*rājaputra* (Śak.114,1;115,7.9;16,9;117,5); *vāutta* beside *vāūtta*=*vātaputra* (Deśin. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhara on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) *rāulasabda* [so to be read] *livare deśi*. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EL.4, 312, note 7). Quite falsely JACOB, ZDMG. 47,576.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the auslaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. *kāmeipurā aggitthoma*^o=*kāñcipurād agniṣṭoma*^o (5,1), *sivakhamdavamo amham visaye*=*śivaskandavarmāmākam viṣaye* (5,2), *govallave amacce ārakkhādhikate*=*govallavān amātyān ārak-ṣādhikrātān* (5,5), *tti api ca āpiṭṭiyam*=*ityapi cāpiṭṭiyām* (6,37), *tti eva*=*ityeva* (6,39), *tasa khu amhe*=*tasya khalvasme* (7,41), *sakakāle uparilikhitaṃ*=*svakakāla uparilikhitaṃ* (7,44); M. *na a me icchāi*=*na ca mā icchayā* (H. 555), *taṃ si aviniddā*=*tvamasyavinidā* (H. 66), *daṭṭhūṇa unṇamante*=*drṣṭoṇnamataḥ* (H. 539), *jivie āsaṅho*=*jivitā āśamsā* (R. 1,15), *paatṭai uahi*=*pravartatām-udadhiḥ* (R. 3,58); *āmuai āṅgām*=*āmuñcatyaṅgām* (R. 5,8), *jāo elāsura-himmi*=*yāta elāsuraḥ* (G. 417), *so esa kesavo uvasamuddam uddāma*^o=*sa eṣa keśava upasamudramuddāma*^o (G. 1045); AMg. *atthi me āyā ovavāie*=*asti ma ātmaupapātikah* (Āyār.1,1,1,3), *cattāri ee*=*catvāra eie*, (Dasav. 632,7) *tāo ajjāo ejjamāṇio pāsai*=*tā āryā eyamānāḥ paśyati* (Nirayāv. 59), *ege āha*=*eka āha* (Sūyag. 74), *khine āummi*=*kṣiṇa āyusi* (Sūyag. 212), *jo imāo disāo anudisāo anusamcarai*=*ya imā disā anudisāo nusamcarati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. *na* (not) not rarely undergoes saṁdhi with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb : M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *natthi*=*nāsti* (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. *as*; Āyār.1,1,1,3; Āv 9,9; Pav.380, 10; Mrcch. 2,24), Mg. *nasti* (e.g. Mrcch.19,11 [text *natthi*]); M. *nāmi*=*na + amī* (G.246), *nalliai*=*na + alliai* (R.14,5); M. JŚ.Ś. *nāham*=*na + aham* (H.178; Pav. 384,36; Vikr.10,13); M. *nālabhāva*=*na + ākulabhāva* (G.813), *nāga*=*na + āgata* (H. 856), *nālava*=*na + ālapati* (H.647); AMg. JŚ. *neva*, *neva*=*na + eva* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3,4,1; Pav. 384.59), M. *nea* (G.H.R.); AMg. *nānāgama*=*na + anāgama* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *nābhijāṇai*=*nābhijānāti* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *nārabhe*=*na + ārabheta* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4), *nābhībhāsiṃsu*=*na + abhi*^o, *nāivattai*=*na + ativartate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); Ś. *nāgadā*=*na + āgatā* (Mālatim. 72,6); Mg.

nāścadi = *na* + *āgacchati* (Mṛcch. 116, 5, 19; 117, 11); AMg. JM. *nāidūra* (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22, 23), Ś. *nādidūra* (Mālatim. 30, 8), Mg. *nādidūla* (Caṇḍak. 66, 13) = *na* + *atidūra*; Ś. *nārihadi* = *na* + *arhati* (Śak. 24, 12); M. *neccai* = *ra* + *icchati* (H. 205), Ś. *neccadi* (Śak. 73, 4), Mg. *neścadi* (Mṛcch. 11, 1); Ś. *nālamkidā* = *na* + *alamkṛtā* (Mṛcch. 18, 10), *nodaradi* = *na* + *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 108, 21). In such cases *na* is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root *jñā*, which after *na* very often, drops its initial *ja*, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into *ja* in AMg. JM.: M. *na āṇāmi*, *na āṇasi*, *na āṇai*, *na āṇimo*, *na āṇaha*, *na āṇanti*; AMg. JM. *na jāṇāmi* (Nāyādh. 84; Āv. 29, 19), JM. *na jāṇasi*, *na jāṇai*, AMg. *na jāṇāmo*; Ś. *na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 52, 16; 65, 11; Vikr. 43, 14; 46, 1); Mg. *na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 140, 12); Ś. D. *na āṇādi*; D. *na āṇāsi*, Ś. *na āṇiadi* = *na jñāyate*; M. AMg. Ś. *na āṇe* = *na jāne*. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as Ś. *aāṇanteṇa* = *ajāṇatā* (Mṛcch. 18, 22; 63, 24). *aāṇia* = *ajāṇatā* (Śak. 50, 13), AMg. *viyāṇādi*, Ś. Mg. *viāṇādi*, AMg. *pariyāṇādi*, Mg. *paccebbhiāṇādi* (§510). In most of the cases, however, *na* is not proclitic, and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. *na ittham* = *neṣṭam* (H. 501), *na isā* = *nersyā* (H. 829), *na uttarai* = *nottarati* (H. 271), *na ei* = *naiti* (R. 14, 43). *na ohasiā* = *nāvahasiā* (H. 60); AMg. *na ambile*, *na unhe*, *na itthi*, *na annahā* = *nāmlah*, *noṣṇah*, *na stri*, *nānyathā*, beside *nattihi* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4), and so in all dialects.¹

1. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 193; BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 193.302; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32, 104.

§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., *na* may be used as the first member of a compound instead of *a*, *an* in Pkt. too. M. *ṇasahiāloa* = *asodhāloka* (G. 364), *ṇasahiapaḍiboha* = *asodhapratibodha* (G. 1162), *ṇapahuppanta* = *aprabhat* (G. 16, 46), *ṇapahutta* = *aprabhūta* (G. 114), for which R. 3, 57 has *ṇavahutta* with *pa* treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this *na* in AMg. in cases like *taṃ maggaṃ nuttaram* = *taṃ mārgam-anuttaram* (Sūyag. 419); *disaṃ ṇantajineṇa* = *disamanantajinena* (Āyār. 2, 16, 6); *diṭṭhiṃ ṇantāhiṃ* = *diṭṭibhīranantābhīḥ*, *muttisuhāṃ ṇantāhiṃpi* [text vi] *vaggavaggūhiṃ* = *muktisukham anantairapi vaggavagnubhiḥ* (Paṇṇav. 135); *aggivaṇṇāhiṃ ṇegaso* = *agnivarnāny anekasaḥ* (Uttar. 598); *egapae ṇegāhiṃ padāhiṃ* = *ekapade'nekāni padāni* (Paṇṇav. 63), *e'ssanti ṇantaso* = *esyantyanantaśaḥ* (Sūyag. 45.56.71); *bandhaṇehi ṇegehi* = *bandhanairanekaiḥ* (Sūyag. 225); *gaṇḍavacchāsu* [text "ratthā"] *ṇegacittāsu* = *gaṇḍavakṣaḥsvanekacittāsu* (Uttar. 252); *itto ṇantagunijā* = *ito *'nantagunīkāḥ* (Uttar. 599); *virājāe ṇegagunovatee* = *virājate 'nekagunopetaḥ* (Sūyag. 309); *buddehi nāiṇṇā* = *buddhair anācīrṇā* (Dasav. 627, 16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial *a* occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write *n*, never *n*, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of *a*. Hence in transcription we should write *maggaṃ 'nuttaram*, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of *na* contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. *ahāvārā* = *athāparā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 11, 4ff.; 2, 2, 3, 19ff.; 2, 5, 1, 7ff. etc.), *ṇa jāham* = *na cāham* (Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1), *jeṇāham* = *yeṇāham* (Uttar. 241); JM. *jeṇāham* (Erz. 17, 14), *jeṇāṇijāham* = *yeṇānitāham* (Erz. 8, 23), *iḥāḍavie* = *iḥāḍovijām* (Erz. 30, 13), M. *sahasāgaassa* = *sahasā-gatasya* (H. 297); AMg. *purāsī* = *purāsīt* (Sūyag. 898); JM. *sahāmaccena* =

sahāmātyena (Āv. 11,18); AMg. *dāriḡeyam*=*dārikeyam* (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. *na kujjalā*=*na khalūjjoalā* (on H. 993); AMg. *no hūvaṇamanti*=*no khalūpaṇamanti* (Sūyag. 100), *ēthovārae*=*atroparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. *siharopari*=*śikharopari* (T. 5,10); Ś. *mamovari*=*mamopari* (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. *jassedha* [text °*eha*]=*yasyeha* (Pav. 382,24). On *ajjāvi*, *keṇāvi*, *teṇāvi* etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. *samāsajjāvitaham*=*samāsādyāvitatham* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *jāṇittāyariyassa*=*jñātvācāryasya* (Uttar. 43), *kammāṇāṇaphalā*=*karmāṇyājñānaphalāni* (Uttar. 113), *tahosuyāro*=*tatthesuk-āraḥ* (Uttar. 422), *iṣṇāhāra-m-āṇi*=*ṣṇāhārādini* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *māyuse-sūvaṇannā*, *tirikkhesūvaṇannā*=*manuṣyeṣūpapannā*, **tiryakṣeṣūpapannā* (Āv. 17,22. 23), *paḍikappiēnāgao*=*pratikalpitenāgatoḥ* (Erz. 32,18), *subuddhināmeṇāmacceṇa*=*subuddhināmnāmātyena* (Erz. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So : *esovarae*=*esa uparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); *uvasaggā bhīmāsi*=*upasargā bhīmā āsan* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); *tamhāvivijjo*=*tasmād atividyah* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); *buddhāṇusāsanti*=*buddhā anusāsati* (Uttar. 33); *parājijjāvosaṇṇāmo*=*parājijjā apasarpāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 186); *akayakaraṇāṇabhigayā ya*=*akṛta-karaṇā anabhigatāś ca* (Jijyakappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in *maggā-ṇusāsanti* for *maggā anusāsanti*=*mārgamanusāsati* (Sūyag. 465.517), *addhā-nugacchāi*, *panthānugāmie* for *addhā anugacchāi*, *panthā anugāmie*=*adhvānam anugacchati*, *panthānam* **anugāmikaḥ* (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

§173. In the auslaut vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in JM.AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut : M. *jeṇ' aham*=*yenāham* (H. 441), *tujiḥ' avarāhe*=*tavāparādhe* (H. 277); JM. *kuṇāleṇ' imaṇ*=*kuṇālenemam* (Āv. 8,16), *tāyass' ānaṇ*=*tātasyājñānām* (Āv. 8,18), *jeṇ' evaṇ*=*yenaivaṇ* (Erz. 14,8) *iḥ' eva*=*ihaiva* (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3; 20,14), *jāv' eṣā*=*yāvad eṣā* (Erz. 53,28), *taḥ' eva*=*tathaiva* (Āv. 12,26; 27,19), *tass' aṇṇesaṇṇattham*=*tasyāṇṇesaṇṇārtham* (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. *ten' iha* (Pav. 387,21) *jattḥ' althi*=*yatrāsti* (Kattig. 401, 353), *ten' uvaṭṭṭho*=*tenopadiṭṭhaḥ* (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. *akkhāy' aṇelisam*=*ākhyāyānidṛśam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), *jattḥ' althamie*, *jattḥ' avasappanti*, *jattḥ' agaṇi*=*yatrāstamitah*, *yatrāvāsarpanti*, *yatrāgñiḥ* (Sūyag. 129.181.273), *vuddheṇ' anusāsie*=*vuddheṇānusāsitaḥ* (Sūyag. 515), *ubhāyass' antareṇa*=*ubhaya-syāntareṇa* (Uttar. 32), *vinnavaṇ' itthisu*=*vijñāpanā striṣu* (Sūyag. 208.209), *jeṇ' uvahammai*=*yenopahanyate* (Dasav. 627,13), *jah' ē'ttha*=*yathātra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), *vippaḍḍavaṇ' ege*=*vipratipannā eke* (Sūyag. 170), *tass' āharaha*=*tasyā-harata* (Āyār. 2,1,11,2). *i* has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. *notth' ē'ttha*=*nāstyatra* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against Ś. *ṇatthi ē'ttha* (Śak. 121,5); AMg. *jams' ime*=*yasminnime* (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), *sant' ime*=*santime* (Āyār. 1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200; Dasav. 625,25; 626,36); *vajant' ege*=*vadantyeke* (Sūyag. 37), *cattār' itthiḡāo*=*catasrah striyah* (Thāp. 247), *cattār' antaradivā*=*catvāro 'ntara-doipāḥ* (Thāp. 260) in poetry, beside °*ri aḡ* in prose and *cattāri agaṇio*=*caturo 'gnīṇ* (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, *kīlant' anne*=*kṛdāntyanne*, *tarant' ege*=*tarantyeke* (Uttar. 504.567), *tinn' udahī*, *dō'nn' udahī*=*traya udadhayah*, *dō'vudadhi* (Uttar. 996.1000), *dalām' aham*=*dalayāmy.* (= *dadāmy*) *aham* (Uttar. 663). *e* has dropped off for example in AMg. *s'evaṇ*=*sa evam* (Āyār. 1,7,3,3; 2,3,1, 1ff.), *paḍham' ittha*=*prathamō'tra* (Nandis. 74), *tubbh' ē'ttha*=*yusme atra*, *im' ee*=*ima etc*, *mann' erisam*=*manya idṛśam* (Uttar. 358.439.571), *im' eyārūpe*=*ayametadrūpāḥ* (Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151.170.171; Uvās.). *o* has dropped off in AMg. *gurun' antie* for *guruṇo antie*=*guroṇantike* (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. *niyogajivāṇ' anantāṇam*=*niyogajivāṇām anantāṇām* (Paṇṇav. 42), *cariss' aham* for *carissam aham*=*carisyāmyaham* (Sūyag. 239), *pucchiss' aham* for *pucchissam aham*=*apṛākṣamaham* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇṇāyāṇ' u vāyam*=*vainayikāṇām u vādam* (Sūyag. 322), *vippariyās' uo' nli*=*viparyāsam upayanti*

(Sūyag. 468,497), *dukkhāṇ' antakaro=dukkhāṇām antakaraḥ* (Uttar. 1005), *siddhāṇ' ogāhaṇā=siddhāṇām avagāhaṇā* (Ovav. 171), *paḍham' ittha=prathamam-atra* (Kappas. Th. §9), *im' ejārūvaṃ=imametadrūpaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,24; Kappas. §94), *im' erisaṃ aṇāyāraṃ=imamīdṛśamanācāraṃ* (Dasav. 626,27); JM. *morīyavaṃsāṇ' amhaṃ=mauryavaṃsāṇāsmākaṃ* (Āv. 8,17), *im' erisaṃ=imamīdṛśam* (Āv. 25,26). Almost all the examples are found in verses. In the very frequent AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (Sūyag. 852,986,992; Panṇav. 366; Nāyādh. 570; Vivāhap. 37,44,46ff.79,106,112ff.204; Ovav. § 69,74; Uvās. s.v. *samaṭṭha*), beside *no iṇam aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (Ovav. §94) "that is not the case" *iṇ'* is to be taken, with Hc.3,85, as the nom. sing. of the neuter, which, otherwise also in AMg. (§357), is connected with the masculine.¹ Very rarely a final vowel has dropped off in other dialects, as in Ś. *etth' antare* (Mṛcch. 40,23; also in JM. Erz. 17,30); Mg. *tav' edeṇa=tavaitena* (Mṛcch. 12,19) in the verse.

1. Not correctly WEBBER, Bhag. 1,409, where occurs a collection on the *saṃdhi* from Vivāhap., E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation, note 107. Cf. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,344f.

§174. In AMg. the final vowels of *api* and *iti*, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the *saṃdhi* prescribed in Skt.: *appa=apy* fuses with *eka* and **ekatyā* into one word, as in Pāli: *appege=*apyekāḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), *appege=*apyeke* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), *jaṃsi, taṃsi 'ppege=yasmin tasminn *apyeke* (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial *vi ege* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), *vi ee* (Uttar. 1016), and *v' ege* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 234), *v' ee* (Vivāhap. 101,180), *v' eg' evam āhaṃsu=*apyeka evam āhuḥ* (Sūyag. 240), *evam p' ege* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1,2), *puvvaṃ p' ejāṃ pacchā v'* [so to be read] *ejāṃ=pūrvama-pyetalpaścādapyetal* (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); AMg. *appegāyā=Pāli appekacce=*apyekatyāḥ* (Ovav.); also in JM. *io pp' eva=ito 'pyeva* (Āv. 19,23). Likewise *iti*: AMg. *iccāi=ityādi* (Kappas. § 196ff.); *iceeva* (Āyār. 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 557), *iceev' ege* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), *iceattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), *iceevaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *iceee* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7,4,7; 1,5,4,5), *iceeehiṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *iceeyāo iceeyāsiṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,11,10,11), *iceeyāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In Ś. Mg. *nu*, before *etad* becomes *nu* and then fuses with it in a word: Ś. *evam (ēvaṃ) nedaṃ=evam nvetat* (Mṛcch. 22,16; 57,20; Śak. 2,5; 45,13; 71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), *kiṃ nedaṃ=kiṃ nvetat* (Mṛcch. 3,2; 27,17; 40,17; 54,15; 60,4; 97,14; 117,17; 169,20; 171,4; 172,22; Vikr. 25,18; 31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 40,8; 134,17; 171,5), and against the dialect (§429) *taṃ nidaṃ=tannvidam* (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial *a* in verses, after *e*, *o*, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. *piō 'jja=priyo'dya* (H. 137); AMg. *āsiṇe 'nelisaṃ=āsino 'nīdṛśam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *phāse 'hiyāsae=sparśānadyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), *se 'bhinnā'daṃsaṇe=so 'bhinnā'tmadarśanaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), *sisāṃ se 'bhitāvaṃyanti=śiṣamasyābhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280; *se 'nutappai=so 'nutapyate* (Sūyag. 226), *wasante 'nihe=upaśānto 'nihaḥ* (Sūyag. 365), *tippamāṇo 'hiyāsae=tippamāṇo 'dhyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), *iṇamo 'bbavī=idamabravit* (Sūyag. 259), *ābhogao 'ibahuṃ=ābhogato 'tibahuḥ* (Jiyak. 44), *bālo 'varajjhaī=bālo 'parādhyate* (Dasav. 624,32); Mg. *snāde 'haṃ=snāto 'ham* (Mṛcch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of *a* occurs in the standing formula AMg. *ṇamo 'tthu ṇaṃ=ṇamo 'stu nūnam* (§498) and in JM. in *aham*, as in *tie 'haṃ=tasyāmaham* (Erz. 12,22), *tao 'haṃ=tato 'ham*, *jāo 'haṃ=jāto 'ham* (Erz. 9,36; 53,34). In AMg., seldom in JM.M., in poetry, initial *a* too frequently drops off even after vowels other than *e*, *o*. Thus after *ā* in *pajjijjamaṇā 'ḥataram=pāyyamaṇā ārtataram* (Sūyag. 282); after *i* in *jāija-rāmaranehi 'bhīdūā=jāti-jarāmaranairabhidrutaḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *cittḥanti 'bhitappa-*

mānā=tiṣṭhantyaabhitapyamānāḥ (Sūyag. 274), *sulāhi 'bhitāvayanti=sulābhīr abhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280.289), *jāvanti 'vijjāpurisā=yāvanto 'vidyāpuruṣāḥ* (Uttar. 215), *novalabhāmi 'ham=nopalahhe 'ham* (Uttar. 575), *cattāri 'bhōjjāim=catvāry-abhojyāni* (Dasav. 626,6), *jāi 'ham=yadyaham* (Dasav. 641,21), as M. too has (R. 15,88), *aguṇehi 'sāhū=agunairasādhūn* (Dasav. 637,3); after *i* in AMg. *vejaraṇi 'bhiduggā=vaitaranyabhidurgā* (Sūyag. 270), *lahai 'bhidugge=labhate 'bhidurge* (Sūyag. 277), *jaṃsi 'bhidugge=yasminnabhidurge* (Sūyag. 287.297 [duggaṃsi]), *nadi 'bhiduggā* (Sūyag. 297); after *u* in JM. *dosu 'bhiggaho=doṣorabhiḡrahaḥ* (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal sound, as in AMg. *kahaṃ 'bhitāvā=kathamabhitāpāḥ* (Sūyag. 259), *vejaraṇiṃ 'bhiduggaṃ=vaitaraṇimabhidurgāṃ* (Sūyag. 270), *vajanaṃ 'bhiuñje=vacana-mabhiyuñje* (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is *tesim 'tie* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for which, according to the commentators, we have to write *tesim antie*. Cf. §171.172.173. Even vowels, other than *a*, sometimes drop off in AMg. after *e*, *o*; so *i* in *je 'me* for *je ime=ya ime* (Sūyag. 454), *je 'ha* for *je iha=ya iha* (Sūyag. 304); *e* in AMg. *akāriṇo 'ttha=akāriṇo'tra* (Uttar. 290), *anno 'ttha=anyo'tra* (Uttar. 791), M. *ko 'ttha* (H. 364), and after the weakened nasal sound in M. JM. *kiṃ tha=kiṃ e'ttha=kiṃ atra* (H. s.v. *tha*; Āv. 26,9).

m) EPENTHESIS

§176. The separation vowel *i* in the sound-group *ry* (§134) has sometimes made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an *a*, *ā* of the same become fused into *e*: M. AMg. *acchera*, AMg. JM. *accheraṇya*, AMg. *accheraga*, beside M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. *accha*, dialectically *accharijja* and *acchaora=āścarya* (§138) also; M. *kera=kārya*¹ (belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kāmsav. 52,11, *keram* (on account of; Kāvya-prakāśa 28,7), Ś. *amhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 19,9), *tumhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 104,6), *parakera* (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. *keraka*, *kerāa* (Mṛcch. 4,3;38,3;53,20;63,16;64,19;65,10.11;66,11;74,8;153,2; Śāk. 96,10;155,9; Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16;44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kāmsav. 50,11); also in Ā. *keraka* (Mṛcch. 100,18); femin. *kerikā*, *keliā* (Mṛcch. 88,24 [read *kerika tti*]; 90,14;95,6; Viddhaś. 83,4), also in Ā. *kerikā* (Mṛcch. 104,9); Ś. *parakeraattana=*parakāryatvana* (Mālatim. 215,3); Mg. *kelaka*, *kelāa* (Mṛcch. 13,9;37,13;40,9;96,21.22;97,3;100,20;112,10;118,17;119,5;122,14.15 [read *kelakāim*]; 130,10;132,2;133,2;146,16;152,6;173,9; Śāk. 116,11;161,7), also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where *bhaṭṭālakakelakehiṃ*, according to II, 34.115, is to be read; femin. *kelikā*, *keliā* (Mṛcch. 21,21; 132,16; [read *kelikāe*]; 139,16 [read *kelikā*]; 164,3.8;167,3,21); A. *kera* (Hc. 4,422.373), *kerāa* (Hc. 4,359.373); M. AMg. Ś. *peranta=pariyanta* (Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58;2,65.93; Ki. 1,4,2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāṇyāl. 173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11;567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 103,3;118,6;248,5; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2;67,15;76,16;226,3;278,20; 287,9; Anarghar. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10;57,17), AMg. *pariperanta* (Nāyādh. 513.1383ff.; Vivāgas. 107); *bamhacera* (Hc. 1,59;2,63.74.93), AMg. A. *bamhacera* (Hc. 2,74; Āyār. 1,5,2,4;1,6,2,1;1,6,4,1;2,15,24; Sūyag. 81.171.318.643.652.759.866; Vivāhap. 10,135.722.726; Dasav. 618,33; Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās.; Ovav. §69; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. 3,24), beside *bamhacaria* (Hc. 2,63.107)=*brahmacarya*; AMg. JM. *merā=maryā*² (frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5;2,3,1,13;2,5,1,2;2,6,1,1; Āv. 47,23,25; Kk.); AMg. *ninnera=nirmarya* (Ṭhāp. 136.143 [ṇi°]; Vivāhap. 483.1048; Ovav.), *samera=samarya* (Ṭhāp. 136 [text *sammēra*]. 143); AMg. JM. *pādihera*=Pāli *pāṭihārīya=prātihārya*³ (Vivāhap. 1047.1189; Ovav.; Āv. 14,2), JM. *pādiherattana* (Āv. 13,25); AMg. *pariheraga=pari-*

-hāryaka (Ovav.); M. Ś. *sundera*=*saundarya* (§84). On *ukkerā* see §107, on *dera*, §112. Isolated is Mg. *ṣeṇam* from **ṣaṇiam* (Mṛcch. 134,24) =M. Ś. *saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*=Pāli *saṇikam* (§84). Epenthesis of *u* occurs in AMg. *pora*=*parean* from **paurva*. (Āyār.2,1,8,11).

1. FISCHEL, IA. 2,121ff.; 366ff.; on Hc. 2,174. HOERNLE, JASB. 41,1, 124ff.; IA. 2,210 ff. Comp. Gr. §377 and BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,281 ff. derive the word from *kṛta*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *nimmra*. Hc. and Triv. derive it from *mirā*.—3. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.

n) ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

§177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMg. *mirī*=*māricī* (Jiv.542; Paṇhāv. 254 [text °*riya*]; Ovav. [§38]. 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. §122), *saṁirīya*=*samaricika* (Samav.211 [text °*ma*°]; Ovav.); AMg. *mirīya*=*marica* (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Paṇnav. 531); M. *avarim*=*upāri*; M. *avahoḍsa*, *avahovāsa*=**ubathahpārśva* (§212), *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (§ 123); *bhamāyā* beside M. *bhumaā*, AMg. *bhumaṇyā*=**bhruvakā* (§124); M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣū*; AMg. *usu*=*i'su*, *susu*=*śiśu* (§117); AMg. *puhutta*=*prthakto* beside *puhatta* (§78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMg. *niuramba*=*nikuramba* (Ovav.) and AMg. *niurumba*=*nikurumba* (Samav. 211; Ovav.), beside *saṛisiva*=*saṛisṛpa* there are often found the variants *sirīsiva*, *sirisiva* (§81). M. Ś. *sivīṇa*=*svapṇa* (Vr. 1,3;3,62; C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259;2,108; Ki. 1,2;2,59; Mk. fol. 5,29; H. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6;17,1,2), M. Ś. *sivīṇa*=*svapṇaka* (H. 2,186; H.; Karp.75,4; Lalitav.554,21,22;555,1; Vikr.24,17; Mālav.62,5; Mālatim. 179,9; Bālar 238,14; Karp.70,3,11,12;71,1;73,4; Venis.18,13,20,21; Nagān. 12,11;13,4;23,3; Kārṇas. 16,9,12); M. *paḍisivīṇa*=*pratisvapṇaka* (Karp. 75,5); *simīṇa* (C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), beside AMg. JM. *suviṇa* Sūyag. 838ff; Vivāhap. 943ff. 1318ff.; Uttar. 249,456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A *suīṇa* (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMg. JM. *sumīṇa* (Hc.1,46; Thāp. 567; Nandis. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhap. 947,1318; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), JM. *suviṇaga*, *sumiṇaga* (Erz.)=*svapṇaka* (§133 152,248). The forms like *kilimmaī*, *kilimmihiī*, *kilinta* beside *kilammaī*, *kilanta* are not to be considered as correct with S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. *kilissai*². On future forms like *bhavissidi* see § 520.

1. ZDMG. 32,107.—2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880,328 f. Cf. §136.

3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§178. Beside anusvāra, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of anusvāra and the other by that of Anunāsika. The distinction between anusvāra and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in -*hiṁ*, beside which -*hī*, -*hi* are used. Ś. *devehūṁ* (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic *devēbhīḥ*, which I regard as correct; so a nasal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as =*θε'οφιν*¹, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, anusvāra is more probable. Likewise a nasal vow l will have to be assumed in cases, like *aggiṁ*=*agniḥ* beside *aggi* and *vāṁ*=*vāyuh* beside *vāṁ* (§72), on the other hand anusvāra, for example, in the genitive plural *devāṇam*, beside which occur also *devāṇū* and *devīṇa*, exactly as *devehī*, *devehi*, has to be assumed. In adverbs like *upariṁ* beside *upari*=*upari* anusvāra is probable, and in *bāhiṁ*=*bahiḥ*, a nasal

vowel. In words where *m* may be traced back to *n*, *m* I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.²

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* §223.224.

§179. As in the Veda¹, so in Pkt. too, the anunāsika, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write *jāi vaṇṇāi*, the Bombay edition, *jāṇi vaṇṇāṇi*, whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands *jāi vaṇṇāi* which does not, as WEBER thinks³, go against the metre, since ardhacandra⁴ never makes position. In Śak.116,3 in Mg. we have *śaṭṭāṇaṁ muhaṁ=svakulānāṁ mukham*, the MS. Z reads *śaṇṇāṇaṁ muhaṁ=svajanānāṁ mukham*; according to Hc. 4.300 there should be read *śaṇṇāṇaṁ muhaṁ*, which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Kī.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in *yamunā* the *m* drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of anunāsika: *jāuṇā*. The manuscripts and the texts write in M.AMg. *jaṇṇā* only, in Ś. *jamunā* (§251). In the Sattasai, the manuscript *ψ* sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place⁴. For Apabhraṁśa Hc.4,397 teaches entry of *ṽ* for *m*, e. g. *kaṽalu* beside *kamalu=kamalam*. The manuscripts ordinarily write *mv*. Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.

1. MAX MÜLLER on the Rgvedaprātiśākhya 64; WEBER on the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya 4.9.13.—2. On H.651.—3. So I take, with WEBER, H.p. 4, the mark for anunāsika. Wrongly equate B.-R. s.v. according to WEBER. Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upaniṣhad (Berlin 1864). p. 394, ardhacandra=anusvāra. The name for the sign for anusvāra is bindu, as has been said in the preceding and following paragraphs.—4. WEBER, H. p. 4; cf. on H. 274.289.292.489.507.548.556.572.597 and γ on 5.

§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables *-im*, *-hiṁ*, *-um*, *-uṁ*, *-huṁ*, *-haṁ*, at the end of a pada, according to Saṁgītaratnākara *-huṁ*, *-im* in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṁgītaratnākara 4,55.56; Piṅgala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. WEBER¹ in this case wishes to irradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.² Sh. P. PANDIT in his edition of the Gāḍavaha puts a sign of shortness [˘] over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 *aṅgaim̐ vinhuṇo*, *bhariḍim̐ va*, and with the same end DURGĀ PRASĀD; ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, in their editions of the Sattasai, of Rāvaṇavaha, of Piṅgala and of Karpūramañjarī, have employed ardhacandra.³ BOLLENSSEN⁴ even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which WEBER⁵ rightly rejects. Hc.3,7.26 teaches *-hi*, *-hī*, *-hiṁ* and *-i*, *-im* and the MS. R^{II} of the Rāvaṇavaha tends to write *-i*, *-hī* when a short is requisite.⁶ Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, as *tih̐ tih̐ saehim̐*, *chal̐ purisaeh̐ nikkhanto*, *savriyātoraneh̐ uvavejā=tribh̐s tribh̐h̐ sataih̐*, *saḍbh̐h̐ puruṣasatair̐ niṣkrāntaḥ*, *savedikātoranaḥ upetāḥ*. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in *m*, as is the case in Samav. at two of the places adduced. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example *sātaṁkarāṇa gāhāṇaṁ* (H.3); *silummūliāḥ kūlāim̐* (H. 355); *tumheh̐ uvekkhio* (H.420) [˘]*pasāhiāḥ aṅgāim̐* (H.578); *paṇḍūḥ solilāḥ* (G. 577); *veviraṇaḥarāṇaṁ disāṇa* [˘]*tanumañjīhāṇaṁ*. . . *niṁliāḥ muhāim̐* (R.6,89) [˘]*dhūsarāḥ muhāim̐* (R.8,9); *khaṇacumbiāḥhamareh̐ uha suumārakeṣarasih̐im̐* (Śak.2,14). ardhacandra has to be written also in

cases like *tanāim* *so'thum dinnāi jai* (H.379), *jai vaapāi* (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc. (§179); further in cases like A. *taruhū vi* (Hc.4,341,2); *atthēhū satthēhū hatthēhū vi* (Hc.4,358,1); *mukkāhā vi* (Hc. 4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of *vi* there would have to stand *pi* after it. *m* always makes position, which *~* never does (§348.350).⁷

1. On H. 3.—2. As S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX. Against him KLATT, ZDMG. 33,451f.—3. Cf on Hc. 1,2, note 3.—4. On Vikr. p. 521, note; p. 521f., note.—5. On H. 481.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX, note 2.—7. The nasal vowel uttered with bindu is more strongly nasalized than that indicated by ardhacandra. BOPP was not wrong to the extent assigned by BERGAIGNE (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 2,204, Note 1.

§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMg. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. *ajjam* (H.R.) beside *ajja*=*adya*; AMg. JM. *iham* beside *iha*=*iha* (Hc. 1,24; Āyār. 1,1,3,7; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.)¹, also *ihajam* (Hc. 1,24); AMg. JM. *isim* beside M. Ś. *isi* (§102); AMg. JM. *pabhiim*=*prabhṛti* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *uppiim*, M. AMg. JM. *uvarim*, M. *avarim*, beside M. JM. Ś. *uvari*, Mg. *uvali*=*upari* (§123.148); AMg. *saiim*=*sakṛt* (Āyār. 2,1, 1,5; Uttar. 201.235), *asaīm*=*asakṛt* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. *jugavam*+*yugapat* (Thāp. 227; Vivāhap. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881. 1032; Ovav.); AMg. *jāvam*, *tāvam*=*yāvat*, *tāvat* (Vivhāp. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 224; G.; Āyār. 2,7,2,1; 2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]; Erz.), also in *bāhimsalla*=*bahīśalya* (Thāp. 314) and *bāhīmhimto* (Thāp. 408) and in AMg. *pām*=*prādūh* (§341) and *muhum*=*mukuh* (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, *bāhim* should be equated as=*bāhyam* according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches *bāhim* as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate *bāhim* from *bāhim*. Cf. also *sañimcara* (§84) and §349.

1. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 217.

§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final *a* in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems (Hc. 1,27); *sabbhāveṇam*=*sabbhāvena* (H. 286); *paruṇṇenam* *muṇenam*=*praruditena mukhena* (H. 354); *samaavaseṇam*=*samayaavaśena* (H. 398); *loaṇenam*, *°seṇam*=*°locanena*, *°svedena* (H. 828); *kopāḍantareṇam*=*kapāḍāntareṇa* (G.212); *pañjareṇam* (G.301); *°visaṇseṇam*=*°viśadāmsena* (R.3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMg. JM. So AMg. *teṇam* *kāleṇam* *teṇam* *samaṇenam*=*tēna kālena tēna samayena* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,1.6.17.22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §1.4.6; Ovav. § 1.15.16.23ff.; Kappas. § 1.2.14 etc.); AMg. *samaṇenam* *bhagavāyā mahāvireṇam*=*śramaṇena bhagavatā mahāvireṇa* (e.g. Nāyādh. § 8 [where, in addition, 21 instrumental forms in *-ṇam* follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. § 2.78.91]), *kheṇam* *māṇenam* *lobheṇam*=*krodhena mānena lobhena* (Vivāhap. 85), *sakkeṇam* *devindeṇam* *devarauṇṇenam*=*śakreṇa devendreṇa deva-rājena* (Nāyādh. 852), *paravāgaraṇenam*=*paravākarāṇena* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4; 1,7, 2,3), *hiraṇṇenam*=*hiranyena* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3); JM. *vaccanteṇam*=*vrajaṭā*, *vaddeṇam* *saddeṇam*=*vaḍṇena śaddena*, *uppakheṇam*=*utpathena*, *sureṇam*=*sureṇa* (Āv. 11,19; 23,14; 36,32.37), *saṇamkumāreṇam* *nāyāmaccaṇvuttanteṇam* *kovaṇ* *uvagaṇenam*=*saṇamkumāreṇa jñātāmāyavṛttāntena kopam upagatena* (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. *ānupuvoseṇam*=*ānupūrvyeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; 1,7,7,5; [anu°]; Nirayāv. § 13; Nāyādh. §118 [anu°]) *parampareṇam* (Kappas. S. § 27); AMg. JM. *suheṇam*=*sukhena* (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.

majjheṇaṃ = *madhyena* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Vivāhap. 236; Ovav. §17).¹ In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter Vr. 5,26 teaches the ending -i : *vaṇāi, dahii, mahūi* = *vanāni dadhīni, madhūni*, Mk. fol. 43: -iṃ : *vaṇāiṃ dahiiṃ, mahūiṃ*, Kī. 3,28 beside -iṃ in *dhaṇāiṃ, jaṣāiṃ, dahiṃ* and according to the opinion of some in *dhaṇāiṃ, vaṇāiṃ* with anusvāra even before the ending, Hc. 3,26, ī -, -iṃ. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only -iṃ, so AMg. *se jjaṃ kulāiṃ* = *sa yāni kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2) beside *kulāni* (§ 367); JM. *pañca egūṇāiṃ addāgasajjāiṃ...pakkhittāiṃ* = *pañca-ikonāṇy ādarśasatāni...praksiptāni* (Āv. 17,15); Ś. *rāarakkhidāiṃ tavovāṇāiṃ* = *rājarakṣitāni tapovanāni* (Śāk. 16,13); Mg. *śabalāiṃ duṣṣagandhiāiṃ civalāiṃ* = *śabalāni dūṣyagandhikāni civarāni* (Mṛcch. 113,22); Dh. *bhūdāiṃ suvaṇṇāiṃ* = *bhūtāni suvaṇṇāni* (Mṛcch. 36,21). In verses -i is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. Hc. points to ī, and in Vr. 5 26 -i is probably a false reading for -iṃ. The statement in Kī. 3,28, that some scholars required -iṃ before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms *dhaṇāiṃ, vaṇāiṃ* instead of *dhaṇāiṃ, vaṇāiṃ* given in the text, corresponding to AMg. *mahamāsa* for *mahanta + āsa* = *mahāsa* (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in -su, also in -sum, which preponderates in Ś.Mg. (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in -i, -u has frequently -iṃ, as in *dahiṃ, mahūṃ* beside *dahi, mahū* (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in -am; according to Hc. 3,25 some taught also *dahī, mahū*. Beside *mama* M. AMg. JM. have *mamaṃ* (§418; H.; Vivāgas. §121.122; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 72,28). In the imperative in -hi the presses, according to the MSS.,² print, often wrongly -hiṃ for -hi (e. g. Āyār. 2,1,5,5 *paribhāhehiṃ*, read °hi; p. 126,7 *pavattehiṃ*, read *pavattehi*; Nāyādh. 144; Vivāhap. 612.613 *bhuñjāhiṃ*, read °hi; Kappas. §114 *jiñāhiṃ*, read °hi, *vasāhiṃ*, read °hi, *nihañāhiṃ*, read °hi; Vivāhap. 612.613 *śalajāhiṃ*, read °hi). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of m. r, as in *devamṇāgasuvaṇṇa* = *devanāgasuparṇa* (Hc. 1,26); AMg. *chandanīroheṇa* = *chandonirodhena* (Uvār. 195). Compounds like M. *uvarimdhūmanivasa* = *uparidhūmaniveśa* (G. 140), AMg. *uvarimpuñchaṇi* = *uparipuechinyah* (Rāyap. 108; text °puechaṇi), according to §181, AMg. *tiriyamvāya* = *tiryagvāta*, *tirijambhāgi* = *tiryagbhāvin* (Sūyag. 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in -eṇaṃ, perhaps both the Vedic. instr. forms *ghanēnā* and *tējanepā* are to be compared (LANMAN, Noun-Inflection p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in -end (LANMAN, l.c. p. 332).—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 58, note g.

§183. Final *n* and *m* as a rule become anusvāra, which in AMg. M. JM. often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, *r, h* a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§ 89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel (§ 72.173.175.350).

B. THE CONSONANTS.

I. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITIONS.

1. GENERAL REMARKS RELATING TO WHOLE OR SEVERAL CLASSES.

§184. Initial consonants, other than *n*, *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186,188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel¹: *M. paṇsei = prakāśayati* (G.); *bhamaraṭṭa = bhamarakula* (H. 668) beside *maharakula = madhukarakula* (G. 468); *āṇṇa = ākirṇa* (G.), *paṇṇa = prakirṇa* (G.H.R.); *āaa* (H.) beside common *āga = āgata*; *vasahāindha = vṛṣabhacihna* (G.) beside *aṇumaraṇamaṇḍanacindha* (G. 479); *karaala = karatala* (H. 170) beside *calaṇatala = caranatala* (R. 9,37); *uwaṣai = upadiṣati* (H.); *avasāria = apasārita*, *vihalavasāria = vihovalāprasārita* (R. 1,1;13,27), and so against §189 also PG. *anuvaṣṭhāveti = anuprasthāpayati* (7,45)²; *gahavai = grhapati* (H.); *vaṇsavatta = vaṇṣapattā* (H. 676) beside *aṇkollapattā* (H. 313); *Ś. ajjāṭṭa = āryaputra* (e.g. Mṛch. 53,18) beside Mg. *ayyapuliśa = āryapuruṣa* (Mṛch. 132,23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become *h*: *M. vālahilla = vālahiḷya* (G.), *raihara = ratighara* (H.), *jalahara = jaladhara* (G.H.R.), *ṇuttāhala = muktāphala* (G.), *thaṇahara = stanabhara* (H.), beside *M. sarisavakhala = sarṣapakhala* (Hc.1,187), *palaaghaṇa = pralayaghaṇa* (R.5,22), *vammahadh-aṇu = manmathadhanuḥ* (R. 1,29), *ṇimbaphala* (H.248), *rakkhābhuvāṇga = rakṣābhujāṇga* (G.178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind p oeritics after vowels are treated as in inlaut: *Ś. Mg. D. adha im = atha kim* (e.g. *Ś. Mṛch. 17,24;60,6;67,11*; *Mg. Mṛch. 14,7;22,1;118,2.4.6.25*; *D. Mṛch. 101,3*); *M. Ś. Mg. D.Ā.A. CP. (Hc. 4,326) a*, *AMg. JM. JŚ. yī = ca*; *M. ira = kira = Skt. kila* (Vr.9,5; Hc.2,186; G.R.); *M. JM.Ś. Mg. uṇa = punar*, in the sense of "now", "however" (Hc. 1,65.177; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.; Āv. 8,33; Erz.; Kk.; *Ś. e.g. Mṛch. 9,8;13,22;25,1;29,6* etc.; *Mg. e.g. Mṛch. 14,22;38,8;43,4;127,24* etc.) also after anusvāra, like *M. Ś. kim uṇa = kim punar* (H.25.417; G.R.3,28.32;4,26;11,26; Mṛch. 3,20;18,3; Prab. 15,9;38,6;42,6); *M. eṇhiṇ uṇa = idāniṇ punar* (H. 307), *hiāṇ uṇa = hṛdayaṇ punar* (H. 660); *Ś. sampadāṇ uṇa = sāmpratāṇ punar* (Mṛch. 18,23), *ahāṇ uṇa* (Mṛch. 25,14); *tassiṇ uṇa = tasmiṇ punar* (Vikr. 35,5), *kadhāṇ uṇa = kathāṇ punar* (Vikr. 73,14); *Ś. Mg. kinṇimittāṇ uṇa* (Mṛch. 88,16;151,2; Mg. 19,5); *vi = api* (§143); *M. ṇa vahuttāṇ = na prabhūtāṇ* (R. 3,57) for the sake of assonance³, beside *apahutta* (H.277.436). In A. the secondary *pa*, originating from *tva* (§300) as well, is treated in the absolutive, as in *pe'kkheviṇu*, *pe'kkhevi*, *pe'kkhivi* = **prekṣitvī*, *bhaṇivī* = **bhaṇitvī*, *piavī* = **pibatvī*, *ramevī* = **ramayitvī* (§588). *M.A. ṇavara*, *ṇavaraṇ*, *JM. navaraṇ*, (Erz.; Rṣabhap.) "only" (Vr. 9,7; Hc. 2,187; G.H.R.; Hc.4,377.401,6 [so to be read]), P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ conjectures = *na param*, hardly rightly, as the anusvāra appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of *M. A. navari* (Vr. 9,8; Hc. 2,188; G.H.R.; Hc. 4,423,2), *JM. navari* (Pāṇyā. 17; Erz.; Kk.) "thereon", "so forth" from *na pare*, against which is the *i* (§85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the *ja*, after *na* in *jñā* in all the dialects; *AMg. JM.* have *ja* more often as in inlaut (§170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. FISCHEL, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—

3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping off of the initial consonant in cases, like *o'vvaṇāim* for *jo'vvaṇāim* (R. 7,62), *ṇa ṇaṇi* for *ṇa dīṇaṇi* (R. 8,61), *aṇehiṇi* for *jagehiṇi*, *ūraṇi* for *dūraṇi* (R. 8,65). The other places mentioned by S. GOLDSCHMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have "better and weightier" readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573, note; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,105.

§185. In *tāvat*, *tu*, *te* "your", "to you", "thine" and "these" *t* becomes *d* dialectically. Hc. 4,262.302.323 mentions the transition in *tāvat* for Ś. Mg. P. In Ś. Mg. it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in Ś. *ciṣṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), Mg. *ciṣṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 9,24;114,12)=*tiṣṭha tāvat*; Ś. Mg. D. *mā dāva*=*mā tāvat* (Mṛcch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); Ś. *uvaṇehi dāva*=*upaṇaya tāvat* (Mṛcch. 61,10); Mg. *yāṇāhi dāva*=*jāṇāhi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 80,21); Ś. *ciṣṭhadu dāva*, Mg. *ciṣṭhadu dāva*=*tiṣṭhatu tāvat* (Mṛcch. 167,21); Ś. *ajjuāe dāva*=*āryāyai tāvat* (Mṛcch. 94,7); *tumhe dāva*=*yusme tāvat* (16,20); Ś. Mg. Ā. *ido dāva*=*ilastāvat* (Mṛcch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,20); Ś. *aṇāṇgaṇi dāva* (Ratn. 298,13); *daṣṣaṇi dāva*=**dayiṣyāmi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 35,8); Ś. Mg. *ē'vvaṇi dāva*=*evaṇi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in M. (H.R.), but very seldom without the variant reading *tāva*, as in R. 3,26,29, so that for M., as for AMg. JM., *tāva* only will be correct, which in Ś. Mg. as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.¹ On M. *dā* see §150.—*tu* (however) has become *du* in JŚ. after vowels (Pav. 381,18.20;384,58;385,64; Katig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains *tu* (Pav. 382,23), as also in M. (G. 947), AMg. (Sūy. g. 188.414.429.437.439.497), JM. (Āv.19,32;20,8) Ś. (Vikr.40,20), D. (Mṛcch. 325,19). Except in JŚ. *tu* is rare in all the dialects, it occurs more frequently in Ś. only in *kim tu* (Mṛcch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9; 73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write *kim du*². The *u*, that occurs in M. (G.964) JM. (Āv.7,38;8,1 [*yu*]; 19,30.34;20,1.3.7; Erz.; Kk.) and especially in AMg. (c. g. Sūy. g. 50.170. 204.297.312.316.330.403.406.410.415.416.465 etc.; Uitar. 43.219.295.312ff. 329f.353; Dasav. 622,11.27; Nirāyāv. §2; throughout in the verse) is to be derived neither with Sh. P. PANDIT³ and JACOB⁴ from *tu*, nor with WARREN⁵ from *ca*, but it is =*u*, that occurs also in M. *kim u* (Karp. 78,9.13.14).—*te* of the pronoun of the second person, in Ś. Mg. Ā. D. after vowels or anusvāra becomes *de*. So Ś. *ṇa de*=*na te* (Śak. 65,10), *aṇubhava dāva de* (Śak. 67,12), *mā de* (Vikr. 6,17), *kā vi de* (Mṛcch. 5,2), *parihādi de*=*parihiyate te* (Śak. 91,5), *sutṭhu de*=*sutṭhu te* (Mṛcch. 29,14), *amadaṇi khu de*=*amṛtaṇi khalu te* (Vikr. 9,11), *eso de* (Mṛcch. 7,3), *kudo de* (Mṛcch. 36,7), *piduṇo de*=*pituste* (Mṛcch. 95,15; so to be read with the v.l. in GODABALE, p. 271), *sādaṇi de*=*spṛṣṭāṇi te* (Mṛcch. 3,6), *jaṇi de*=*yat te* (Mṛcch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), *mantidaṇi de*=*mantritaṇi te* (Vikr. 44,9); Ś. *matthaṇi de*, Mg. *mastaṇi de*=*mastakaṇi te* (Mṛcch. 18,5;21,22); Mg. *ede vi de*=*ete pi te* (=tvām; Mṛcch. 128,12) *tado de*=*tatas te* (Prab. 50,14), *paṇṇaṇi de*=*praśnaṇi te* (Mṛcch. 80,18), *ē'vvaṇi de*=*evaṇi te* (=tvām; Mṛcch. 128,14); Ā. *pidā vi de*=*pitāpi te*, *jadi de*=*yadi te* (Mṛcch. 104,17; 105,3); D. *ahinṇāṇaṇi de*=*abhijñānaṇi te* (Mṛcch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in M. also. Without a v.l. are found *vi de*=*api te* (H.737); *ova de*=*iva te* (R. 4,31); *pariaṇeṇa de*=*parijaṇeṇa te* (R. 4,33); *pi de* (R. 11,83), *a de*=*ca te* (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has *te*, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. *de*; R. s.v. *tu*)

so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms *te* (these) also becomes *de* in Ś.Mg. (§425). So also M. *jālā de* = **yāt kālāt te* (Dhvanīyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. *dāva*=*tāpayati* see §275.

1. CAPPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p.125; BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 369. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,262; BOLLINSEN on Mālav. p.122.—2. Cf. §275.—3. G. s. v.—4. Erz. s. v.—5. Nirayāv. s.v.

§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d* usually, *p*, *b*, *v* sometimes, and *y*, except in PG.VG. P. CP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; K1 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *loa*=*loka*; *saala*=*sakala* (H.R.); *sua*=*śuka* (H.R.); *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *juala*=*yugala*; *naara*=*nagara* (G.H.); *turaa*=*turaga* (G.R.); *nārāa*=*nārāca* (R.); *paīra*=*pracura* (H.); *vīi*=*vīci* (G.R.); *gaa*=*gaja*; *nīa*=*nija*; *bhoṇa*=*bhojana* (H.); *raaa*=*rajata* (R.); *kaanta*=*kṛānta* (G.R.); *nīamba*=*nīlamba*; *rasāala*=*rasātala* (G.R.); *gaā*=*gadā* (R.); *pāa*=*pāda*; *maṇa*=*madana* (H.R.); *hīaa*=*hṛdaya*; *nīuṇa*=*nīpuna* (H.R.); *riu*=*ripu*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *alāu*, *lāi*=*alābū* (§141); *vīuḥa*=*vībudha* (Hc.); *chāā*=*chāyā*; *pīa*=*priya*, *vīaa*=*vīyoga* (H.R.); *jīa*=*jīva*; *dīaha*=*divasa*; *lāaṇṇa*=*lāvanya* (G.); *vaḷaṇṇala*=*vaḷavāṇala* (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly articulated *ya* (*laghuprayatnatara yakāra*, is uttered, that is indicated in this grammar by *ja* (§45; C. 3,35; Hc. 1,180; K1,3,2). Except in the MSS. written by Jains this *ja* is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between *a*, and *ā* only, but he recognises also *piyāi*=*pibati* and 1,15 *sariyā*=Pāli *sarītā*=*sarīt*. Mk. fol. 14 adduces a quotation, according to which *jaśruti* occurs when one of the vowels is either an *a*- or an *i*-sound : *anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitanyau yakāravat iti pāṭhaśikṣā*. In K1. *ja* is generally written only between *a*-sounds, as : 1 *śajalāṇa*, 9 *paḷā*, 10 *nāya*, *maṇayam pi* (sic), 11 *śajalam pi* (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an *i*-sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside *ṇi ā* (9) stands *nīa* (12); in 14 there is *iya* and in 13, *ṇiya*=*naiva* also. The oldest M Ś. write *ja* after all vowels before *a*, *ā* in AMg. JM. JŚ., and for these dialects *ya* is a characteristic.¹ There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as *indīya*=*indriya*, *hīyaya*=*hṛdaya*; *gīya*=*gīta*; *dīhīyā*=*dirghikā*; *rvya*=*ruta*; *dūya*=*dūtā*; *teya*=*tejas*; *loya*=*loka*. One says, however, only *ei*=*eti*; *loe*=*loke*; *dūo*=*dūtah*, *uīya*=*ucita*, *uūim*=**ytūni*. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jains erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. JM. JŚ. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. HOFER, ZWS. 3,366; WEBER, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 4 f.; FISCHER, Hc. 1, p. x f.; on 1,180; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,447; JACOBI, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 25,295; STEINTHAL, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except *ch*, *jh*, *th*, *dh*, generally become *h* between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; K1 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *muha*=*mukha* (G.H.R.)¹; *mehālā*=*mekhalā*; *sāhā*=*śākhā*; *jahaṇa*=*jaghana*; *meḥa*=*megha*; *rahunāha*=*raghunātha* (R.); *lahua*=*laghuka*; *aha*=*atha*; *jūha*=*yūtha*; *mahu-mahaṇa*=*madhumathana*; *raha*=*ratha*; *ahara*=*adhara*; *ruhira*=*rudhira* (G.R.); *vahū*=*vadhū*; *sīhu*=*śidhu* (G.H.); *sahara*=*śaphara* (G.); *sehālīā*=*śephalikā* (H.); *ahīṇava*=*abhinava*; *ṇaha*=*nabhas* and *nakha*; *rahasa*=*rabhasa*; *sahā*=*sabhā* (R.); *seriha*=*sairibha* (G.H.). On *ph* see further especially §200.

In the initial syllable transition to *h* is just sporadic: *hammaī* (goes to) with the compounds *ṇihammaī*, *ṇihammaī*, *āhammaī*, *paḥammaī* (Hc. 4,162), *ṇihammia* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), M. *paḥammanti* (G. 871 v.l.) = Pāli *ghammanti*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāṣṭra², by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. JM. *havaī*, JS. *havadi*, M. JM. A. *hoi*, JS. *hodi* = *bhavati*, M. *huvanti* = *bhavanti*, PG. *hoja*, P. *huveyya* = *bhavet*, Mg. *huviadi* = **bhūyate*, Ś. *havissadi*, Mg. *haviṣṭadi* = *bhavissati*, AMg. JM. *hojaṇṇa*, Ś. Mg. *hodaṇṇa*, Mg. *huvidavva* = *bhavitaṇṇa*, M. JM. *houm*, JS. *hodom* = *bhavitum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has pretty often *h* for *bh*: *haṭṭha* = *bhraṣṭa*; *hanida* = *bhaṇṭa*; *haniri* for *bhaniri*; *haṇḍaṇa* = *bhaṇḍaṇa*; *hamira* = *bhamira*; *hāā* = *bhrātā*; *huaga*, *huamga* = *bhujaga*, *bhujamga*; *humaā* for *bhumaā*; *hūsaṇa* = *bhūsaṇa*; *hea* = *bheda*; *hoṇa* = *bhojana*.³ On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see § 184.

1. Cf. §186, note 1.—Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 9,26 ed. KIELHORN; Naighaṇṭuka 2,14 (p. 14,17 ed. Roth = 1,238 ed. SATYAVRATA ŚĀMAŚRAMI); WEBER, IS. 13,363 f.; E. KUHN, Beiträge p.42.—3. WEBER, H. s.v.

§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hoja* (§ 188), remain unchanged: PG. *ārakhādhikate gumike tūthike* = *ārakṣādhikṛtān gulmikān tīrthikān* (5,5); *udakāḍim* (6,29); *jāmātukasa* = *jāmāṭṭkasya* (6,14); *nāganamdisa* = *nāganandinah* (6,25); *patibhāga* = *pratibhāga* (6,12); *mahārājādhirāja* (5,1); *appatikhata* = *apratikhata* (6,19); *varisatasahasātīreka* = *varṣasatasahasrātīreka* (7,42); *āpiṭṭi* (6,8.37); *api* (6,37); *parihāpetavva* = *parihāpayitavva* (6,37); *paṃukhāṇam* = *pramukhāṇam* (6,27.38); *uparilikhitaṃ* (7,44); *attha* (6,40); *tūthike* = *tīrthikān* (5,5); *assamedha* = *asvamedha* (5,1); *narādhama* (7,47); *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* (7,44); *°cchobham* = *°kṣobham* (6,32); *vallabhamadēna* (6,40). Exceptions are *kassava* = *kāṣyaṇa* (6,18); *kāraṇējja* = Pāli *kāraṇēyya* (6,40); *anuvāṭṭhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (§184); *vi* = *api* (5,6;6,29); *bhaḍa* = *bhaṣṭa* (5,7;7,43); *koḍi* = *koṭi* (6,10); *kaḍa* = *kyta* (7,51). Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,3 and §10.

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāṅkara 2,12); *anekapa*; *makaraketu*; *sagaraputtavacana*; *vijayasenena lapitaṃ*; *pāṭaliputta*; *patākā*; *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307); *pāpa*; *āyudha*; *mukha*; *megha*; *sabhā*; *kamaṭha*; *maṭha*. In the initial and medial syllables *da* becomes *ta* (Hc. 4,307), according to Nāmisādhū, optionally: *tāmōtara* = *dāmōdara*; *tiṭṭha* = *ḍṭṭha* (Hc. 4,314, 321.323); *taṭṭhūna*, *latthūna* (Hc. 4,313.323); *tātisa* = *tāḍṭsa*, *yātisa* = *yāḍṭsa* (Hc. 4,317); *teti* = **dayati* (Hc. 4,318); *tevara* = *devara* (Hc. 4,324); *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *patesa* = *pradesa*, *vatanaka* = *vadanaka* (Hc. 4,307).—*tha* becomes *dh* according to Hc.: *adha* = *adha* (Hc. 4,323), *kadhūna* = *kathitvāna* (Hc. 4,312); *pudhuma* = *prathama* (Hc. 4,316); *kadhama* = *katham* (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmisādhū it is retained: *pathama* = *prathama*; *puthūvi* = *prthūvi*.

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but all medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; K1, 5,102)¹: *kakana* = *gagana*; *kiritaṭa* = *giritaṭa*; *khamma* = *gharma*; *khata* = *ghṛta* (§ 47); *cāta* = *jāta*; *cimūta* = *jimūta*; *chacchara* = *jharjhora*; *chaṃkāla* = *jhaṅkāra*; *ṭamaruka* = *ḍamaruka*; *ṭimba* = *ḍimba*; *ṭhakkā* = *ḍhakkā*; *tāmōtara* = *dāmōdara*; *thūḷi* = *dhūḷi*; *pāṭaka* = *bālaka*;

pisa=*bisa*; *phakavatī*=*bhagavatī*; *phūta*=*bhūta*; *nakara*=*nagara*; *mekha*=*megha*; *rāca*=*rājan*; *taṭāka*=*taḍāga*; *kāṭha*=*gāḍha*; *matana*=*madana*; *mathura*=*madhura*; *sāṭhu*+*sādhū*; *raphasa*=*rabhasa*. According to Hc. 4,325 and Ki. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in *cacana*=Pkt. *jajana*=Skt. *yajana*; *paṭimā*=*paḍimā*=*pratimā*; *tāṭhā*=Pkt. *dāḍhā*=*daṁṣṭrā* (§76). According to Hc. and Ki. conjunct consonants too undergo the change: *tukkā*=*durgā*; *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *caccara*=*jarjara*; *nicchara*=*nirjhara*; *kaṇṭa*=*gaṇḍa*; *maṇṭala*=*maṇḍala*; *saṇṭha*=*saṇḍha*; *kantappa*=*kandarpa*; *panthava*=*bandhava*; *ṭimpa*=*ḍimba*; *ramphā*=*rambhā*. Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: *gakana*=*gagana*, against *kakana* in Ki.; *gamana*; *dasavatana*; *gopinta*=*govinda*; *saṅgāma*=*saṅgrāma*; *vaggha*=*vyāghra*, against *vakkha* in Hc. Of these *nt* in *gopinta* is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., Ki., as also the examples of Bh. for the initial *mekha*, *rāca*-, *nicchara*, *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *saraphasa*, *salapha*=*śalabha*. Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root *yuj*: *gati*; *ghamma*, *ṣimūta*; *jhaṇṇa*; *damaruka*; *dhakkā*; *dāmotara*; *bāḷaka*; *bhakavatī*; *niyojita* against *niyocita* in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of *va*. Bh. has *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava*, but *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *dasavatana*=*daśa-vadana*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *vaggha*=*vyāghra*. In Hc. original *va* is consistently retained: *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *panthava*=*bāndhava*; *phakavatī*=*bhagavatī*; *vasuthā*=*vasudhā*. Ki. has 5,108 *pala*=*vana*, but 5,110 *vañña*=*varṇa*, and he retains it also in 5,107 *thvalati*=*dhoanati*, *thvalita*=*dhoanita*². Seemingly *pa* is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary *va*, that originated from *ya* (§254), has become *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya* (Sr. fol. 64), *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Ki. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā 2,12; Siṁha-devagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,3)³. Mk. has *pisesa*=*viśeṣa* (fol. 86), *kupa ci*=*kva cid*, *pisuma*=*vismaya* (fol. 87) in the section on Kaikeyapaisācika. On *piva* see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I.II.p.15ff; IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Ki. by P. is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on *rājan* is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has *rājā*, against *rācā*, *rācāṇam* in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has *rājām rājā*, against that 4,325 has *rācā* for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. **aggalaggapātibimbam*, *luddam samuddā* are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, **pānukkhevna* is to be corrected to **pena*.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to LASSEN, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading *hitaakam* in Vr. (cf. v.l., where *va* has been wrongly read for *pa*) and in Ki. we have to read *hitapakam*.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic *k,t,p* shift to *g,d,b* respectively instead of dropping off, and *kh,th,pha* become *gh,dh,bh* respectively instead of changing into *h* (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: *khaagāli*=*kṣayakāle* (Hc.4,377); *nāagu*=*nāyakaḥ* (Hc. 4,427); *vicchahagaru*=*vikṣobhakaram* (Hc.4,396,1); *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc.4,396,2); *āgado*=*āgataḥ* (Hc.4,355.372); *karadi*, *ciṭṭhadi*=*karoti*, *tiṣṭhati* (Hc.4,360); *kīḷadi*=*kṛīḍati* (Hc.4,442,2); *kṛdantaho*=*kṛtāntasya* (Hc.4,370,4); *ghadadi*, *praṇvadi*, *ṭhido*=*ghaṭate*, *prajāpatiḥ*, *sṭhitaḥ* (Hc.4,404); *madi*=*mati* (Hc.4,372); *viṇimavidu*, *kidu*, *radie*, *viḥidu*=*vinirmāpitam*, *kṛtam*, *ratyāḥ*, *viḥitam* (Hc.4,446); *gañjidu*, *maṣidu*, *harāvidu*, *bhāmиду*, *himsidu*=**gañjitam*(= *piḍitam*; Hc.4,409; cf. Āryā-saptaśatī 384.685; Gitagovinda 1,19), *marditam*, *hāritam* *bhrāmītam*, *him-*

ṣitam (Kk. 260.43ff.); *sabadhu*=*śopatham*, *kadhidu*=*kathitam*, *sabhalañ*=*saphalakam* (Hc. 4.396.3). By far in most cases A. follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A. of Piṅgala always does it except in the case of *madagala*=*madakala* (§ 202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to *h*, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as *kkha*, *ggha*, *ccha*, *jjha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ppha*, *bbha* (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: *ārakkhādhikate*¹ *ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5); *vadhanike*=*vardhanakān* (6,9); *dakhiṇa*=*dakṣiṇa* (6,28); *pupha*=*puṣpa* (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: *aggiṭṭhoma* [so to be read]=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1); *savatttha*=*sarvatra* (5,3); *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5,4); *ēṭṭha*=*iṭṭhā* (5,7); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6,8); *raṭṭhe*=*rāṣṭre* (6,27); *eraṭṭha*=*arāṣṭra* (6,32); *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); *°cchobham*=*kṣobham* (6,32); *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34); *addhikā*=*ardhakāḥ* (6,39); *anuvaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); *vigghe*=*vighnān* (7,46); *sahatttha*=*svahasta* (7,51). In *abhatthemi*=*abhyarthayāmi* we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Dravidian script from which the Nāgari manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): *aghgha*=or *aogha*=*aggha*=*arghya*; *abbbhatthāṇā* or *aobhaothāṇā*=*abbhatthāṇā*=Śkt. *abhyarthanā*; *vakhkhaththala* or *vaokhaothala*=*vakṣaṣṭhala*. *cha* and *dha* are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodaya, Pūṇā śāke 1773 in some aspirates, such as *kha*, e.g. in *rakkkhasi*=*rākṣasi* (fol. 13^a); *gha*, e.g. in *ughghāḍiadi*=*udghāṭyate* (fol. 12^b); *ṭha*, e.g. in *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (fol. 19^b), *pha*, in *viphphuraṁta*=*viṣphurat* (fol. 16^b), *bha*, e.g. in *ṇibbbhatsida* (sic!) for *ṇibbhacchida*=*nirbhartsita* (6^a). The edition writes in Sanskrit too *ujjhita* (fol. 13^a). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. PANDIT has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaṣiya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example *puchchidum*, *dithṭhim*, *ṇijjhānti*, *ṣiṇidhdham* (Mālav.5), *ubbbhinṇa*, *paththidā* (p.6) etc. also². Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hālā and in isolated cases especially in *bha*, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Paṇḍav. *khokkubbhamāṇa* (169.210); *pabbhatṭha* (216); *labbbhā* (363.466); *vibbbhamo* (227.468); *abbbhunṇāya* (284); in Vivāgas. *tubbbhim* (17); *tubbbham* 20.21); *ukkhhatta* (214); *pāmo'kkham* (215), *pāmo'kkhānam*, *pāmo'kkkhehim*, *abbbhūgae* (216); in Jiv. *sattakkkhutto* (621), *dakkkhinilla* (842), *savabbhantarilla* (878f.), *°nakkhānam* (883.886.887), *majjhimiṇṇā* (905ff.), *avaḍḍha* (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§26).

1. So to be read; see LEUMANN, EI. 2.484.—2. Cf. PANDIT, Mālav. 2 (Bombay 1889) p. vf.—3. WZSER, Hālā 1 p. 26f.

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming *h*, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. *ukkhā*=*ukhā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMg. *ujju*=*jjū* (§57); A. *ke'tthu*=*kathā* (§107); JM. *jitta*=*jittā* (Erz. 13,6); AMg. *nijjitta*=*nirjita* (Sūyag. 704); M. *nakkha*, AMg. *nakkha* beside *naha*, *naha*=*nakhā* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Pāṭh. 109; H.R.; Uvās.); A. *nimma*=*niyamā* (§149); M. AMg. *ṇ'illai*, *ṇullai*=*nuddati* (§244); M. *phuttai*=*sphutṭati* (Hc. 4,177.231; G.H.R.); A. *phutti*=*sphuteh* (Hc. 4,357,4), *phuttisu*=*sphutti-gyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12); *phittai*=**sphittati* (Hc. 4,177,370) beside *phuḍai*, *phidai*; *so'llai*=*sūddayati* (§244); *hatta*=*hatā* in *ohatta*=*avahata* (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), *paruhatta*, *parasuhatta*=*parūhata*, *paraśuhata* (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. *duritta*=*duritā* (Piṅgala 2,17.35.43 [dūritā]. 186), *mālati*=*mālātī* (Piṅgala 2,113), *vratu*=*vratām* (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix *-ka* in M. *sisakka*=*śirṣaka* (R. 15,30); *leḍukka*, *leḍhukka*=*leṣṭuka* (§304); M. JM. Ś. A. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Mālatim. 288,6; Bālar. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Piṅgala 1,107.121.143^a.152^a [pā^o; text *paika*]; 2,138)¹; Mg. *haḍakka*=**hrḍaka* (§150; Vr. 11,6; Ki. 5,89 [text *hrḍakko*; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *hladakko*]; Mṛcch. 79,11; 114,14.16.18; 115,23), in verses also *haḷaka* (Mṛcch. 9,25 [Sakāra] and *haḍaka* 30,21); Mg. *hagge*=**ahakah* (§142.417); *aakka* beside *aaga*=*ajaka* (demon; Deśin. 1,6)²; A. *kālikkā*=*kālikā* (Piṅgala 2,43); Ś. *caccikka*=**caraika* (Mṛcch. 73,15); A. *nāakka*=*nāyaka* (Piṅgala 1,34.57.116), *dīpakka*=*dīpaka* (Piṅgala 1,138), *rūakka*=*rūpaka* (Piṅgala 2,137), *sāraṅgikkā*=*sāraṅgikā* (Piṅgala 2,71 [sa^o]. 187). Likewise in the suffix *-la* in AMg. *viuonittu*=*vikuroita* (Sūyag. 792.806), beside the usual *viuoviya*. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of *la* in the suffixes *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla*=*alā*, *-ilā*, *-ulā* (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. *paūmāvatti*=*pādmāvati* and *me'nakkā*=*me'nakā* (Piṅgala 1,116; 2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in *ēvvaṁ*=*evdm*; *kiddā*=*kriddā*; *jēvva*=*evā*; *ṇēḍḍa*=*niddā*; *tuphikka*=*tūṣṇikā*; *te'llā*=*tailā*; *duḡullā*=*dukūlā* etc. (§90).³ On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff., on *ṇihitta*, *vāhitta* §286.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,922), who is followed by WEBER (Hāla² p. xvii) and JACOBI [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix *-ka* were not known to him. My derivation from *pādika* (GGA. 1881,1321) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable — 2. Cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *ajaka*, and *parilladeva*=*arura* (Deśin. 6,55)=*daitya* (Triv. 1,4,121; cf. BB. 13,12). — 3. PSCHERL, KZ. 35,140ff.; otherwise JACOBI, KZ. 35,575ff.

§195. If the conjunct consonants are separated by a separation vowel, they must be simplified or be treated according to § 186. 188. Sometimes, however, in this case one of them is doubled according to the rule holding good for conjunct consonants (§131): AMg. *sassiriya*, Ś. *sassiria*=*saśrika*; Ś. *sassiriadā*, *sassiriattana*=*saśrikatā*, **saśrikatvana* (§98.135)¹; *puruvva*=*pūvva*; *murukkha*=*mūrkhā*; AMg. *riuvveya*=*ṛveda* (§139); Ś. *sakkānōmi*, *sakkunōmi*=*śaknōmi*; *sakkānōdi*, *sakkunōdi*=*śaknōti* (§140.505); AMg. *sakkiriya*=*sakriya* (Ovav. §30.II,4b; so to be read with the MSS.); AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla*, JM. *sukkiliya*=*śuklita* (§136). In JM. *namōkkāra*, M. A. *aparōppara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*namaskāra*, *aparaspāra*, *paraspāra*, as has been changed into *o*, besides *skā* into *kka*, and *spā* into *ppā* (§306. 311.347). In M. AMg. *po'mma*=*pādma*, *po'mmā*=*pādmā*, M. Ś. *po'mmarā*=

padmarāga, *a* has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139.166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.² On *-jja* for *-ya* see §91.

1. Kāvya-prakāśa 72,11 is correct, *jaasiri*, like *jaasiris* (G. 243), since in line 10 *balāmoḍi* is to be read (§238.589). It is not, with WEBER, Hāla¹ A. 22; 2977, to be written as *jaasiri*.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 146f. On Pāli see FRANK, GN. 1895.530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. *vāranakhandha*=*vāraṇaskandha* (G.1200) beside *mahisakkhandha*=*mahisaskandha* (H. 561); M. *hatthaphaṇsa*=*hastasparsa* (H. 330) beside *hatthapphaṇsa* (H. 462); Ś. *anugahida*=*anugrāhita* (Mṛcch. 25,3) beside *pariggahida*=*parigrāhita* (Mṛcch. 41,10); *ṇaigāma* beside *ṇaiggāma*=*naḍigrāma* (Bh.; Hc.); *kusumapaara* beside *kusumappāra*=*kusumaprakara* (Bh.; Hc.); *devathui* beside *devastuti* (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); *āṇālakhambha* beside *āṇālakkhambha*=*ālānastambha* (Bh.; Hc.); *harakhanda* beside *harakkhandā*=*haraskandau* (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the initial, and according to this analogy¹, not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: Ś. *akkhāida*=*akkhāḍita* (Mṛcch. 55,15); *addaṇṣaṇa*=*adaṇṣana* (Hc. 2,97); M. *addiṭṭha*=*adṛṣṭa* (G.H.R.); M. *oddāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya*=**ādāpaka*² (mirror; Deśin. 1,14; Paṭiyal. 119; H.; Thāp. 284; Paṇṇav. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10. 14.15.16; Erz.); M. *pabbuddha*=*prabuddha* (R.12,34); *abbuddhasiri*=*abuddhasiri* (Deśin. 1,42; Triv. 1,4,121); M. *akkhaṇḍia*=*akkhaṇḍita* (H. 689); M. *alliaī*, JM. *alliyāu*, AMg. *unalliyai*, M. *samalliaī*, JM. *samalliyai* (§474); M. JM. *allina* (G.H.R.); Āv. 14,23; 24,17; 26,28; Erz.); M. *anallina* (R.), *samallina* (H.) from *li* with *ā*, *upa*, *saṃā*³; *allivai*=*ālīpāti*=*ālīmpati* (Hc. 4,39); *avallāva*=*apalāpa* (Deśin. 1,38); A. *uddhabbhua*=*ūrdhvaabhūja* (Hc. 4,444,3); *oḅgāla* beside *oḍla* for **ogāla* (rivulet; Deśin.1,151)=**avagāla*, from *gal* with *ava*; AMg. *kāyaggirā*=*kāyagirā* (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. *tēllōkka* (Bh. 1,35; 3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.; Dbūrtas. 4,20; Anarghar. 317,16); Karpas.13,9,11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttarar. 64,8 [*tēlloa*]; Mallikām. 133,3, beside AMg. M. *teloḅka* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 2,178ff. [*tu*]); Dasav. N. 655,28; Uvās.; Kappas.)=*trailokya*, Mg. *pañcayyaṇa*=*pañcayanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6); *paḍikkūla* (Hc.2,97), beside the usual *paḍiūla*=*pratikūla*; M. *pabbala*=*prabala* (R.); *pammukka* (Hc. 2,97) beside the usual *pamukka*=*pramukta* (§566); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paravasa* (H.R.; Paṇḥāv. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nāgān. 50,13 v.l.), Mg. *palavasa* (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=*paravasa*; AMg. *anuvasa*=*anuvāsa* (Sūyag. 192); *paṇvāoi*=**pravāyati*=*pravāti* (Hc. 4,18), M. *paṇvāa*=*pravāta* (H.R.); M. *āṇāmeṭṭapphala*=*ājñāmātraphala* (R. 3,6); *ahinavadiṇṇapphala*=*abhinavaddattaphala* (R. 2,37); *pāvapphala*=*pādapaphala* (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12; 13,89; H. 576) *baddhapphala* beside *baddhaphala* (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); JM. *bahupphala* (Ki. 2,116; Kk. 271,20), beside *bahuḥala* (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMg. *purisakkāra*=*puruṣakāra* (Vivāhaṇ. 67.68.125; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. Ovav.)⁴, as M. *sāhukkāra*=*sādhukāra* (R.); AMg. *tahakkāra*=*tathākāra* (Thāp. 566); JM. *bhattibbhara*=*bhaktibhara* (Kk. 269,14); M. *maṇikkhaia*=*maṇikkacita* (Mṛcch. 41,2); M. *malaasiharakkhaṇḍa*=*maleyaśikharakkhaṇḍa* (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. *vaṇṇagghaa*=*vaṇṇaggha* (H. 520); A. *vijjajjhara*=*vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. *vipphakka*=*vipakṣa* (Piṅgala 1,138^a); AMg. *sakaḍabbhi*, *sagaḍabbhi*=*svakṛtābhīd* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4); M. *sajjia*=*sajjiva* (R. 1,45), *sattaṇṇa*=*satṛṣṇa* (R. 1,46), *sappivāsa*=

sapipāsa (Hc. 2,97; R.3,21), *sesapphaṇa*=*sesaphaṇa* (R. 6,19; cf. 6,63.69.72; 7,59; 9,14.34.45), *paṇdurappheṇa* (R.8,9; cf. 8,49; 13,24.53.66); AMg. JŚ. *saccitta*=*sacitra* (Dasav. 622,39; Kattig. 403,379). In °*kkāra*, the words beginning with *kkha* and °*pphala*, the doubling is to be ascribed perhaps to an original *s*, in many other cases the duplication is purely metrical, and certainly also in M. *tanullaā* (Karp. 27,12), beside the usual *tanulaā*=*tanulatā*, AMg. *rāga-ddosa* (Uttar. 707; Dasav. N. 653,6), beside the usual *rāgadosa* (§129), JŚ. *kuddiṭṭhi*=*kudrṭṭi* (Kattig. 399,318; 400,323), beside and influenced by *saddiṭṭhi*=*sadrṭṭi* (Kattig. 399,317.320) and so on.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 35,147ff.—2 So more correctly than BB. 3,247, as JM. *addāga* proves. On the contraction cf. §165, on *dāvā* §554. Incorrect WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; on Hāla² 4.204.—3. So more correctly than BB. 13,10f.; cf. KZ. 35,149.—4. Incorrectly explain HOERNLE (Uvās.; Transl. p. 111, note 254) and LEUMANN (WZKM. 3,345) these words as analogous formation according to *balakkāra*=*balākkāra*. It could, with equal justification, be explained as having been formed according to *sakkāra*=*sakkāra*.

§197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in *katto*=*kutah* from **kattah*=*kad*+*tah*; *jatto*=*jad*+*tah*; *tatto*=*tad*+*tah*; *aṇatto*=*anyad*+*tah*, on the analogy of which are formed *atto*=*ātah*; °*kkatto*=*ekatah*; *savatto*=*sarvatah* and probably also *itto*=*itah*, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. *etto*=**etatah* is derived from *eta*=*etad*+*tah*, as *aṇṇo* from *anya*=*anyad*+*tah* according to §339 and with elision of *a* according to §148. On *to* see §142¹. The majority of the verbs of the fourth and sixth classes of Skt. has, according to the phonetic laws of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in *alliat* (§196); *phuttaṭ*, *phittaṭ* (§194); *kukkaṭ*, *koḷkai*=**krukyati*; *callai*=**calyati*=*calati*; *ummillai*=**ummilyati*=*ummilati*; Ś. *ruccadi*=**rucyate*=*rocate*; *laggai*=**lagyati*=*lagati*; Ś. *vaijadi*=**vrajyati*=*vrajati* (§487.488)². From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like *oalla* (shivering, departure; Deśin. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,8)=**apacalya*; cf. *oallanti*, *oallanta-* (R.); *ujjalla* (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 13,7), *oḷjalla* (Deśin. 1,154) "strong", *ujjallā* (violence; Deśin. 1,97) from **ujjā-lyā*; *koḷḷpa* (agitation; Deśin. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121=BB. 6,104) from *kupya-*; *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,260), *sivviṇi* (Deśin. 8,29) from *siyya*-³.

1. Examples in §425ff. Cf. FISCHER, KZ. 35,149. Somewhat deviating S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; wrongly JACOB, KZ. 35,578; wrong is also LEUMANN, *Aup. S.* s.v. *tatto*, who considers the duplication as purely metrical.—2. FISCHER, BB. 13,8ff.—3. FISCHER, BB. 6,86.

§198. Transition of *tenuis* into *mediae* is the rule with *cerebrals*, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; *t* becomes *ḍ* and *thā* becomes *dh* (Vr. 2,20.24; Hc. 1,195.199; Ki. 2,10.18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *kaḍḍaa*=*kaḍḍaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *kuḍḍumba*=*kuḍḍumba* (G.H.); *ghaḍḍia*=*ghaḍḍita*; *caḍḍula*=*caḍḍula*; *taḍḍa*=*taḍḍa*; *paḍḍala*=*paḍḍala*; *viḍḍava*=*viḍḍapa*.—*kaḍḍhina*=*kathina* (G.H.); *kaḍḍhinattana*=**kathinatvana* (R.); *kamaḍḍha*=*kamaḍḍha* (G.H.); *paḍḍhai*=*paḍḍhati* (H.); *piḍḍha*=*piḍḍha* (G.); *haḍḍha*=*haḍḍha* (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG. in *bhaḍḍa*=*bhaḍḍa* and *koḍḍi*=*koḍḍi* (§189). According to Hc. 1.195 sometimes *t* remains, as in *aṭai*=*aṭati*, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. §184, note 1; §186, note 1.

§199. Instead of dropping off (§186), *p* mostly becomes *v*¹, not *b*, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr. 2,15;

Hc. 1,231; Kī 2,8; Mk. fol. 16. M. *āva*=*ātapa* (G.H.R.)², *uvala*=*upala* (G.); *kova*=*kopa*; *cāva*=*cāpa*; *niva*=*nṛpa* (R.); *diva*=*dīpa*; *paṭva*=*pratāpa*; *viviṇa*=*vipina* (G.); *savaha*=*śapatha* (H.); *sāva*=*śvāpada* (G.R.). Exceptionally in PG. too in *anuvatthāveti*, *kassava*, *kāravējjā*, *vi* (§189). On *va* for initial and secondary *pa* see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to *v*. According to Bh. on Vr.2,2 and Mk.fol.14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.³ Usually *p* becomes *v* before *a*, *ā*, but on the other hand, drops off before *u*, *ū*; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write *b* for *v*.

1. COWELL, Vararuci² p. xiv; FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p. 398; Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p. 317; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, 512 note ***.—2. Cf. §184, note 1 and §186, note 1.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 2,231.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, *ph* always becomes *bh*. Bh. gives as examples : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*=*śapharī*; *sabhalaṃ*=*saphalam*. Mk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gaṇa *śiphādi*, in which he reckons : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhā*=*śepha*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; he cites also *sabharī*=*śapharī* as used by somebody.¹ Kī. 2,16 teaches *bh* for *śiphā* and *śaphara*. Hc. 1,236 allows *bh* and *h*; he teaches *bh* for *rebha*=*repha* and *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *h* for *muttāhala*=*muktāphala*; *bh* and *h* beside one another for *sabhala*, *sahala*=*saphala*; *sebhāliā*, *sehāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*, *saharī*=*śapharī*; *gubhāi*, *guhāi*=*guphātī*. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout *h*, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also *ph*. Thus M. JM. *Ś. muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (G.; Karp. 73,9; 72,3; 73,2; Erz.); M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5); M. *sahara*, *saharī* (G.); M. *Ś. sehāliā* (H.; Mṛch. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]; Priyad. 11,1; 12,3; 13,16); *Ś. cittaphalaa*=*citrāphalaka* (e.g. Mṛch. 57,3; 59,7; 69,19; Śak. 125,7; 133,8; 134,4; 142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4; 303,19; Mālatim. 127,11); *bahuhala* (Kī. 2,116); *Ś. bahuphala* (Vikr. 45,13), *saphala* (Mālav. 44,1; 46,11), *saggaphala*=*svargaphala* (Prab. 42,5); Mg. *paṇasaphala* (Mṛch. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on *pphala*, §196. In what relation *phumai* and *bhumai*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Dravidian MSS. write *bhaṇ* (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently *phaṇ* (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. FISCHER 622,10 v.l., 17,18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mallikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads *saparir yāsaur* (or *yāsaḍar*) *ityādyapi kaseit*.

§201. *b* in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237): M. AMg. JM. *Ā. Ś. D. A. kalevara*=*kalebara* (G. R.; Vivāhap. 1303 [°de°]. 1390 [°de°]; Rāyap. 142 [°de°]; Erz.; Mṛch. 148,22,23; Piṅgala 1,86^a; Hc. 4,365,3), Mg. *kalevola* (Mṛch. 168,20); M. AMg. *Ś. Mg. A. kavala*=*kabala* (G.H.); Śak. 85,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Mṛch. 69,7; Hc. 4,289,387,1); M. JM. *A. kavandha*=*kabandha* (R.; Erz. [text °ba°]; Piṅgala 2,230); AMg. *kiliva*=*kliba* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *chāva*=*śāba* (§211); M. *thavaa*=*stabaka* (R.), AMg. *thavaīya*=*stabakita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); M. *dānai*=*Marāṭhī, dābṇem* (Śak. 55,16)¹; M. JM. *sava*=*śaba* (G.; Āv. 36,34); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. savara*=*sabara* (G. [text °ba°]; Vivāhap. 246 [text °va°]; Panhāv. 41 [text °ba°]; Paṇnav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6,7 [text °ba°]), M. AMg. *savarī* (G. [text °ba°]; Vivāhap. 792 [text °ba°]; Nāyādh. §117 [text °ba°]; Ovav. §55 [text °ba°]; M. *savala*=*śabala* (H.); AMg. JM. *siviyā*=*śibikā* (§165); JM. *sivira* (Erz. [text °bi°]), Mg. *śivira* (Lalitav. 565,6,8)=*śibira*². More rarely *b* drops out as in AMg. *alāu*, *alāuya*, *lāu*, *lāu*, *lāuya* beside *Ś. alāvū*=*alābū*, *alābu* (§141); *ṇiandhapa*=*nibandhana* (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121)³;

viuha (Hc.1,177), beside JM. *vibuha* (Erz.) = *vibudha*. — *v* very often is retained, especially between *a*-sounds. As in the case of *p* (§199), in its case as well the euphony determines the question.

1. Accordingly the remark on Śak. 55,16, p. 184 has to be amended. — 2. As the examples show, the Jaina manuscripts especially very often write *b* for *v*, which is not, as JACOBI (Erz. §20, 2d., p. XXVIII) assumes supported phonetically, but is simply an error of transcription. Likewise they sometimes write *b* instead of *v* in the initial syllable. (E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 29). In the Lalitav., as in the MSS., with the exception of those in the Dravidian script, only *v* is written, even in places, where *b* should stand. Cf. also §45, note 3.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13.3.

§202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to mediae and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, *k* in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes *g*, especially in the case of the suffix *-ka* (Hc.1,177): AMg. JM. *asoga* = *aśoka* (e.g. Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read *asoga* in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. *asoga* (Āv. 8,2.32); AMg. JM. *āgāsa* = *ākāsa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 21,15); AMg. *egamega* = *ekaika* (§353); AMg. JM. *kulagara* = *kulakara* (Kappas.; Āv. 46,20.22); AMg. JM. *jamagasamaga* = *yama-kasamaka* (Uvās. §148.153; Kappas. §102; Ovav. §52; Āv. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. *loga* = *loka* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7; 1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; 387,25), JŚ. *logālogam* (Pav. 382,23) beside *lojālojam* (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. *sāgapāgāe śākapākāya* (Sūyag. 247.249), *silogagāmi* = *ślokakāmin* (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. *āppaga* = *ātmaka* (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66.68); JŚ. *maṇisuga* = *śmaśruka* (Pav. 386,4); AMg. *phalaga* = *phalaka* (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.); JM. *tilagacōddasaga* = *tilakacaturdaśaka* (Āv. 17,1; 37,29; 38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of *g*, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of *ka* into *ga* occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mg. throughout *hage*, *hagge* = **ahakaḥ* (§142.194.417); further *sāpaga* = *śrāoaka* (Mudrār. 175,1.3; 177,2; 178,2; 183,5; 185,1; 190,10; 193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13; 47,7 *śāvagā*, 58,15 *śāvagi*, for *śāvakā*, *śāvakā*, *śāvaki*, *śāvaki* of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. *sāvaga* (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf. §17. Further *ka* has become *ga* in M. A. *maragaa*, AMg. JM. *maragāya*, Ś. *maragada* = *marakata* (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Paṇnav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 13,43; Mṛcch. 71,1 [read **gada*]; Karp. 53,2; 59,1; 61,7.8; 62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read **gada*]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly *maraa* (Acyutaś. 43) and *marāada* (Ki. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 *ka* becomes *ga* in *mada-kala* also; a mention should be made here of A. *madagala* (Piṅgala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also *pāgasāsana* = *pākāsāsana* (G.380). On *ge'ndua* see §107. *-kha* has become *gh* in AMg. *āghāve* = *ākhyāpayati*, *āghavaṇā* = *ākhyāpanā* (§88.551), and in *nighasa* = *niḥaṣa* (§206). In *ahilaṅkhaḥ*, *ahilaṅghaḥ* (wishes; Hc. 4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether *kh* or *gh* is original. Dialectically *ca* has become *ja* in *piśāji* = *piśāci* (Hc. 1,177). Reversely *ca* appears for *ja* in M. Ś. *cakkhā* (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)¹, M. *cakkhia* (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; H. 605), *acakkhia* (H. 917), *cakkhanta* (H. 171), Ś. *cakkhia* (absol.; Nāgān. 49,5), *cakkhijanta* (correctly *cakkhianta*; Caṇḍak. 16,16)² from *jaḥṣa*; *maccā* beside *majjā* = *mādyati* from *mad* (Hc. 4,225); A. *raccasi* = *rajjase* from *raj* (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JM. *vaccā* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), Ā. *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19; 101,7; 148,8; D. *vaccā* (Mṛcch. 100,15 [so to be read]), *vacca*, *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 105,4.9), beside Dh. *vajjadi*, Ś. *vajjamha*, Mg. *vayye'nti* (§488)³. To *vaccā* belongs also AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* (§163.

590), which strictly corresponds to Skt. *pratītya*, by which the scholiasts mostly explain it,⁴ and A. *vicca* (road; Hc. 4,421).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,387; ZDMG. 28,391.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,258, where I refer to the New Indian dialects.—3. *vaccat* is perhaps a denominative from *vrātya*=**vrātyati* and *vajjai*, from *vrajyā*=**vrajyati*. In that case *cca* would be phonetically quite regular.—4. Wrongly WEBER, Bhag. 1,381; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 21.

§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM. every *ta* may¹ either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i*, *t* may be introduced² is erroneous. As already suspected by WEBER³ all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects.⁴—*ta* becomes *da* and *tha* becomes *dha* in JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JŚ. *vandida*, *dhoda*=*vandita*, *dhauta* (Pav. 379,1); *saṃpajjadi*=*saṃpadyate*, *bhamadi*=*bhramati*, *pe'ccadi*=*prekṣate* (Pav. 380,6; 380,12; 384,48); *bhūdo*, *jādi*=*bhūtaḥ*, *yāti* (Pav. 381,15); *ajadhāgahidatthā ede*=*ayathā-grhītārthā ete* (Pav. 389,1); *devadajadi*=*daiyatayati* (Pav. 383,69); *tasaghāda*, *karadi*, *kārayadi*, *icchadi*, *jāyade*=*trasaghāta*, *karoti*, *kārayati*, *icchatī*, *jāyate* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *adidhi*=*atithi* (Śak. 18,1,8; 20,5; 23,9; 71,12); Ś. *kadhehi*, *kadhesu*=*kathaya*, *kathedu*=*kathayatu*, Mg. *kadhedi*=*kathayati* (§ 490); Ś. *cūdaladiam*=*cūlatatikām* (Śak. 119,9); JŚ. *jadhā*, Ś. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā*=*yathā*, JŚ. *tadhā*; Ś. Mg. *tadhā*=*tathā* (§113); *pāridosia*, Mg. *pāridosia*=*pāritosika* (Śak. 117,1,5); JŚ. *havadi*, *hodi*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodi*=*bhavati* (§475.476); Ś. *sāadam* (Mṛcch. 3,6; 59,19; 80,7; 86,25; 94,22; Śak. 56,4; 80,3), Mg. *sāadam* (Mṛcch. 113,7; 129,18)=*svāgatam*; Dh. *jūdiāla*=*dyūtakara* (§25), *jūda*=*dyūta* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), *palivevida*=*parivapita* (Mṛcch. 30,7), *vajjadi*, *dhāledi*, *bhaṇādi*, *jiṇādi*=*vrajati*, *dhārayati*, *bhaṇati*, *jayati* (Mṛcch. 30,10; 34,9.12.22); Ś. Dh. *sāpadam*=*sāmpṛatam* (Mṛcch. 6,22; 17,19; 18,23; Śak. 25,2; 30,4; 67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9; 32,8), Mg. *sāpadam* (Mṛcch. 16,20; 32,2.4.5, 38,19; 99,11 etc.). On Dh. *māthuru*=*māthuraḥ* see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for Ś. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into *da*, *dha*; Hc. 4,260.267 and the grammarians following him desire *da*; they, however, wrongly allow *ha* as well beside *dha*.⁵ In JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. original *da* and *dha* very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into *ha* [Kī.5,71; Mk. fol. 66]. *kada tti*=*kr̥teti* in PG. 7,51 is a printer's error in the transcription for *kāda tti*. On *pidham*, *pudham* beside *piham*, *puham*=*pr̥thak* see §78. On Ā.D. see §26.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 20,1, note 2.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, 5; cf. STEINTHAL, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400; cf. IS. 16,234f.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. p. xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like *tasapijjamatiu kapagamatiu pulakāmotiu riṣṭhēmatiu vāirāmāti* (Jiv. 563), *t* is absurd. Likewise it is unthinkable that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used *bhavati* and *bhaṇati*, *bhagavatā* and *bhagavayā*, *mātoram* and *piyaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t*. When in the future *chī* is used, it presupposes *chīi* and not *chiti*, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§529). Not quite correctly, therefore, LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,340. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMg. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §349.—5. On Ś. see FISCHER, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Kī. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta* becomes *da*. They have collected these in the *gapa r̥tōdi*. Bh. reckons in it : *udu*=*r̥tu*; *raada*=*rajata*; *āada*=*āgata*; *ṇivvudi*=*niroṣṭi*; *āudi*=*āṛṣṭi*; *saṃvudi*=*saṃṛṣṭi*; *suidi*=*sukṛti*; *āidi*=*ākṛti*;

hada=*hata*=*sañjada*=*sañyata*; *viuda*=*viorta*; *sañjāda*=*sañyāta*; *sampadi*=*samprati*; *paḍivaddi*=*pratipatti*. In Kī. and Mk. the *gaṇa* is *ākṛtigāṇa*. Kī. reckons under it *ṛtu*, *rajata*, *āgata*, *nirvṛta*, *surata*, *marakata*, *sukṛta*, *sañyata*, *viṛti*, *pravṛti*, *āvṛti*, *ākṛti*, *vidhṛti*, *sañhṛti*, *nivṛti*, *niṣpatti*, *sāmpatti*, *pratipatti*, *śruta*, *khyāti*, *tāta*, *sāmpratam*. Mk. adduces: —*ṛtu*, *rajata*, *tāta*, *sañyata*, *kirāta* (as *cilāda*), *sañhṛti*, *susañgata*, *kratu*, *samprati*, *sāmpratam*; *kṛti* and *vṛti*, when provided with a prefix, as *ākṛti*, *vikṛti*, *prakṛti*, *upakṛti*, *apavṛti*, *āvṛti*, *parivṛti*, *nirvṛti*, *sañvṛti*, *viṛti*; *āvṛta*, *parivṛta*, *sañvṛta*, *viṛta*, *prabhṛti* [MS. *padudī*]; *vṛata*. Mk. permits the transition, as optional, in the following *sūtra* in *surata*, *hata*, *āgata*, etc. (*ityādi*). Hc. 1,209 indulges in a polemic against this view. The phonetic change suits Ś. Mg., but not M.; though it occurs once in M. it is a case of dialectical confusion.³ In R. *udu* occurs without a variant (1,18;3,29;6,11;9,85), never *uu*. False reading is *udu* for *uu* in AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,2,6; Thāp. 527). Furthur R. has *maḷadā*, beside *paḍiā* (3,31); *viṇaṇṇadā*, *rāmādo* in the same strophe with *araī*, *seummi* (8,87); similarly *mandodari* in the compound *mandodarisuadūmiavāṇapariosa*², that is with a retained *d* and three elided *ts*. The same occurs otherwise too, especially in the *gāthās* of the dramas, as *māladi* instead of *mālāi*=*mālāti* (Lalitav. 563,2); *odamsanti*=*avatamsayanti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 4,10); *ladāo*=*latāh* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 53,7; without v.l.; cf. v.l. 85,3 ed. PISCHEL and 84,15 of the Kashmir recension, ed. BURKHARD); *uṇaṇāidavvo*=*upanetāvyaḥ* (Mālav. 23,3; without v.l.); *uṇāide*=*upanits* (H. 827); *hodu* beside *hoi* (H. 878); *kādum*=*kartum* (Hc. 924); *haṇḍā*=*bhaṇḍā* (H. 963) etc. All the examples from H. occur in the Telugu recension. When Hc. declares such forms to be false in M., there is no reason for seeing in them, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT², “puristic prohibitions”. Rather, we have here cases of errors against the dialect, as conversely in the MSS. forms of M. are given times without number in Ś. The information in Vr. Kī. Mk. in no way relate to M. Especially striking are *paḍivaddi* (Bh.), for which perhaps we have, with AC, to read *paḍivatti*, in spite of the remarkable *d* for *ḍ*, and *nivaddi* (sic), *nippadī* (sic), *sāmpaddi*, *paḍipaddi* (Kī.), which perhaps rest only on a misunderstanding. On AMg. *adu*, *adu vā*, see §155, note 5.

1. PISCHEL, Vikr. p. 614f.—2. Rāvaṇavaho, p. xvii; cf. also R. 13,97. p. 309, note 4.

§205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become *h*. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected *r* or *s* or of a connected *r* the reason, as has generally been assumed.¹ In *tenuēs*, *nasals*, and *la*, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt.² The original sound groups *ska*, *sta*, *spa*, *sna*, *sma*, give in the initial syllable, according to §306—313, *kha*, *tha*, *pha*, *ṇha*, *mha*.

1. LASEN, Ind. p. 197f. 251; JACOBI, Erz. §21, 2 p. xxviii Cf. PISCHEL, BB. 3, 253.—

2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §30.231.

§206. In the initial syllable Skr. *ka* appears as *kha*, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *ha*, as in the medial syllable. JM. *khaṇḍharā*=*kaṇḍharā* (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1,17), but M. Ś. *kaṇḍharā* (G.; Mallikām. 192,22;201,7;220,20); *khappara*=*karpara* (Hc. 1,181); AMg. *khasiya*=*kasita* (Hc. 1,181), *khāsiya*=*kāsita* (Hc. 1,181; Nandis. 380); AMg. JM. *khiṅkhiṇi*=*kiṅkiṇi* (Pañhāv. 514; Rāyap. 109.129.142; Jiv. 349 [text *khaṇ*]. 443; Nāyādh. 948 [text *khaṇ*]; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); *sakhiṅkhiṇi* (Jiv. 468; Āv. 35,25), *khiṅkhiṇi* 'a=*kiṅkiṇika* (Uvās.), *sakhiṅkhiṇiya* (Nāyādh. §93; p. 769.861 [text *kha*],

but M. Ś. *kiṅkiṇī* (Pāṇyā. 273; G.; Viddhaś. 56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4; 102,1; Veṇṣ. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatīm. 201,6), Ś. *kiṅkiṇīā=kiṅkiṇikā* (Viddhaś. 117,3); AMg. *khīla=kīla* in *indakhīla=indrakīla* (Jiv. 493; Ovav. §1), beside JM. *indakīla* (Dvār.); *khīlaa=kīlaka* (Hc. 1,181); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja=kubja* "hump-back" (Vr. 2,34; Hc. 1,181; Ki. 2,40; Mk. fol. 17; Pāṇyā. 155; H.; Antag. 22; Aṇuog. 250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādh. §117; p. 832.837; Paṇṇav. 428; Paṇhāv. 78.523; [text *kujja*]; Vivāgas. 226; Vivāhap. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 21,5,13; Erz.; Śak. 31,16; Mālav. 70,8; Pras. 44,1ff.), AMg. *ambakhujja ya=ām-rakubjaka* (Vivāhap. 116), *khujjatta=kubjatva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), *khujji ya=kubjita* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning "achyranthes aspera" *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; Mk. fol. 17), AMg. *kōjja* (Kappas. §37), *kujja ya* (Paṇṇav. 32); *khuddia* (co-habitation; Deśin. 2,75); *samkhuddai* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168) from *kurd, kūrđ*; cf. *khurd, khūrd* (Dhātupāṭha 2,21)¹; AMg. JM. *khē dda*; A. *khē ddaa* (§90); *kheddaī* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168); *khē lanti* (they play; Hc. 4,382), JM. *khē lla* (Erz.), *khē lla* (Erz.), AMg. *khē lla vaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,13); Ś. *kheladi* (Mudrār. 71,4; Viddhaś. 27,5), *khelidum* (Mudrār. 71,3; 81,2), *khelana* (Viddhaś. 58,6; Mallikām. 135,5), A. *khelanta* (Piṅgala 1,123^a), *khē lla* (laughter; Deśin. 2,76) from the root *krid*²; AMg. *khutto*, M. *huttam=krtoah* (§451); *khuluha=kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāṇyā. 250; cf. §139); M. *nihasa=nikāṣa* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.), AMg., with transition in the media according to §202, *nighasa* (Vivāhap. 10; Rāyap. 54; Uvās.; Ovav.), M. *nīhasaṇa=nikāṣaṇa* (G.H.R.)³; cf. *khaṣ* beside *kaṣ* (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. *vihasanti=vikasanti* (Hc. 4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix *-bha*, (WHITNEY¹ §1199) Pkt. has a suffix *-kha*, which occurs in A. *navakhi=navaki* (Hc. 4,420,5). Mk. fol. 37 teaches that without change of meaning *ha* may appear (*svārthe ca haś ca*); *puttaha=putraka*; *ekaha=ekaka*. To this again may be added *kaṣ svārthe: puttahaa*. This *-kha, -ha* occurs in AMg. *khahayara, khahacara=*khakacara=khacara* (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyag. 825; Aṇuog. 265.408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86.117ff. 317.319.323; Nāyādh. 1179; Paṇṇav. 47.54.55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thāp. 121f.; Vivāhap. 472.479.522.526.1285.1535; Vivāgas. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078f.; Ovav. §118), *khahacari* (female bird; Thāp. 121f.)⁴; Mg. *vacāhagaṇṭhi sugudāha-ṣuṇṭhi=vacākāgranthiḥ sugudakaṣuṇṭhi* (Mṛcch. 116,25; cf. §70); M. *chāhā, chāhi=*chāyākā* (§255); AMg. *phalaha=phalaka* (Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.), and with doubled suffix *phalahaga* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as *phalahaka*; beside AMg. *phalaga* (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and *phalaya* (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMg. Ś. *phaliha=sphatika* (Vr. 2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 253; Rāyap. 33; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 68,18.69,1; Vikr. 39,2; 66,13; Mālav. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaś. 25,9; 28,5; 74,7), JM. *phalihamaya* (Erz.), beside AMg. *phaliya* (Nāyādh. §102; Ovav. [§38]; Kappas. §40), *phaliyāmayā* (Paṇṇav. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. *phadia* (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read *p^olia* §238); *phaliḥagiri=sphatikagiri*=Kailāsa (Pāṇyā. 97); AMg. *bhamukā*=Pāli *bhamuka=*bhruvukā* for **bhruvukā* (§124)⁵; JM. *sirihā=srikā* (Erz. 86,19); M. AMg. JM. D. *sunaha*=Pāli *sunakha*=Skt. *śunaka* (H.; Paṇhāv. 20; Nāyādh. 345; Paṇṇav. 136; Āv. 34,20.24; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), beside M. *sunaa* (Hc. 1,52; H.; Sarasvatik. 8,13), AMg. JM. *sunaga* (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text *sunamade*]; Nāyādh. 450; Paṇṇav. 49; Uttar. 985; Āv. 35,6.10), *sunaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4,6; Paṇhāv. 201; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Āv. 35,9; 36,28ff.; Dvār. 497,18), *colasunaya* (Sūyag. 591; Paṇṇav. 367), fem. *sunijā* (Paṇṇav. 368). To *sunaha* has again *ka* been added

in Mg. *ṣuṇahaka* (Mṛcch. 113,20) and A. *ṣuṇahāḥ* (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that *ṣuṇaha* was=*ṣuṇakha*=*su*+*nakha*⁶; Dh. *tuhāṃ*, A. *tuhū*=*tvakām* (§421) with *u* according to §152 and *ū* according to §352; A. *sahū*=*sākam* (Hc. 4,356,419) with *a* according to §81 and *ū* according to §352. Cf. also AMg. *phaṇiḥa* (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with *phaṇaga* (sic; Uttar. 672). M. *cihura* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāṇyāl. 109; G.H.; Pracandap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutaś. 35); Mg. *cihula* (Mṛcch. 171,2 [so to be read with v.l.]), wrongly M. *ciura* (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in Ś. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=*cikura*, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. *ciura* (Nāyādh. §51), but is=*cikṣura*, a form derived with reduplication from *√ksur* (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. **cikkhura* or **cikhura*, *cihura*. *cihura* bears the same relation to *cikura* as *√*skur* to *√*kur*. We have a reduplication of *ci* in AMg. *cikkhalla* (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśin. 3,11; Paṇhāv. 47 [°la]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of *cikkhala* is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian *cikila cikkana* to which my attention has been drawn by E. KUHN; AMg. M. *cikkhilla* (H.R.; Pannav. 89ff. [91 °kḥa°]); Vivāhap. 658f. [commentary °kḥa°] Paṇhāv. 164,212 [commentary °kḥa°]; AMg. *cikkhilla* (Ovav. §32; text °kḥa°; see v.l.)=**cikṣālya* from *ksāl* "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified"⁷. M. *niḥāa* (multitude, crowd; Deśin. 4,49; Pāṇyāl. 19; G.H.R.) is not=*nikāya*⁸, but=*nighāta*⁹ *nihelana* (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Ki. 2,120. D-śin. 4,51;5,37; Pāṇyāl. 49 [ni°]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=*niketana*¹⁰, but=*nihelana* (Kappas. §41) and belongs to *√bhil bhedane* (Dhātupāṭha 32,66), which occurs in AMg. *bhe'āittā* (Thāp. 421)¹¹; cf. *bil*, *bila*.—*viḥala* is not=*vikala*, but=*viḥvala* (§332).—M. *sihara* (Pāṇyāl. 259; R.) is not=*śikara* (Hc. 1,184)¹², but comes from M. *siḥhara* (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Ki. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from *śikara*, which, however, belongs to Vedic *śibham*¹³.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 3,254.—2. FISCHEL, BB. 3,254f. *kheladi*, *khēlla* have gone also into Skt. as *√khal*. Deviating from BB. 6,92, I could now assume dropping off of *s* in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate *niḥasa* as=*nigharṣa* and *niḥasana* as=*nigharṣana*, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become *niḥarṣa*, *niḥarṣana*.—4. Abhayadeva on Thāp. 121 remarks *khahāṇ ti*, *prākṛtatoena kham ākāṣam iti*.—5. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. does not rightly consider *ha* as preventer of the hiatus.—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as TRECKNER assumes in the case of Pāli (Pāli Miscellany p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMg. *phalahaga*, *thūbhiyāgā* (§208) and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of *cikkhalla* as a sample, as one may etymologize: *cicca karoti khallam ca bhavati cikkhallam*. A. *cikkhili* (feminine; [sic]; Prabandhac. 56,6) is an adjective. Both the words, *cihura* (FISCHEL on Hc. 1,186) and *cikkhalla* (ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 56) have been taken also into Skt.—8. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—9. FISCHEL, BB. 6,91.—10. BÜHLER, Pāṇyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—11. FISCHEL, BB. 3,252;6,91; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. FISCHEL, BB. 6,91.

§207. *ta* has become *dha* through *tha* in AMg. *cimidha*=*cibiṭa* (§248); *vaḍha*=*vaṭa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105¹); *saadha*=*śakaṭa* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMg. *sagada* (Āyār. 2,3,2,16;2,11,17; Sūyag. 350), Ś. *saadā*=*śakatikā* (Mṛcch. 94,15ff.), Mg. *saala* (Mṛcch. 122,10; §238; *saḍhā*=*saṭā* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. *saḍā* (R.). Cf. also A. *khallihadaḍā* (§110).—*ta* appears as *tha* in *thimpai*=*tr̥mpati* (Vr. 8,22), *thippai* (Hc. 4,138; Ki. 4,46), *thēppai* (Ki. 4,46)=*tr̥pyate*=**tr̥mpati*, **tr̥pyate*. Not identical with it is *thippai* (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with *thava* (a drop; §130) belongs to *√stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3,4). The suffix *-tha*, instead of Skt. *-ta* occurs in M. AMg. JM. *bharaha*=*bharata*

(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515.517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *dāhināddha bharaha*=*dakṣiṇārdhabharate*¹ (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. §13.93); M. AMg. JM. A. *bhāraha*=*bhārata* (G.; Āyār. 2,25,2; Thāp. 70,73; Vivāhap. 427.479; Uttar. 515.517.532.541; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,399); M. *bhārahi* (G.). The form *bharatha*, to which *bharaha* goes back, as *bhāraha* to **bhāratha*², is attested by Upādis. 3,115 and Ś. *bharadha* (Mk.; Bālar. 155,3;310,9 [falsely *bharada* 55,17;150,21]; Anarghar. 316,15 [text °da]; but cd. Calc. Śak. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly °dha; Pras. 91,12 [text °da], Mg. *bhālādha* (Mṛcch. 128,13 [STENZLER °li,° see v. l. in Gopabole, 353,12]; 129,3 (text °de)³. Corresponding to the suffix -*tha* in Skt. *avasatha*=AMg. *avasaha* (e.g. Āyār.1,7,2,1ff; Ovav.), Skt. *upavasatha*, *nivasatha*, *pravasatha* etc., M. AMg. JM. have *vasahi*=**vasathi*=*vasati* (Vr.2,9;C.3,12 p. 49; Hc.1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl. 49; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136. 178.215; Vivāhap. 152.1123.1193; Nāyādh. 581; Uttar. 449.918 [beside *avasaha*]; Dasav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Āv. 27,25; Kk.); AMg. *kuvasahi*=*kuvasati* (Paṇhāv.)⁴. -*ha*, Ś. Mg. -*dha* in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to -*tha*, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative (§471).—*kāhala* (cowardly; fearful; G. 3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin.2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵ as=*kātara* cannot be separated from *kāhala* (tender; weak; Deśin.2,58), and *kāhali* (a tender young woman; Deśin.2,26). *kāhala*, *kāhali* are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it first from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. *tharatharei*, Ś. *tharatharedi* (throbs violently [from the heart]; trembles); §558), are, therefore,=*kā+thara*, *kā*, in Skt. *kāpuruṣa*, *kābhārṣṭ* etc. *kātara* becomes M. A. *kāara* (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. *kāyara* (Nāyā 'h.), Ś. *kādara* (Śak. 17,12;84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. *kādala* (Mṛcch. 120,9). *kātara* and **kāthara* probably go back to the basic form **kāstara*.—According to Hc. 1,214 *mātuliṅga* becomes *māhuliṅga*, on the other hand *mātuluṅga* becomes *māluṅga*, as AMg. Ś. hav: (Āyār.2,1,8,1; Paṇnav.482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read *mādu*]). *māhuliṅga* (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as *madhukarakatikā*, *madhukukkuṭikā*, *madhujambira*, *madhujambha*, *madhubijapūra*, *madhuvajambira*, *madhurabijapūra*, *madhuravallī*, *madhuvallī*, *madhūla*, *ma'ūlaka*, all of which mean special kinds of citron. *māhuliṅga* is, therefore,=**mādhuliṅga*. In Paṇnav. 531 AMg. *māuliṅga* is emended. AMg. *vihatthi* (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhap. 425; Nandis. 168; Aṇuog. 384.413) is not=*vitasti* (C.3,12 p.49; Hc.1,214⁶, but in the root *tas* *s* will have dropped off, *vihatthi*, therefore, will stand for **vithatthi*=**vistasti*⁷.

1. The edition in the Granthapradāriṇī at p.93, for which reads *paḍo* [doḍaḥ] *āṇo* [dola]?, see BB. 6.88ff.—2. WARREN. Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 106, note.—3. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473.—4. FISCHL, BB. 6,92f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473.—5. GN. 1874, p. 473.—6. More probably it is an adaptation of one **vihatthi* (BB.6.93).

§208. *pa* appears as *ph* in AMg. Ś. *phaṇasa*=*paṇasa* (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇnav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar 209,7 8 [°pa°]; Viddhaś. 63,2), beside M. *paṇasa* (Karp.115,2), Mg. *paṇasa* (Mṛcch. 115,20); M. AMg. JM. *pharusa*=*parusa* (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1,2,8,1,8; 1,8,3,5,13; 2,1,6,3; 2,4,1,1,6; Sūyag. 122 [text °pa°]. 172.485.517.527.729; Jiv. 273; Nāyādh. §135; p. 757; Paṇhāv. 393.394.396.516; Vivāhap. 254.481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *aīpharusa*=*atīparusa* (Kk.); M. *pharusattaṇa*=**parusātvaṇa* (R.); AMg. *pharusīya*=*parusīta* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,6,4,1 [see v.l.]); M. AM JM.

phaliha=*parigha* (Vr. 2,30,36; Hc. 1,232,254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17,18; Pāṭyā. 267; R.; Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,3,2,14; 2,4,2,11; 2,11,5; Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 416; Dasav. 628,22; Dvār. 500,30); M. *phaliḥā*=*parikhā* (Vr. 2,30,36; Hc. 1,232,254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17,18; Pāṭyā. 240; R.), AMg. *phariḥā* (Nāyādh. 994,1001ff. 1006,1008,1012,1014,1023; Probably to be read as *phaliḥā*); *phāliḥadda*=*pāriḥhadra* (Hc. 1,232,254); AMg. *pharasu*=Pāli *pharasu*=Skt. *paraśu* (Vivāgas. 239); but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paraśu* (G.; Nāyādh. §135; p. 438 [text °ri°]. 1438; Paṇḥāv. 198 [text °ri°]; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 29,19), Mg. *palāśu* (Mṛcch. 157,13), Ś. *parasurāma* (Mahāv. 55,12; 64,20; Bālar. 36,5,6); AMg. *phusiya*=Pāli *phusita*=*pr̥ṣṭa* (§101; AMg. JM. *phāsiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,4,6; 2,1,2,1ff.; Paṇḥāv. 497; Uvās.; ZDMG. 34,291,44; Kk.)=Pāli *phāsuka* is phonetically=*pr̥āsuka*, which however, is certainly a false Sanskritism of the Pk. word¹; *aphāsiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1,3,6,11ff.); *bahuphāsiya* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24ff.). *phāsiya* might belong to *√spṛś*=**spāsiuka*² (§62). *phādei*, which Hc. 1,198 equates as *pāṭayati*=*sphāṭayati*.—Mk. fol. 18 has, moreover, *phaliḥ*=*paridhi* and *phalama*=*pālama*, which probably ought to be *phaṇasa*=*paṇasa*. The first word may even be corrupt. In *rampai*, *ramphai* (hews; Hc. 4,194) whether *pa* or *pha* is original cannot be said; cf. *rampa* "section" (H. 119,120 with v.l. *rumpa*, *rumpha*³).—In AMg., more rarely in JM., medial *pa* in some words has become *bh* through *ph* (§200). So AMg. *kacchabha*=*kacchapa* (Jiv. 71,290,478; Nāyādh. 510; Paṇḥāv. 18,119,170; Paṇṇav. 47; Vivāgas. 49,186; Vivāhap. 248,483,1033,1285; Uttar. 1072), *kacchabhi*=*kacchapī* (lute, Paṇḥāv. 512; Nāyādh. 1275,1378; Rāyap. 88); AMg. *kabhalla*=*kapāla* (§91; Uvās. §94; Antag. 27; Aquitar. 10 [text °va°, commentary *bha°*], beside *kavalla* (Sūyag. 275; Vivāhap. 270,383), *kavalli* (Vivāgas. 141). *kavāla* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4); to these add *kaphāda* (hollow; Deśin. 2,7); AMg. *thūbha*=*stūpa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,1; Sūyag. 26; Paṇḥāv. 31,234,286; Anug. 387; Jiv. 546ff.; Paṇṇav. 369; Rāyap. 153f. 195f.; Vivāhap. 560,659,1249; Thāp. 266), also JM. (Sagara 2,7; T. 5,11,13,16; 6,13,15; 7,8; ZDMG. 34,291,47,49); AMg. *thūbhiyā*=*stūpikā* (Āyār. 2,10,17; Jiv. 492,495,506; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), and with doubled suffixes *thūbhiyāgā*=**stūpikākā* (S. mav. 213; Paṇṇav. 116; Rāyap. 116; Nāyādh. §122); AMg. *gothūbha*=*gostūpa* (Thāp. 262,268; Jiv. 715f. 718ff.; Samav. 106,108,113,116f. 127,143ff. 233 [on account of metre also *gothubha*]; Vivāhap. 198). The more modern form occurs in *thūha* [battlements of a palace; ant-hill; Deśin. 5,32]. Cf. Leṇa-dialect *thuba* (Arch. Survey of W. India 5,78,10).—AMg. *vibhāsā*=*vipāśā* (Thāp. 5,44).

1. JACOBI, Kk. s.v. *phāsiya* analyses it into *pra*+*asu*+*ka*. Skt. *pr̥āsuka*, so far as I can see, is used by the Jains only.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. s. v. Not rightly CHILDERS s.v. *phāsu*, who will equate it as=**pārha*.—3. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,378.

§209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For *ga* occurs *gha* in *ghāya*=*gāyana* (singer; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,108; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255); AMg. *siṅghādaga*=*siṅgātaka* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). *ghisai* is not=*grasati*, but=**ghasāti* (§103,482).—*ja* appears as *jha* in *jhaḍila* beside *jaḍila*=*jaṭila* (Hc. 1,194); *jhattha* (annihilated; gone; Deśin. 3,61) from *√jas*; cf., however, also *√jhaś*. AMg. *jhūsiṭṭā* (absol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Nāyādh. 383,388; Uvās.; Ovav.), *jhūsiya* [Thāp. 56 [Commentary]. 187,274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Jiv. 289 [jhu°]; Vivāhap. 169,173; 321; Uvās.; Ovav.), mostly explained with *kṣīṇa* or *kṣapita*¹, *jhūsaṇā* (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169,173; Thāp. 56,187,274; Uvās.; Ovav.), *parijhūsiya* (Thāp. 202) belong to *√jhūś*, that is mentioned beside *jūś*, *yūś*. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)².—*da* becomes *dha* in *dhippai*

beside *dibpai*=*dīpyate* (Hc. 1,223); *kāūha* (Hc. 1,225), dialectically *kakudha* (Triv. 1,3,105)=Pāli *kakudha*, a form parallel to *kakhubha*³.—*ba* appears as *bha* in AMg. *bhimbhisa*=*bimbiṣāra* (Thāp. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for *bhambha*^o; cf. v.l.]); M. *bhisinī*=*bisinī* (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Ki. 2,44; Pāiyāl. 149; H.; Sāhityad. 79,1). Ś. has *bisiṇī* (Vṛṣabh. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in *bisa* and so M. *bisa* (Pāiyāl. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches *bhisa*=*bisa* but quotes H.8, where stands *bhisinisaṇḍam*. AMg., like Pāli, has *bhisa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyag. 813; Jiv. 290,353; Paṇṇav. 35,40; Rāyap. 55). For *bṛsī* Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach *bisī*, the Pāiyāl. 215 *bhisi*. *bṛsikā* has aspiration: *bhisīā* (Deśin. 6,105), AMg. *bhisigā* (Sūyag. 726), *bhisijā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyādh. 1279,1283; Ovav.). *bhukkai* barks; Hc. 4,186, *bhukkiya* (barking; Pāiyāl. 182), *bhukkapa* (dog; Deśin. 6,110), beside *bukkai*=*garjati* (Hc. 4,98), *ubbukkai* (speaks; Hc. 4,2), *bukkapa* (a crow; Deśin. 6,94; Pāiyāl. 44). On *bhaassaī*, *bhaappaī*, *bhaapphaī* etc. see §212.—*bhibbhala*, *bhimbhala* (Hc. 2,58 with translation), M. Ś. *bheṃbhala* (R. 6,37; Cait. 38,9 [text. *bhemhaṇo*]), Ś. *bheṃbhaladā* (Cait. 44,9), *bheṃbhalida* (Cait. 55,13 [text *bheṃmha*^o]) cannot, with Hc., be derived from *vibbhala*, *vēbbhala*=*vihvala* (§332), since the aspiration of *v* would have given *ha* in the initial syllable as is shown by *vihala*. The words belong, with *bhambhala* (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśin. 6,110) to *v̐bharbh himsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained according to §74.

1. On the meaning see LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūsiya*; HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 160.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. l.c. Overlooked by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūs*, incorrect is its association with AMg. *jhusira* (LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343). Cf. §211.—3. *kāūha* can naturally be derived from *kakubha* too. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,257; v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40,660; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. §156, b. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874 p. 473.

§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in *ṇhōvia*=*nāpita* (Hc. 1,230; Pāiyāl. 61), really=**snāpita*¹, as AMg. *ṇhāvijā*=*snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of *snā* (§313). Ś. Mg. have *ṇāvidi*=*nāpita* (Hasy. 28,19; Mṛcch. 113,10)².—M. *paṃhusaī*=**pramṛṣyati*³=*pramṛṣyati* (Hc. 4,75,184; G.), M. *paṃhasijjāsu*=*pramṛṣyeh* (H. 348), M. *paṃhusia* (G.), Ś. *paṃhasida* (Mahāv. 65,1; ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 161,8^o *ppamūsida*), M. JM. *paṃhuṭṭha* (Hc. 3,105=R. 6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. *paṃhuṭṭhaū* (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. *paṃkaṭṭha* (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 *paṃhusaī* is also=*pramuṣṇāti*, according to 4,258 *paṃhuṭṭha* also is=*pramuṣita*; A. *bhumhaḍi*=*bhūmi* (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix *-aḍa*, femin. *-aḍi* (Hc. 4,429,431).—AMg. *lhasuṇa*=*laṣuṇa* (Āyār. 2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇṇav. 40; Jiyāk. 54), beside AMg. JM. *lasuṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyag. 337 [text *lasaṇa*]; Āv. 40,18); *lhiṅkaī* beside *likkaī* (hides oneself; Hc. 4,55), a denominative from M. *lhiṅka*=**ślikna* (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. *śliku* “dependant” and §566.

1. WEBER, KB. 1,505.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 7, note 3, Skt. *nāpita* to be derived from Pkt. *nāvia*. The dropping off of the initial *s* depends upon the accent=*nāpita*¹, like Vedic *paḍbhīh* from *spas* (FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 1,239).—3. WEBER on Hāla¹ 358;² 348; ZDMG. 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Skt. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. *sha*, *ṣha*, *ṣha*, then all become uniformly *cha*. The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound-group *kṣa* or *ṣka* is in not at all certain. *chami*=*śamī* (Hc. 1,265); AMg. *chāva*=Pāli *chāpa*=*śāba* (Hc. 1,265; Ki. 2,46; Sūyag. 511)¹, *chāvaa*=*śābaka* (Vr. 2,41; Mk. fol. 18), but Mg. *śāvaka* (Mṛcch. 10,6); AMg. *chivāḍi*=*śivāḍi* (2,1,1,3,4);

M. AMg. *chēppa*, *chippa*=*lepa* (Deśin. 3,36; Pāiyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)*; in addition to *chippālua* (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but Ś. *suṇasseha*=*ṣuṇhsepha* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *chippīra* (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāiyāl. 142) beside *sippīra* (straw; H. 330), *sippa* (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also *chippīṇḍī* (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and *chippāla* (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); *chui* (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=*ṣuciḥ*; *cha*=*ṣaṭ*, *chattha*=*ṣaṣṭha*, and *cha*^o, *chaṭ*^o in numerous compounds (§240.441)³; AMg. *chuhā*=*sudhā* (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 658f.), in addition to *chuhia* (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. *chirā*=*sirā* (Hc. 1,266; Thāp. 55; Jiv. 271; Samav. 227; Vivāhap. 89,810), *chiratta* (Anuog. 12), beside *sirā* (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. *piuccchā*, M. *māuccchā*, Ś. *māduccchā*, *māduccchā*=*pitṛṣvasā*, *māṭṛṣvasā*, *māṭṛvasyka*, *māṭṛṣvasykā* see §148; on *chattavanna*, *chattivanna*, presumably=*saptaparna* see §103. An initial sonant sibilant is presupposed by AMg. *jhusira* (full of holes; hole; Ayār. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Panhāv. 137; Nāyādh. 752; Dasav. 620,30; Uvās.), *ajhusira* (Jityak. 55), *antojjhusira* (Nāyādh. 397)=**zusira*=*suṣira* or **z'usira*=*suṣira*⁴. Perhaps *jhalā* (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāiyāl. 232) also belongs to *śal* (to prop up)=**z'alā*, and *jharua* (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), *jhāruā* (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from *Vśaro himśāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,76), *śaru* (an arrow).⁵

1. POTT, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; FISCHEL, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I.II (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. JOHANSSON (IF.3,213), with whom WACKERNAGEL (Altind. Gr. §230b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek σχοπιον.—3. Hypotheses on the original form of *ṣaṭ* in HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 27,106; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29,576.—4. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343. Whether *suṣira* or *suṣira* is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakosa 150 teaches *suṣi* and *suṣi*; ZACHARIAE writes Śālvata 185, against the best MSS. *suṣira*, but Hemacandra. Anekārthasamgraha 3,607 *suṣira*, as is given by the derivative forms from *suṣ* (Upādiganasūtra 416). Connection with AMg. *jhās*(§203) is out of consideration. Its derivation from *suṣ* is quite uncertain. Wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has *suṣira*.—5. The word can be connected to *kṣāraka* also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than "turning-round of the breath." M. *iharā* from **itharatā*, **iharaā*=*itarathā* (§354); *uvaha*, M. *avaha* from **ubatha* for **ubhata*, deduced from M. *avahoṣam*, *avahoṣam*=AMg. *ubhaopāsam*=**ubhatahpārṣam* (§123); *kedhava* from **kaiṭhaba* for *kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2,21,29; Hc. 1,196,240; Kī. 2,11,27; Mk. fol. 16,17); *gaḍhāi* from **gaṭhati*=*ghatate* (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual *ghaḍāi*; M. AMg. JM. A. *ghēppai* from **ghrṣyati*=*grhyate* (§548), inf. M. *ghēltum*=**ghrptum*=*grahitum* (§574), absol. *ghēltuānam*, *ghēltuāna* (§584), M. AMg. JM. *ghēltūna*=**ghrptvānam*=*grhītvā* (§586), particip. nec. *ghēltava*=**ghrptavya*=*grahitavya* (§570), fut. JM. *ghēcchāmo* (§534) belong to a root **ghrṣ*, that is a root parallel to *grbh* (§107)¹; *ḍhaṅkuna*, *ḍhēṅkuna*, AMg. *ḍhinkuna* (bug) for **ḍaṅkhuna* belong to Marāṭhī *ḍamkhyem* (to bite, to sting), *ḍamkh* (bite, sting of a poisonous animal)=*ḍamś* (§107,267); M. *dhajjai* (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. *dhajjādī* (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text 'aī]), *dhajjadu* (Vepī. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. *dhayyadi* (Mrcch. 9,25) for **ḍajjhadi*, M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (§222)=*dahyate*, Ś. *viḍhajjia*=*vidahya* (Mahāv. 96,11), *dhajjanta* (Mālatīm. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukmiṇip. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. *dhajjai* on H. 373; M. *dihī* from **dṛthi*=*dṛti* (Hc.2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);

M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā*=**dhuktā*=*duhitā* (§ 65; 392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. *bahinī* for **baghinī*=*bhaginī* (Hc. 2,126; Pāyā. 252; Kattig. 401,338; Mālatim. 31,5; Mg. Mrech. 11,9; 113,19; 138,25; 140,1,7; A Hc. 4,351), mostly with *kaḥ svārīḥ*, Ś. *bahinā*=*bhaginikā* (Mrech. 94,4; 328,5; Śak. 15,4; 85,4,6; Mālatim. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18; 119,3; Ratn. 324,23; 327, 7,9,13; 328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7; 34,3; 35,2 etc.), A. *bahinū* (Hc. 4,422,14). From *bṛhaspati* are found AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai*, Ś. *bahappadi*, *bahappaī*, *bihappadi* (§53). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms: *bahassai*, *bihassai*, *buhassai* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc.2,69.137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahappaī*, *bihappaī*, *buhappaī* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53.69.137); Mg. *buhaspadi* (Hc. 4,289), *bihaśpadi* (Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā, Kāvyaṭāmkāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial: *bhaassai* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,69.137; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiassai*, *bhuassai* (C.2,5 p.43); *bhaappaī* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prākṛtamañjarī in FISCHER, De. Gr. Prācr. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiappaī*, *bhuappaī* (C.2,5 p.43); *bhaapphai* (Vr. 4,30; C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2,69.137; Ki. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiapphai*, *bhuapphai* (C.2,5 p.43)¹.

1. FISCHER, KB. 8,148f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512; WEBER, IS. 14,73, note 2; JACOBI, KZ. 28,253f.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,447. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,493; WEBER on Hāla 286.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,138. The forms with initial *h* in lieu of *bh* in Triv., Sr. and in the Prākṛtamañjarī are orthographical errors of the Dravidian manuscripts. The edition of Triv. has *hh*.

§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. *saṅkalā*=*śrṅkhalā* (Pañhāv. 183; Jiv. 503; Ṛṣabh. 33; Latakam. 18,4). AMg. *saṅkala*=*śrṅkhalā* (according to; Hc. 1,189; Pañhāv. 536), AMg. JM. *saṅkaliyā*=*śrṅkhalikā* (Sūyag. 296; Āv. 14,17), JM. *saṅkaliya*=*śrṅkhalita* (Āv. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages¹. But M. Ś. *saṅkhalā* (G.; Mrech. 41,10); Ś. *ussaṅkhalā* (Mrech. 151,17); M. Ś. *visaṅkhalā* (R.; Mālatim. 291,2); Mg. *saṅkhalā* (Mrech. 167,6); M. Ś. *saṅkhalā* (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatim. 129,1; Priyad. 4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2; 308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text ^{3a}]; 85,3,8)².—AMg. *ḍhaṅka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅka*³, for **ḍhaṅka* (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāyā. 44; Sūyag. 437.508; Uttar. 593), *ḍhinka*, (Pañhāv. 24), which as well as *ḍhēṅki* for **ḍhinki* (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation **dhvāṅkaśā*. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. BÖHLINGK s.v. *dhvāṅka*), occurs in M. *ḍhaṅka* (H.755)³.—AMg. *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (Pañhāv. 78), *bīhanaga*=*bhīṣaṇaka* (Pañhāv. 48.49.167.177), but M. Ś. *bhīṣaṇa* (G.R.; Vikr. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18; 141,9), Ś. *adibhīṣaṇa* (Mallikām. 183,3). To *bhīṣ* belong also *bīhā*, *bīhei* (§501). Cf. §263. *paṅguraṇa* (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Marāṭhī *pāṅgharāṇ*, *pāṅgharṇem*, *pāṅghurṇem*⁴.—AMg. *saṇḍeja*=**śaṇḍheja* (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for *saṇḍheja*, as in Skt. too *ṣaṇḍa* and *ṣaṇḍha* are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary *kka*, *cca*, *tta*, *ppa* for *kkha*, *cccha*, *tttha*, *pppha* see §301ff.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 1,189.—2. Cf. § 54.—3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to WEBER, there occurs *ḍhaṅkharasaso*=*dhvāṅkaśarasaiṣaḥ*, and the comma after *mukho* is to be erased.—4. FISCHER, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. WEBER¹ has assumed that in Pkt. "secondary aspiration, respective *h* direct" occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him *bhārāha*, *khīla* in *dharāṇikhīla*, *phalāha* have found their correct explanation in §206.207. On the other hand, WACKERNAGEL² has attributed to Pkt. a "disinclination to the succession of two aspirates." His only example is *majjhaṇṇa*, which he wrongly

equates as=*madhyāhna*, while it is=*madhyamdina* (§148). In any case, the example would prove nothing, as *majjhaṇḍa* is quite common (§330). The reference to E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 41 proves nothing. For Pāli *majjhatta*=*madhyastha*, Pkt. says, in all the dialects, from which we can get examples, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* (H.R.; Āyār. 1,7,8,5; Sūyag. 97; Nāyādh. 1274; T. 5,16; Rṣabh. 49; Kk. 275,45; Pav. 389,3; Mrcch. 68,21; Bālar. 238,8; Karnas. 31,10; Mallikām. 250,2,3), for Pāli *majjhataṭṭā*, Ś. *majjhatthadā* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 39,9; Adbhūtad. 4,10). That even in Pāli the reason for the loss of aspiration is not the disinclination, presupposed by WACKERNAGEL, is shown by Pāli *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*=*mṛṣṭa*, *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṣṭa*, *atta*=*asta*, *bhaddamutta*=*bhadramusta* etc. (E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 41.53), Pkt. *samatta* beside *samattha*=*samasta* (§307). From cases, like M. *takkhaṇḍukkaaharihathukkhittabhēmbhalā* (R. 6,37), *khandhukheva* (G. 1049), AMg. *majjhabhāgattha* (Nāyādh. §92), JM. *hatthikkhandha* (Āv. 25,39), JŚ. *mohakkhohavihūṇo* (Pav. 380,7), Ś. *phalihatthambha* (Mālav. 63, 1), words, like *khambha*, *kkuhā*, *jhajjhara*, *jhamkhai* *jhujiḥai*, *bhippha*, *bhūbbhala*, and the numberless examples, like *ghaṭṭha*, *bhaṭṭha*, *hattha*³, *hūṭha*, *ḍajjhīhīi*, *duhihi*, *bujjhīhīi* etc. it results that Pkt. does not have the disinclination attributed to it, and cannot have it according to its phonetic law. On the other hand, some of the dialects, particularly AMg., are proud of the succession of two aspirates, as in *khiṅkhiṇi*, *khahacāra*, *thūbha*, *kacchabha* (§206.208). That the examples adduced by JACOBI⁶ cannot be brought forward in defence of a disinclination of two successive aspirates is shown by §312ff.

1. Bhag. 1,411.—2. KZ. 33,575f.; Altind. Gr. § 105, note.—3. With WACKERNAGEL, I include here, among the aspirates, *ha* also, for the sake of brevity.—4. Erz. XXXII, note 3; XXXIII, note 2.

§215. Dialectically gutturals interchange with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well *ta* for *ca*, *da* for *ja*. AMg. *teicchā*=**cekitsā*=*cikitsā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49), *tigicchā* (Thāṇ. 313; Paṇhāv. 356; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 106), *tigicchaya*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (Thāṇ. 313; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 620), *tigicchai*, *tigicchiya* (§ 555), *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā* (Thāṇ. 191; Āyār. 2,1,3,5; Sūyag. 189.401.445.514.533; Uttar. 468ff.), *vitigimchā*, *vitigimchai*, *vitigimchiya* (§ 74.555), *vitigiechāmi* (Thāṇ. 245.), *nivivigiecha* (Sūyag. 771; Uttar. 811; Vivāhap. 183; Ovav. §124).—AMg. *digicchanta*, *digimchā*=*jighatsat*, *jighatsā*, AMg. JM. *dugamchā*, *dugumchā*, AMg. *dugumchana*, *dugamchanijja*, *dogamchi*, *dogumchi*, *paḍidugamchi*, *dugumchai*, *dugumchamāna*, *dugamchamāna*, *adugucchiya* (§ 74.555), beside the usual *jugucchā* (Bh. 3,40), *juucchai*, *jugucchai* etc. (§ 555).—AMg. *dosinā*=*iyotsnā* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3,250; Thāṇ. 95; Paṇhāv. 533; Sūriyap. in Verzeichniss. 5,2,574.577), *dosinābhā* (Nāyādh. 1523); *dosinī*=*iyautsnī* (Deśin. 5,50), Ś. *vaṇadosinī*=*vanajyautsnī* (Śak. 12,13); *dosāṇia* (right; clear; Deśin. 5,51).—In secondary *ja*, originating from *ya* according to §252, the change could have occurred in *ḍogga* (pair; Deśin. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3,241), when it is to be equated as=*yugma*. It can, however, be referred also to AMg. JM. *duga*, *duika* (§451)¹.

1. AMg. *pāḍipam*=*prācinam* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for *pāṭipam*, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3; 2,2,2,8. The ed. Calc. has *pāḍipam*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,413; TS. 14,255f.; E. MÜLLER; Beitrage p. 25; FISCHER; BB. 3,241.250; 6.100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatals (§215), palatals have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So *cacchai* from **tyakṣai*

beside *tacchāi=takṣati* (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhaī*, Ś. A. *ciṭṭhadi*, Mg. *ciṭṭhadi=tiṣṭhati* from *sthā* (§483).—*cuccha* beside *tuccha* (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound *chuccha*.—A. *viṭṭajjhara=vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. *ciṭṭhatta=tyakta*, *ciccā, cēccā=tyaktō* see §280.

§217. According to Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 9,22 (p.240) ed. STENZLER=26,8 (p.500), ed. GODABOLE, in the dialect of Śākāra, there was pronounced a weak *ya* before *ca*, which did not make position : *yeiṣṭha=tiṣṭha*. According to Mk. fol. 75.85 this *ya* appeared in Mg. and in Vṛācaḍa A. also before *ja*: M. *yeilam=ciram*; *yjāā=jāyā*; *ycaalā=caraka*; A. *ycaalā=calati*, *yjalai=jvalati* (§24.28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and Ki. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. COWELL, Vr. p.179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p.393.396 §146.1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in *ṭagara=tagara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭūvara=ṭūhara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭimbaru=tumburu* (Deśin. 4,3), *ṭimbaru'a=tumburuka* (Pāiyāl. 258) to which should belong also *ṭimburiṇi* (Śukasaptati 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in CP. *paṭimā=pratimā* (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say *paḍimā*. The words, in which *ḍa* appears for *ta*, have been collected in the gaṇa *pratyādi* by Hc. 1,206; Ki. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākṛtigāṇa. Ki. mentions only *pratiḍaddha*, *prābhṛta*, *vetasa*, *paṭākā* and *garta*; Mk. collects seven words in a verse : *prati, vetasa, paṭākā, haritakī, vyāpyta, mṛṭaka, prākṛta* for which *prābhṛta* is to be read. Transition from *ta* to *ḍa* in *prati* is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. *paḍimā=pratimā* (C.3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 217; G.H.R.; Thāp. 266; Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff.; 2,6 1,4ff.; 2,7,2,8ff.; 2,8,2ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,11. 16,17); AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍipunṇa=pratiṭpūṇa* (Nāyādh. 449.500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387,13); M. Ś. Mg. *paḍivaṇa=prativacana* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. Ś. *paḍivakkha=pratipakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 35; G.H.R.; Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9;12,5); M. AMg. Ś. *paḍibaddha=pratiḍodha* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,3;68.20,25; Uvās.); JŚ. *appaḍibaddha* (Pav. 387,25). Ś. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12), AMg. *paḍibandhana* (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. *paḍihāi*, Ś. *paḍihādi*, *paḍihādi=pratiḍhāti* (§487), and so very many others. Cf. §163.220. In P.C.P., according to Hc.4,307; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāta. Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12, the transition does not find place : *paṭibimba* (Hc. 4,326); an exception is *paṭimā* (Hc.4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. *paḍai=patati* (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4,219; G.H.R.; Nirayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagara 3,10; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. *paḍadi* (Mṛcch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. *paḍai=patatu* (H.; Āyār. 2,4,1,12), JM. *paḍāmo=patāmaḥ* (Āv. 8,50), Mg. *paḍemi* (Mṛcch. 127,12), M. A. *paḍia=paṭita* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,337). JM. *paḍiya* (Erz.), Ś. Mg. *paḍida* (Mṛcch. 54,3;81,9;95,13;120,7; Mudrār. 104,8; Ratn. 314,27; Mṛcch. 10,1;133,10;169,5;170,16), Ś. *nivaḍida=nipatita* (Śak. 35, 10;77,11), AMg. *paḍāḍija=prapatet*, *paḍāḍimāna=prapatamāna* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,7;2,2,3,2,23;2,3,2,15), and so throughout in the root *pat* and derivatives from it, like M. JM. Mg. *paḍana=patana* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,23), but CP. *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. *paḍāḍ=paṭākā* (Gr.; G.R.; Mṛcch. 68,17), AMg. JM. *paḍāḍā* (Thāp.284; Jiv.483; Nāyādh. §122; p. 1318; Paṇhāv. 160; Rāyap.59.68.70; Vivāhap. 276.833; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. *paḍāyā* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. *sapaḍāḍa*

(Rāyap. 128), but P. *patākā* (Hc. 4,307). *-pahudi*=*prabhrti* (Hc. 1.206), but Ś. Mg. *pahudi* (Mṛcch. 23,15.23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15.8.9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,8; Prab. 9,5;28,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venis. 35.5), Ś. *pahudia*=*prabhrtika* (Mṛcch. 71,1).—AMg. JM. *pāhuda*=*prābhṛta* (Grr.; Pāiṃ. 236; Āyār. 2,2,2,10ff.; Vivāgas. 128,132; Nāyādh. 439.539.540.774ff.1375f.1431, Rāyap. 226, Anuog. 558; Erz.), *pāhudiṃ*=*prābhṛtikā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Anuog. 558).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. D. *vāvda*=*vyāpṛta* (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,24;29,21;104,8), JM. also *vāuḥa* (Kk.), AMg. *vāuḥa* (Ovav.), Ś. *vāvuda* (Mālav.72,7), *vāvudadā*=*vyāpṛtatā* (Mṛcch. 325,19).—M. *veḍisa*, but P. *vetasa*, Ś. *vedasa*=*vetasa* (§101).—*haraḍai*=*haritakī* (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in *r*. So: AMg. *kaḍa*=*kṛta*, *akaḍa*=*akṛta*, *dukkḍa*=*duṣkṛta*, *sukaḍa*=*sukṛta*, *viḍaḍa*, *viḍaḍa*=*vikṛta*, *paḍaḍa*=*prakṛta*, *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta*, *āhakaḍa*=*yathākṛta*, beside M.A. *kaa*, AMg. JM. *kaya*, P.G.P. *kata*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *kada*, Ś. Mg. A. *kida*, A. *akia* (§49; cf. §306).—AMg. *patthaḍa*=*prastṛta* (Thān. 197), *vitthaḍa*=*vistṛta* (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), *saṃthaḍa*=*saṃstṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1), *asaṃthaḍa* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), *ahāsaṃthaḍa*=*yathāsaṃstṛta* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMg. *maḍa*=*mṛta* (Vivāhap. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMg. JM. *maḍaya*=*mṛtaka* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiṃ. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMg. JM. *maja* Vivāhap. 16.1041.1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. *mu'a* (Āv. 28,8), (G.), M. *maa* (G.), *mua* (H.R.), JŚ. *mada* (Pav. 387,18), Ś. *muda* (Mṛcch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—*vuda*=*vṛta* in AMg. *abhinivvuda*=*abhinivṛta* (Sūyag. 110.117 [°m°]. 371), *nivvuda*=*nivṛta* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Sūyag. 550), *pāuda*=*prāvṛta* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 134.170), *parinivvuda*=*parinivṛta* (Kappas.) beside °*ya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *parivuda*=*parivṛta* (Ovav.), *saṃparivuda*=*saṃparivṛta* (Vivāhap. 186.830; Nāyādh. §4.130; p. 431.574.724.784. 1068.1074.1273.1290.1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *saṃvuda*=*saṃvṛta* (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Sūyag. 81.117.144; Vivāhap. 942; Kappas.), *asaṃvuda* (Sūyag. 108.115), *susaṃvuda* (Sūyag. 141), beside *nivvua*, JM. *nivvuya*, Ś. *nivvuda* (§51), M. *pāua* (H.), Dh. Ś. *pāvuda* (Mṛcch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. *avāvuda*=*apāvṛta* (Mṛcch. 16,3,5.9), Ś. D. *parivuda*=*parivṛta* (Mṛcch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. *saṃvuda* (Mṛcch.15,7), AMg. *saṃvuya* (Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *haḍa*=*hṛta* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *avahaḍa*=*avahṛta* (Hc. 1,206), *abhihaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1,2;2,1,11;2,2,1,2), *āhaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,4;2,1,9,2; Sūyag. 382), *asamaḥaḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), *nīhaḍa*=*nirhṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11;2,1,9,7;2,10,2,4), beside M. *hia*=*hṛta* (H.R.), Ś. *avahaḍa*=*avahṛta* (Mṛcch. 52,13.21;53,2,21;55,16;74,12;78,2;89,9;147,17;154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in *kaḍa*=*kṛta*, *maḍa*=*mṛta*, *gaḍa*=*gata*. So are found Mg. *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17,8;32,5;127,23.24;132,10.11.12;149,24;154,20;164,10), *maḍa* (Mṛcch.119,15), *maḍaa* (Caṇḍak. 63,11), *gaḍa* (Mṛcch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside *kada*, *kida* (§49), *gada* (Mṛcch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Caṇḍak. 70,14; Venis. 34,9 etc.). *kaḍa* occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. EI, 2,485) beside *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5.5). *maḍa* is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On *kaḍa*, *maḍa* see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are : *dukkḍi*=*duṣkṛtin* (Sūyag. 295); *uvakkhaḍei*=**upaskṛtayaṭi*, *uvakkhaḍāvei* (§559); *purēkkhaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (Paṇṇav. 796ff.); *niyādi*=*nikṛtin* (Dasav. 635,7), *niyādilla*=*nikṛtimat* (Uttar.990), *niyādillayā*=*nikṛtimattā* (Thān. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.); *saṃkhaḍi*=*saṃskṛti* (Āyār.

1,8,1,18), *paḡaḍi*=*prakṛti* (Thāṇ. 216; Vivāhap. 74), JŚ. *paḡaḍi* (Kattig. 399,308), beside *paḡai* (Ovav.; Kappas.), M. *paai* (H.R.), Ś. *paḍi* (Śak. 35,8;66,8;117,11;153,14; Vikr.73,12;75,4); *vaḍiṃsa*, *vaḍiṃsaga*, *vaḍiṃsaya*=*avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka* (§ 103); *veyāvaḍiṃsa* beside *veyāvacca*=*paḡyāprtya* (LEUMANN, Ovav. s.v. *veyāvacca*). Doubtful is the meaning of Mg. *viḍatta*, *ppaḍavadi* (Mṛcch.165,11). Lalitadikṣita's explanation by *vitapta*, *pratapati* in GODABOLE p. 448 is forced. Presumably we should read: *viḍhatte cede kiṃ na ppaḷavadi*=*viḍagḍhaśeṭaḥ kiṃ na pratapati*. On *viḍhatta* cf. M. *ḍhajjajā*, Ś. *ḍhajjajadi*, *viḍhajjia*, Mg. *ḍhayyadi* (§212), on *ppaḷavadi*, the v.l. *ppatabadi* in GODABOLE.

§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paḡiṇṇā*=*pratiṇṇā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mālav. 66,18;69,5), beside AMg. *apaḍinna*=*apratijña* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19.22; 1,8,2,5.11.16;1,8,3,9.12.14;1,8,4,6.7.14); AMg. JM. *paḡiṭṭhāna*=*pratiṭṭhāna* (Thāṇ. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhap. 418.447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town JM. Ś. *paḡiṭṭhāna* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *paḡa*°]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Leṇa-dialect *paḡiṭṭhāna* beside *patiṭṭhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); AMg. *paḡiṭṭhā*=*pratiṭṭhā* (Hc. 1,206); AMg. JM. *paḡiṭṭhiya*=*pratiṭṭhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paḡiṭṭhia* (G.R.), AMg. *paḡiṭṭhiya* (Ovav.); AMg. *paḡiṭṭhāvaya*=**pratiṭṭhāpaka* (Ovav.), JM. *paḡiṭṭhāvaya*=*pratiṭṭhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paḡiṭṭhāvā* (R.), Ś. *paḡiṭṭhāvehi*=*pratiṭṭhāpaya* (Ratn. 295,26); JM. *paḡiṇṇam*=*pratidinam* (Erz.; Kk.), *paḡi yahaṃ*=*pratidivasam* (Kk.), *paḡisamayam*=*pratisamayam* (Hc. 1,206), *paḡavarisam*=*prativarṣam* (7,1); also in independently standing *prati*, JM. *paḡi* (Kk.), Ś. *paḡi* (Cait.88,12;90,4.5); *paḡiva*=*pratiṭṭha* (Hc.1,206; Pāyāl.154), beside Mg. *vipḡaḍiva*=*vipratiṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 29,23), Dh. *vipḡaḍiva* (Mṛcch. 30,11.12; cf. GODABOLE p. 86,1.2); M. JM. *sampaḡi*=*samprati* (Hc. 1,206; Pāyāl. 67; G.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), JM. *sampayaṃ*=*sampratam* (Pāyāl. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside Ś. Dh. *sampadam* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *sampadam* (e.g. Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5;38,19;99,11;119,11; 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. *tha*, through *ṭha*, becomes *ḍha* initially in M. *ḍhakkaḥ*, *ḍhakkei* (covers; disguises; closes; Hc.4,21; H.), JM. *ḍhakkeṃ* (T.7,9), *ḍhakkeṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *ḍhakkehi* (Mṛcch. 36,3); Mg. *ḍhakkeḍa*, *ḍhakkeḍha* (Mṛcch. 79,17;164,14), also with infixed nasal *ḍhamkissam* (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; BROCKHAUS *ṭankissam*, ed. Bomb. P. *ḍhamkissam*, (ed. M. *ṭhaḡaṭṭsam*=Pāli *ṭhakeṭi*, *ḍhaṅkaṇi* (cover; Deśin. 4,14); *ḍhakke* (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. *kaḍhaḥ*=*koathati* (Vr. 8,39; Hc. 4,119.220; Ki. 4,46), *kaḍhamāṇa* (G.), *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* (H. 401; so to be read), *kaḍhia* (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kaḍhiamāṇa* (Anarghar. 270,1; text °*iḡja*°), *kaḍhida* (Karp. 82,7), AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (Jiv. 823.860f.); AMg. *gaḍhiya*=*grathita* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5.4.2,5,4 [text °*ddh*°]; 1,4,4,2;1,6,5,5;1,8,1,9;2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601.699.751; Thāṇ. 156; Vivāhap. 450. 1128; Nāyādh. 433.606; Vivāgas.87 [text °*ddh*°].92), *agaḍhiya* (Āyār.2,1,5,5; Paṇhāv.359.370); *niṣiḍha* beside *niṣiṭha*=*niṣiṭha* (Hc. 1,216). In Ś. occurs *niṣiḍha* (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as well as *niṣiṭha* (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for *niṣiḍha*. AMg. *nijjāḍha*=*niryūṭha* (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhap. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12.19.21.22.24), *anijjāḍha* (Vivāhap. 134), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*=*yūṭha* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), Ś. *jūḍha* (Caṇḍak. 17,12), M. *jūhiā*=*yūthikā* (G.), AMg.

jūhiyā (Kappas.), *Ś. jūdhīā* (Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 16,2; 17,2; 21,14 [text everywhere °hi²]), AMg. *nijjūhāga* = **niryūthaka*, *nijjūhiyā* = **niryūthita* (Dasav. 644, 16, 17), JM. *nijjūhiyāi* (Āv. 42, 15); *paḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *puḍhuma* beside P. *puḍhuma* = *prathama* (§104); *puḍhavi* beside *puhavi*, *puhai* = *prthvi* (§51)²; AMg. *puḍho* = *prthak*, beside *puhutta*, *puhatta* = *prthakto* (§78); AMg. *medhi* = *methi* (Hc. 1,215; Nāyādh. 630; Uvās.); *sadhila*, *pasadhila*, *siḍhila*, *pasidhila* = *siṭhila*, *prasithila* (§115).

1. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 2f. The word presupposes one Skt. **sthak*, Cf. § 309. Not quite correct FISCHER, BB. 15, 125.—Artificial and false BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 164f.

§222. Initially *da* has become *ḍa* in M. AMg. JM. in the roots *daś* and *dah* and their derivatives (Hc. 1,217,218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2,35 mentions *daśana* only, Kī. 2,42 besides also *daḥana*, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1,217 permits it optionally in *daśana*, *daṣṭa*, *dagdha*, *dāha*, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. *daśai*, but AMg. *daśamāṇa* (cf. v.l.), *daśantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); M. *daṭṭha* (H.) and M. JM. *daṭṭha* (R.; Kk.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍakka* (§566); AMg. *saṃḍāsa* = *saṃdaṃśa* (Uttar. 593); *uḍḍasa* (bug; Deśin. 1,96); *uḍḍāsa* (pain; Deśin. 1,99); but AMg. JŚ. *daṃsa* = *daṃśa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28; Ovav.; Kattig. 401,353); Dh. *daṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 39,8); M. *daśaṇa* (G.), and so always in Ś. according to Vr. 12,31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: *daśaṇādaśaṇi* (Latakam. 7,6), *daṃsaḍi* (Śak. 160,1), *daṭṭha*, *daṃsida* (Mālav. 53,17; 54,6). So also *dādhā* = *daṃśtrā* (§76).—*dah* forms *dahai* (H.), JM. *dahe* (Erz. 38,18), AMg. *dahaha* (Sūyag. 596), *dahejjā* (Dasav. 634,5), *dahijjā* (Sūyag. 783); M. *dahiūna* (H.R.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (Hc. 4,246; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2; 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282,284); M. *ḍajjhasi*, *ḍajjhasu* (H.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhanti* (G.; Paṇhāv. 381; Dvār. 498,26), M. *ḍajjhisi* (H.); JM. *ḍajjhii* (Āv. 32,35); JM. *ḍajjhae* (Dvār. 498,22); AMg. *ḍajjhantu* (Paṇhāv. 127; M. AMg. *ḍajjhanta* (G.R.; Karp. 87,9; Jiv. 591; Paṇhāv. 63; Paṇnav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), JM. *ḍajjhinti* (Dvār. 499,23); AMg. JM. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270,286; Paṇhāv. 59,217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498,25), °*nā* (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498,28; 499,7); AMg. *viḍajjhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. *ḍajjha* (Ṭhāp. 146); M. *ḍaddha* (H.R.), but only R. 3,48 in *ḍaddhaa* without a v.l., everywhere else with v.l. *ḍaddha*, as also AMg. JM. have (C. 3,16; Sūyag. 288,783; Paṇhāv. 176; Paṇnav. 848; Vivāhap. 13,16,617; Āv. 9,16,20; 19,13,15; Dvār. 499,21,22,500,16; 501,34), M. without v.l. only R. 7,52. Cf. Kī. 2,17. In M. the cerebralization is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15,58 with v.l. should be read *dahiūnā*¹, in spite of JM. *dahiūnā* [Erz. 24,25]. In compounds the dental seems to prevail: *viḍaddha* (Kī. 2,17); M. *viḍaddha* = *vidagdha* (G.H.; Anarghar. 20,3); JM. *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17), AMg. *niddahējjā* (Uttar. 363), JM. *niddaddha* (Dvār. 504,9,10); AMg. *saṃḍadahamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); otherwise, except in *ḍaddha*, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as *dahijjai* (Hc. 4,246), AMg. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 13,16,617), probably under the influence of the adjacent *ḍaddha*, as JM. *dahai* (Erz. 3,18), through the preceding parallel *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17). In Ś. the dental remains, except in the cases of transimposition of breath (§212), throughout: *dahidum* (Śak. 72,12); *ḍaddha* = *dagdha* (Anarghar. 150,4; text *ḍaddha*; cf. also ed. Calc. 89,2); *viḍaddha* = *vidagdha* (Mālatīm. 76,6; 250,3; Hāsy. 25,8; 22,31,17). In derivatives the cerebralization is found e.g. in M. AMg. *dāha* (Pāiyāl. 46; H.; Āyār. 2,10,17), M. JM. *dahaṇa* (Pāiyāl. 6; G.; Erz.) beside JM. *dahaṇa* (Erz.; Kk.). So also *ḍaddhāḍi* (way of the forest fire; Deśin. 4,8) from *dagdha* + *vāfi* (way) with contraction according

to §167. For *da* appears *ḍa*, further in the anlaut in JM. *daṇḍa*=*daṇḍa* (Vr. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Āv. 47,26ff.), beside the common *daṇḍa* of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.1 *da*°]. 8; 1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; JM. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mṛcch. 41,6;155,5; Śak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,78,7; Prab. 4,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 154,10;155,5); *ḍabbha*=*darbha* (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. *dabbha* (G.; Śak. 85,2; Uvās.); *ḍambha*, beside *dambha*=*dambha* (Hc. 1,217), to which *ḍambhia*=*dāmbhika* (gamester; Deśin. 4,8) also belongs; AMg. JM. *ḍahara*=*dahara* (young; Deśin. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100.113.472.515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28.32.35;636,14;637,7; Āv. 42,16); *ḍolā*=*dolā* (Grr.; Deśin. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. *dolā* (Vr. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5;54,10;55,4;57,2 5,7; Mālav. 32,12;34,12;39,7,15;40,5; Karp. 54,5;58,1; Viddhaś. 117,1), M. *ḍolāia*=*dolāyita* (under H.966), beside Ś. *dolāamāna* (Mṛcch. 68,14); in addition also *ḍola* (eye; Deśin. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), *ḍolia* (antelope; Deśin. 412)²; AMg. JM. *ḍohaḥa*=*dohada* (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḥa* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgas. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13;34,13;36,2;40,6;48,14; Karp. 20,2,6;64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. *dohaḥaa*=*doholaka* (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaś. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMg. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in *āḍahaī*=*ādadhāti* (Ovav. § 44), *āḍahanti*=*ādadhanti* (Sūyag. 286)³. Cf. §223.500. *dara* becomes *ḍara* in the meaning "fear", (Hc. 1,217), as *darati* in the meaning "fears", "trembles", *ḍaraī* (Hc. 4,198)⁴; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning "something", "a little", "half": M. JM. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśin. 5 33; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14;56,7;66,11; Erz. Mālatim. 118,5; Uttarar. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaś. 117,4;126,3). *dara* "fear" with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with *kandara*. In the inlaut *ḍa* appears for *da* in *kaḍaṇa* beside *kaṇa* (Hc. 1,217); M. *khudā*, Ś. *khudida*=**kṣudita*=*kṣuṇṇa*, M. *ukkhudā*=**utkṣudita* (§ 568); AMg. *tuḍiya*=**tudita* (§ 258); Mg. *haḍakka*=**hṛdaka* (§ 194). *saḍai* belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to *sad*, according Vr. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to *śad*. Probably it is to be rightly connected with *ṣaṭ*, in favour of which are AMg. *paḍisāḍēnti*, *paḍisāḍittā* (Āyār. 2,15,18), JM. *paḍisaḍaṇa* (Kk. 268,22)⁵.

1. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 327. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho p. 322, note 5, who completely overlooks the dialectical distinction.—2. FISCHEL, BB 6,89.—3. JACOBI (SBE. 45,45,283), with the commentary, falsely derives the form from *dah* "to burn".—4. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,217;4,198.—5. So probably more correctly than Hc. 4,219.

§223. In the anlaut *dha* has become *ḍha* in M. *ḍhaṅkha*, AMg. *ḍhaṅka*, *ḍhiṅka*=Pāli *dhanka*=Skt. *dhoṅkṣa*, *ḍhēṅki*=*dhoṅkṣi* (§213); in the inlaut in AMg. *niṣaḍha*, *niṣaḍha*=*niṣadha* (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thāp. 72.75.176; Samav. 19.161.162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nirayāv. 79ff.; Paṇhāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but *niṣaha* (Sūyag. 313); *osaḍha* (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,1; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha* (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhap. 516; Uttar. 602. 918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. *osaḍha* in *laddhosadha* (Śak. 56,16)=*auṣadha*¹. To it belongs also AMg. JM. *āḍhāi*=**ādhāti*=*āda-dhāti* (§ 500)¹, causative *āḍhavaī*, *viḍhavaī*, passive causative *āḍhappaī*, *āḍhasiāi*, *viḍhappaī*, *viḍhavijjāi* (§ 286), participles M. AMg. JM. *āḍhatta*, M. *samāḍhatta*, M. JM. Ś. *viḍhattaū*, A. *viḍhatta* (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of *āḍhatta*, from *ārabdha*², is linguistically impos-

sible. To *dhā*, not to *dy*, belongs also *ādhia* (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Deśin. 1,74), JM. *ādhiya* (Āv. 43,25) = **ādhiṭa* = *āhiṭa*. For cerebralization one may compare *saḍḍhā* = *śraddhā*, *saḍḍha* = *śrāddha*, *saḍḍhi* = *śraddhin* (§ 333) and AMg. *āḍahaī*, *āḍahanti* (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, *ādhāi* to *ārādhati*, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 306, to *ardhayati* or to *ārdayati*.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. *ādhatta*; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512, note**; Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *rabh*; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOB, KZ. 28,253.

§224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMg. JM. JŚ. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, *na* is always changed into *ṇa* (Vr.2,42; Hc.1,228; Ki. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. *ṇa*=*na*; *ṇaṇa*=*nayana* (G.H.R.)¹; *ṇalipi*=*nalini*; *ṇāṣaṇa*=*nāṣana* (R.); *ṇihāṇa*=*nidhana* (G.R.); *ṇihāṇa*=*nidhāna*; *ṇihuaṇa*=*nidhuvana* (H.); *ṇūṇaṇ* (H.), *ṇūṇa* (G.R.)=*nūnam*. Likewise Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā.D.A. In AMg. JM. JŚ. single *n* in the beginning of words and doubled *n* within words may be retained. Ki. 2,107 generally permits dental *n* in the anlaut: *ṇai* or *nai*=*nadi*. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMg. and JM. generally, and in Ki. throughout, *ṇa* is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain *n*². In the particle *ṇam*=*nūnam*, always *n* is written, which is explained by the fact that *n* originally stood in the inlaut and that *ṇam* is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaṇḍavaho, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMg. even a medial simple *na* is sometime retained as in *āraṇāla*, *anila*, *anala* in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically *na* is written falsely in Ś. *nomālie*=*navamālike* (Lalitav. 560,9.17 beside *ṇomālie*) and Mg. *nijjhala*=*nirjhara* 566,9 whilst *niraṇṭara* (561,2) and *nia* (567,1) are printing mistakes³. In PG., with the exception of *madana* (6,40), *na* in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: *pallavāṇa* (5,2), *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavāṇām* (6,8) *bamhaṇāṇam*=*brāhmaṇāṇām* (6,8.27.30.38), *kātūṇam*=**kṛtvāṇam* (6,10.29), *nātūṇam*=**jñātūṇam* (6,39), *likhiteṇa* (7,51), otherwise the simple *na* in the inlaut is partly retained, as *senāpati* (5,3), *vadhanike*=**vardhanikān* (6,9), *aneka* (6,10), **ppadāyino*=**pradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *sātāhani* (6,27), *vinēsi* (26,31), partly it becomes *ṇa*, as in *maṇuṣāṇa*=*maṇuṣyāṇām* (5,7), *dāṇi*=*idāṇim* (5,7), *appaṇo*=*ātmanaḥ* (6,8), *sāsaṇassa*=*śāsaṇasya* (6,10), *nivataṇam*=*nivartanam* (6,38), *anu*^o=*anu*^o (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental *na* always remains: *neyika*=*naiyikān* (5,7), *kumāraṇamdi* (6,17), *naṇḍijasa*=*nandijasya* (6,21), *nāganathisa*=*nāganandinah* (6,25), *nivataṇam*=*nivartanam* (6,38), *saṇvinayika* (6,32), *nigaha*=*nigraha* (7,41), *narādhamo* (7,47), *anne*=*anyān* (5,6;7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from *jña*: *āṇataṇ*=*ājñāptani* (7,49), where *jña* is taken as in the inlaut, beside *nātūṇam*=**jñātūṇam* (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts⁴. So also in VG.: *pallavāṇam* (101,2); *nārāyaṇissa* (101,8), *vaddhaniyaṇ* (101,8), *kātūṇa* (101,9), *nātūṇa* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. *na* remains throughout: P. *dhana*, *matana*=*madana*, *satana*=*sadana*, *vatanaka*=*vadanaka*, *cintayamāni*=*cintayamānā*, *gantūna*=**gantvāna*, *natthūṇa*=**naṣṭvāna* etc., also *sināna*=*snāna*, *sināla*=*snāta*, *sunusā*=*snusā*: CP. *matana*=*madana*, *tanu*, *nakara*=*nagara* etc. (Vr. 4,7.13; Hc. 4,304.307.310.312.313.314.325.328; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṅkāra 2,12.

1: Cf. §186, note 1.—2. LEUMANN, *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* p. 6, note 4. On the flexibility of the manuscripts see WEBER, *Bhag.* 1,402f.; E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 29f.; JACOB, *ZDMG.* 34,181, according to whom even in the oldest manuscripts *ṇa* appears not rarely; STEINTHAL, *Specimen* p. 3.—3. KONOW, *GN.* 1894,480.—4. Not quite correctly BÜHLER, *El.* 1,3.

§225. Very rarely and that only dialectically the cerebrals of Skt. become dentals. In P. *ṣu* can become *tu* (Hc. 4,311); *kutumbaka* beside *kufumbaka*. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na*: P. *gunaganayutta*=*guṇaganayukta*; *gunena*=*guṇena*; *talunī*=*taruṇī*; *viśāna*=*viśāṇa*; *gahana*=*grahaṇa* (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, *Kāvya-lamkāra* 2,12); CP. : *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *panaya*=*praṇaya*, *nakhatappanesum*=*nakhadarpaṇeṣu*, *pātukkhepeṇa*=*pādotkṣepeṇa* (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Sīṃhadevagaṇin on *Vāgbhaṭa-lamkāra* 2,12 *ṇa* should become *na* also in Mg.: *taluna*=*taruṇa*. S. has confused Mg. with P. In AMg. JM. JŚ., the manuscripts write *nna* for *ṇa* of the other dialects, except that of P.CP., just as for the dental *nna* (§ 224). *nisanna*=*niṣaṇṇa*; *paḍipunna*=*pratipūrṇa*; *vanna*=*varṇa*; also in the case of the secondary *ṇa*, as *anna*=M. Ś. *aṇṇa*=Skt. *anya* etc.

§226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebrals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that *ṣa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* could become *la* (Vr. 2,22.23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Ki. 2,12.13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of *la*, however, *ṣa* should always be written, as in similar cases in Pālī¹. The North Indian manuscripts know *ṣa* as little as the *anunāsika* (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for P. transition of *ṣa* into *ṣa* is required². Trivikrama's *grantha*-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout *ṣa*, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the *sūtras*, it is true, they write *la*, and in the examples, with a some exceptions, that are scribe's errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript³, only *ṣa*. The edition in the *Granthapradarśanī* has only *ṣa*. It is so in the *sūtra* 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama: *ṣaḥ baḍṣāḍau ṣaḥ*. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands *kilaṭ*=*kṛḍati*; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. *kilaṭ*, B. *kilaṭ*; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgarī MSS. have *kilaṇaṃ*=*kṛḍanakaṃ*, 155,12 *kiliṣaṃ* or wrongly *kiliṣaṃ*=*kṛḍiṣyāmi*. Of the South Indian manuscripts the *Grantha*-manuscript L⁴ reads *kilaṇijam*=*kṛḍaniyam*, but *kiliṣaṃ*, the Telugu-manuscript F *kilaṇijam* and *kiliṣaṃ*, P. *kilaṇam*, but *kiliṣaṃ*, the Malayālam-manuscript V *kilaṇiyam*, but *kiliṣaṃ*, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 *kilaṇaṃ* and p. 305 *kilaṣaṃ*; Vikr. 41,7;52,9 has for *kṛḍiṣaṃ* *kilaṇāṇa*, in the South-Indian recension 643,1;650,17 *kiliṣaṃ*, *kilaṇāṇa*, 31,17 for *kilaṇavvadaperante*=*kṛḍāparvataparyante*, 636,17 *kilaṇavvade*=*kṛḍāparvate*; Mālav. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has *kiliṣaṃ*; in Mālatīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads *kilaṇāḍo* for *kilaṇāḍo* etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have *ṣa*, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use *ṇa*, so that they, e.g. write *ṣaṣa*, *maṣa*, *ṣaṣa*, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription I,A⁵, writes *phāṣiga*=*sphāṣika*, while PG. has *pilā*=*pīḍā* (6,40), for which *pilā* was expected⁶. In agreement with Pālī *ṣa* is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for *ṣa*, *ḍa*. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When *ḍa* and *ṣa* are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇī* 258 (p. 322 ed. BÖHTLINGK), *Sarasvatik.* p. 98, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Alamkāratilaka* p. 14, *Sāhityadar-*

pana 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Raghuv. 9,46 permits *bhujalatām* to alliterate with *jaḍatām* (*ḍalayarabhedah* says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North *ḷa* had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt.⁷ in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

1. E. KUHN p. 36f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule.—3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,30 A. *valahāmuham*, B. *vafāmuham*; A. *galulo*, B. *garulo*=*garuḍah*; A. *taldam*, B. *talādm*=*taḍākam*; in 1,3,24 A. *valisam*, B. *halisam*=*baḍisam* etc.—4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,190f.—5. EI. 2,324.—6. On the inscriptional occurrences of *ḷa* see BÜHLER, EI. 2,368; FLEET, CII. 3,4,269.—7. PUCHHEL, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§227. Except in Dh. and Mg. *śa* and *ṣa* have become *sa* in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilant only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Ki. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. *śivakhaṇḍavāmo*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *viśae*=*viṣaye* (5,3), *peṣaṇa*=*preṣaṇa* (5,6), *yaso*=*yaśah* (6,9), *śāṣaṇṣa*=*śāsanasya* (6,10), *sata*=*śata* (6,11), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6,16), *sāka*=*śāka* (6,34), *viṣaya*=*viṣaya* (6,35) and others; M. *asesa*=*aśeṣa* (G.H.), *āśivisa*=*āśiṣiṣa* (R.), *kesa*=*keśa* (G.H.R.), *ghosa*=*ghoṣa* (G.H.), *paśu*=*paśu* (G.), *maśi*=*maśi* (H.R.), *mahisa*=*māhiṣa* (G.H.R.), *rosa*=*roṣa* (G.H.R.), *sīsira*=*śīsira* (G.H.R.), *sisu*=*śisu* (G.); Ś. *kidavisesaā*. *sohadi*=*kṛtavīṣekā*... *sobhate* (Mṛcch. 2,21), *parisilidāśesadesantāravavahāro*=*parīśilitāśeṣadesantāravyavahārah* (Lalitav. 560,19), *śasīṣecharavallahā*=*śaśīṣekharaṇavallabhā* (Lalitav. 561,9), *sussūsidapuruṣo* *sussūsidavvo*=*śuśrūṣitapūrvah* *śuśrūṣitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23). Likewise AMg. JM. JŚ. P. CP. Ā.D.A.

§228. In Dh. *ṣa* has become *sa*, but *śa* has been retained: *esa*, *esu*, *eso*=*eśah* (Mṛcch. 30,10; 31,8; 34,17; 35,15; 36,23); *puliso*=*puṛuṣah* (34,12); *mūśido*=*mūṣitah* (38,18; 39,1); *samavisamam*, *sakaluśam* (so to be read!)=*samaviṣamam*, *sakaluṣakam* (v. l. *aikasaṇam*=*atikṛṣṇam*; 30,8,9); however, *ādamaśāmi* (so to be read!)=*ādarśayāmi* (34,25); *jaśam* [so to be read]=*yaśah* (30,9); *daśasuvanna*=*daśasuvārṇa* (29,15; 30,1; 31,4 etc.); *śalaṇam* (to be read so!)=*śaraṇam* (30,4); *śunṇu*=*śūnyah* (30,11); *śeta*=*śaila* (30,17). See § 25.

§229. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vṛcāḍa Apabhraṁśa, and as it appears, in Kaikeyapaiśācika too, *ṣa* and *śa*, when not conjoined, become *śa* in the inlaut and in the anlaut; *śa* itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: *īdiśāśa akayyaśa*=*īdrīśayākāryasya* (Śak. 113,5); *avaśalovaśappañña*=*avasaropasarpaṇīya* (Śak. 115,10); *keśeśu*=*keśeṣu* (Mṛcch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); *duśśāśaśaśa*=*duḥśāsanasya* (Mṛcch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12), *pulīśa*=*puṛuṣa* (§ 124); *bhūśaśaśada*=*bhūśaṇaśabda* (Mṛcch. 14,23); *mahīśamahāśula*=*mahīśamahāśura* (Caṇḍak. 68,16); *māṇuśamanīśa*=*mānuṣamānīśa* (Venis. 33,3); *māśalāśi*=*māśarāśi* (Mṛcch. 14,10); *lāśi*=*rājārśi* (Venis. 34,1); *lośaggi*=*rośāgni* (Mṛcch. 123,2); *lośamalīśa-palaṇvaśa*=*rośamarṣaparavaśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); *valīśaśada*=*varṣaśata* (Venis. 33,4); *viśakaṇṇaśa*=*viśakanyakā* (Mudrār. 193,3; 194,6); *viśeśa*=*viṣeṣa* (Mṛcch. 38,13); *viśśavaśiśa*=**viśvāvāsasya*=*viśvāvāsoh* (Mṛcch. 11,9); *śalīla*=*śalila* (Mṛcch. 136,11; 158,13); *śatīla*=*śarīra* (Mṛcch. 124,21; 127,5; 140,10; 154,10; Venis. 34,1); *śahaśa*=*sahasra* (§ 448); *śamaśśaśadu*=*śamāśvaśitu* (Mṛcch. 130,17); *śamaśśāśadi*=*śamāśvāśyate* (Venis. 34,13);

śilasi = *śirasi* (Mṛcch. 116,15); *śiliśomeśaladeva* = *śrīśomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); *śivilaṇiṣeṣa* = *śibiraniveśa* (Lalitav. 565,6); *śoṇidavaśāśamuddaduś-śaṃcala* = *soṇṭavaśāśamuddaduśsaṃcara* (Venīś 34,5); *śośāveduṭṭa* = *śoṣayitum* (Mṛcch. 140,9).

2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§230. *ka* becomes *ca* in *kirāta*: M. *cilāta* (Vr. 2,33 [Bh. here and under 2,30 *cilāda*]; Hc. 1,183,254; Ki. 2,35,41; Mk. fol. 17 [*cilāda*]; R.), AMg. *cilāya* (Paṇhāv. 42; Paṇnav. 58), *femin. cilāi* (Ovav.), *cilāiyā* (Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); cf. *cilātīputra* (commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38). In the meaning "Śiva" *ka* remains according to Hc. Mk. So M. *kirāa* (G. 35.). According to Mk., *ka* remains in tribal names: *kirāda* (Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8). *kirāya* occurs in Pāiyāl. 273.—*ka* is represented by *va* in *ovāsa* = *avakāśa* (Pāiyāl. 261; G.H.R.), beside *oāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.H.R.), M. Ś. *avaāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.; Mṛcch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8; Prab. 46,2), JM. *avagāsa* (Erz.), AMg. *avagāsiya* = **avakāśika* (Uvās.); *ovāsa* = *avakāśate* (Vr. 8,35; Hc. 4,179); M. *antovāsa* = *antaravakāśa* (G. 848; § 383)¹. Further in AMg. *jūva* = *yūka* (Jiv. 356), beside *jūā, ūā*, AMg. *jūyā* (§ 335); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. *thova* = *stoka* (Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thāp. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311,959; Dasav. 621,13; Jiyak. 92; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [text *thū*]; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. JM. *thovaya* = *stokaka* (Nāyādh.; Erz.), AMg. *thovayaram* (Jiyak. 92), JM. *thovāthovam* (Āv. 43,7), beside M. Ś. Mg. *thoa* (Hc. 2,45,115; G.H.R.); Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 157,6), *thōkka* (§ 90)²; AMg. *divaḍḍha* = *dvikārdha* (§ 450). *va* will have, according to § 199, originated from *pa*, therefore, it may be a case of interchange between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On *pavaṭṭha*, supposed to be = *prakoṣṭha* see § 129; on *candimā*, supposed to be = *candrikā* § 103; on AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. A. *ga* for *ka*, § 192.202; on *kha*, *ha* for *ka*, see § 206.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain *v*, here, as in other cases, with FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar *k*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. *ga* appears as *va* in *ovāhai* beside *ogāhai* = *avagāhate* (Hc. 4,205)¹; AMg. *juvala* = *yugala* (Vivāhap. 962), *juvalaya* = *yugalaka* (Vivāhap. 82), *juvaliya* = *yugalita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); cf. § 286 *juppai*; AMg. *talāva* = *taḍāga* (Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *talāga* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; Paṇhāv. 31,246,437,520; Paṇnav. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44,45; Erz.), AMg. *talāya* (Ovav.), *taḍāga* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3); M. *talāa* (Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.1.); Ś. *taḍāga* (Mṛcch. 37,23; 151,15); M. *dūhava* = *durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115,192; Karp. 86,2), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel *sūhava* = *subhaga* (Hc. 1,113,192), according to Mk. fol. 39 also *dūhavi*, *sūhavi* = *durbhagā*, *subhagā*. Reversely *ga* occurs for *va* in AMg. JM. *agaḍa* = *avaṭa* (2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz.), beside *ayaḍa* (Deśin. 1,18; Pāiyāl. 130) and common *avaḍa*; AMg. *niṇhaga* = **naiṇhava*² (heretic; Ovav. § 122), beside AMg. *niṇhavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niṇhave* (Dasav. 631,31), *aniṇhavemāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83); cf. § 473; AMg. *aṇhaga* = *āsrava* (Paṇhāv. 324), beside *aṇhaya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Paṇhāv. 7; Ovav.)³, *paṇhaya* = *prasava* (Vivāhap. 794), AMg. *mahāṇubhāga* = *mahānubhāva* (Bhag.; Ovav.)⁴. Cf. also AMg. *pariyāga*, *nijāga* (§ 254).—M. *puṇṇāma* = *puṇṇāga* (Hc. 1,190; R.), beside AMg. *puṇṇāga* (Āyār. 2,10,21; Nāyādh. 699. [°ṇṇā]), Ś. *puṇṇāa* (Mallikām. 116,9), and *bhāminī* = *bhāginī* (Hc. 1,190), beside M. Ś. *mandabhāinī* (H.; Mṛcch. 22,25; 120,6; 170,3,25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose

the process of development *puṇṇāga*, **puṇṇāoa*, *puṇṇāma* (§ 261)⁵. Skt. *puṇṇāman* is a borrowing from Pkt. —*chāla* supposed to be=*chāga*, and *chālī*=*chāgi* (Hc. 1,191) have, according to § 165, arisen from *chāgala*, *chāgali*. For Mg. *cheliā* (Latakam. 12,14) we have to read *chālīā*. Ś. has *chāgala* (Mṛcch. 17,15). On *gha* for *ga* see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 216, note 35.—2. So the word is not to be equated as=*nihnava* (LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*), *i* stands for *ai* according to § 84.—Not correctly, LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*—4. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. apubhāga*. WEBER, *Bhag.* 2,290 thinks of Skt. *anubhāga*. To me the equation of AMg. *pāsamānaga* =Skt. *puṣyamānava*, given by LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*, is not clear. The word *vaddhamānaga*, in OVAV. § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as *puṣyamāna* + *ka*. In no case, with LEUMANN, we can assume dropping off of *v*.—5. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 15; Rāvaṇavaho. Index p. 172^a, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains *as* as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§232. AMg. *āṇṭana* is not, with Hc. 1,177, to be equated as=*ākuñcana*, but as=**ākuñjana* from *√kuṣṭa* *kuṣṭilye* (Dhātupāṭha 28,73), that is identical with *√kuṣṭi* *vaikalye* (Dhātupāṭha 9,37). Hence it is derived from the present stem *ākuñṣa-*, which occurs in AMg. *āṇṭijā*, *āṇṭeṭṭijā* (Vivāhap. 1151,1152)¹. To the same root belong Skt. *kuṣṭila*, Pkt. *kudilla* *kudillaa* (crooked; Deśin. 2,40; Pāṇyā. 155), *koḍilla* (bad; Deśin. 2,40) and *kuṇṭī* (bundle; Deśin. 2,34). — *khasia*, according to Hc. 1,193 = *khacita*, is rather=*kasita*, in conformity with Hc. 1,181; cf. § 206.—AMg. *pisalla* (Paṇhāv. 79 v. 1.), *sapisallaga* (Paṇhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as=*piśāca*, will be=*piśācālaya*, according to § 150.165.194. *piśāca* becomes regularly M. Ś. *piśā* (H.; Prab. 46,2; Mudrār. 186,4 [°ca]; 191,5 [°ca]), AMg. JM. *piśāja* (Thāp. 90.138.229; Paṇhāv. 172.230.312; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.).

1. *āṇṭṭāveṃi* (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary *āṇṭṭāveṃi*), *āṇṭṭeṭṭeṭṭe* (sic; Nāyādh. 605) is a false reading for *āṇṭṭāveṃi*, *āṇṭṭeṭṭeṭṭe*, *āṇṭṭeṭṭeṭṭe*, as e. g. *āṇṭṭeṭṭe* (Thāp. 152; Sūyag. 403), *āṇṭṭāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), *āṇṭṭilā* (Kappas. S. § 49), *āṇṭṭāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *āṇṭṭāna* (Sūyag. 476) are found. The forms belong to *√ṛt*.

§233. *cha* remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes *echa* after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains *cha*, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. *chala* (G.H.); *chavi* (G.R.); *chāā*=*chāyā* (G.H.R.); *chea*=*cheda* (G.H.R.); *icchaī*=*icchatī* (H.R.); *ucchaṅga*=*utsaṅga* (G.H.R.); *gacchaī*=*gacchatī* (H.); *pucchaī*=*prechatī* (R.); *mucchā*=*murchā* (R.); *piṇcha*=*piecha*, *puṇcha*=*puccha* (§ 74); *puñchā*=*proñchati* (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. — AMg. *milakṭhu* beside *miliecha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *māccha*, AMg. *miccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form **mlaska*¹. In Mg. original as well as secondary *echa* becomes *śea* (Hc. 4,295; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12); *iśiadi*=**icchyate*=*īsyate* (Śak. 118,6); *gaśca*=*gaccha* (Hc.; Lalitav. 566,18; Śak. 115,4), *gaścamha*=*gacchāma* (Śak. 118,7); *puśeṇṭhe*=*prechan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *maśca* from the usual Pkt. *maśca*=*matsya* (Mṛcch. 11,11.12 [so to be read]; Śak. 114,2.9), *maścali* (fish; Śak. 118,2)=Gujarāṭī *māchalī*, Hindī *machalī*, Sindhī *machadī*²; *āvannaṇaśeala*=*āpannavatsala*, *piścala*=*piechila* (Hc.; Namis.); *uścaladi*=*ucchalati*, *tiliści* *pēśkadi*=M. *tiricchi* *pēcchā*=*tiryak* *prekṣate*, *puścadi*=*prechatī* (Hc. 4,295); *yivantavaśca*=*jivadvatsā* (Hc. 4,302). The texts mostly have *echa*: nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So some MSS. have *gaścasi*, *gaśchasi*, *gaśca* for *gacchasi*, *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 20,14); Pṛthivīdhara in STENZLER p. 241 has *maścāśikā* for *macchāśikā* (Mṛcch. 10,23); for *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 132,16) there occur *gaśca*, *gaśśa*; for *āacchāmi* (Mṛcch. 132,17), *āaścāmi*, *āaśvāmi*; for *āgacchadi* (Mṛcch. 133,8), *āgaścadi*.

āgaśchadi etc.³ In the anlaut *cha* remains: *chāla* (Hc. 4,295), *chāā*=*chāyā* (Mudrār. 267,2). The *cha* of *chedaa* in *ganthichedaa*=*granthichedaka* (Śak. 115,4.12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. °*chedaā* in R, however, makes here the reading **ścedaa* more probable. See also §327.

1. E. KUHN, KZ. 25,327.—2. FISCHER on Śakuntalā p. 199, note 1.—3. FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1319.

§234. In place of Skt. *ja* an old *ga* has been retained dialectically in the root *añj* and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes: AMg. *abbhañgei* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8;2,15,20), *abbhañgējja*=*abhyañjyāt*, commentary=*abhyañgyāt* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *abbhañgēttā*=**abhyañjittvā* (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), *abbhañgāvei*=*abhyañjayati* (Vivāgas. 235; text °*bbhi*°); JM. *abbhañgijjaha*=*abhyajyadhve* (Erz. 59,30), *abbhañgiuñ* (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JM. *abbhañgiya* (Ovav. [°*bbhi*°]; Kappas.; Nāyādh. [°*bbhi*°]; Erz.); AMg. JM. *abbhañgaṇa*=*abhyañjana* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *abbhañgida*=*abhyakta* (Mrcch. 69,7); AMg. *nirañgaṇa* (Ovav.) against M. *nirañjana* (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. *abhyāṅga*=AMg. *abbhaṅga* (Ovav.). Sūyag. 248 has edited *muhabhīmñāe*. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only *ja*.—AMg. *omugganimuggiya*, explained by the commentator with *majjananmajjana*, is=**avamagnanimagnita*, as *ummaggā*, *ummuggā*=**unmagnā* (§ 104).

§ 235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that *j* in the root *śj* becomes *r*. His examples *nisirai*, *vosirai*, *vosirāmi*=*vyavasrjati*, *vyavasrjāmi* occur very frequently in AMg. JM. So AMg. *nisirāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), *nisirai* (Paṇṇav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120f.212.254.1217.1271 Nāyādh.), *nisirāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); *nisirinti* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,5,2,3;2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [ri°]), *nisirāhi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), *nisira* (Dasav. 632,28), *nisirinta* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirittā* (absolute: Vivāhap. 1251), *nisirijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāveñti* (Sūyag. 680), substantive *nisiraṇa* (Dasav. N. 658,33); AMg. *vosirāmi* (Āyār. p. 132,2;133,6,134,3;136,5; Nāyādh. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dasav. 614,19;616,20; Ovav.); JM. *vosirai* (Erz. 50,37); AMg. *vosirējjā* (Āyār. 2,10,1ff), *vosire* (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737,923; Dasav. 619,14); JM. *vosirasu* (Erz. 42,33); AMg. *vosirittā* (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JM. *vosiriya* (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. *vosire* (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to *śj*¹ is impossible. Rather the AMg. JM. participle, *samosariya*=*samavasrta* (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75.189; Nirayāv. §3; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent *samosaḍha*=*samavasrṣṭa* (§ 67), further AMg. *samosarējjā*, *samosariukāma* (Ovav.), *samosaraṇa* (Bhag.; Ovav.), shows that in AMg. JM. the roots *śj* and *sr* have coincided. *śj* forms *sarai*=*sdrati*, in the meaning "to go", "to run", but *sirai*=**sardti* in the meaning "to cause to go", "to cause to run", "to let go" and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. *nisirijjamāṇa* beside *nisirṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirai* (Vivāhap. 254) beside *nisirṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 65; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vorir* and *vosagga*; JACOBI Erz. s.v. *vorirai*.

§236. In Mg. *ja* becomes *ya* (Vr. 11,4; Hc. 4,292; Kī. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); *yāṇidavvaṇ*=*jñātaavyam*, *yāṇiśamha*=*jñāsyāmah*, *yā[ne]*=*jāne*, *yāṇiyadi*=*jñāyate*, *yāṇidam*=*jñātam*, *yampideṇa*=*jalpitenā* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.13;566,1.8.12); *yāṇadi*=*jānāti* (Hc.; Namis.); *yaṇavada*=*janapada* (Hc.; Namis.); *yalahala*=*jaladhara* (Hc. 4,296); *yāyade*=*jāyate*, *yāā*=*jāyā* (Hc.). The MSS. of the dramas, with quite rare exceptions, write in Mg. too only *ja*, since in the North-Indian dialects *ya* and *ja* have in many cases coalesced together.¹ That is,

simply a contribution of the scribe², and for *ja*, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute *ya* throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for *jāla* (Śak. 114,2) *yāla*, with the MS. R; for *jamadaggi* (Mṛcch. 12,12), *yamadaggi*; for *jiadi* (Mṛcch. 12,20), *yīadi*; for *jāñāsi* (Vepīs. 34,18), *yāñāsi*; for *joisa* (Mudrār. 177,4), *yoisa*=*iyotiṣa*; for *jiṇa* (Prab. 46,12), *yina*; for *janehiṃ jammantala*^o (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *yaṇehiṃ yammantala*^o=*jñānairjanmāntara*^o etc. In the interior of the word simple *ja* drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to *ya* for *ja*, *yha* will have to be written in cases like *yhaṇṇayyhaṇanta-* for *jhaṇṇajjhaṇanta-* (Mṛcch. 11,6), *yhatti* for *jhatti*=*jhaṭṭi* (Mṛcch. 29,21; 114,21; 168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in *niyyhala* for *nijjhala*=*nirjhara* (Lalitav. 566,9), *uyyha* for *ujjhā*=*ujjhivā* (Mudrār. 178,6); *jjh* also in Hc. 4,302). Cf. § 217.280. In PG. VG., where *ja* otherwise remains (§189), it has become *ya* in PG.; *bhāraddāyo*, *bhāradāya*^o, *bhāradāyasa*=*bhāradvājah*, *bhāradvāja*^o, *bhāradvājasya* (5,2; 6,16,19); VG. *bhāraddāyassa* (101,2; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). Cf. § 253.—*uvviva*, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Kī 5,46=*udvijate* is rather=**udvipate*=*udvepate*, as *uvvea* is not=*udvega* (Hc. 4,227), but=**udvepa*, from *vvip*, *vepate*. On AMg. *murava*=*muraja* see §254.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. § 23; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 17.—2. So correctly already LASSEN, Inst. § 154,3. Cf. above § 23.

§237. Independent *ñā* occurs in CP. in the declension of the word *rājan*, when the sound-group *jñ* is separated by a separation-vowel according to § 133 and becomes *ciñ* according to § 191 (cf. note 1): *rāciñā*, *rāciño*=*rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304; § 399). In Bh. 10,12 *rācinā*, *rāciño*, *rācini* are read with dental *n*. Further *ñ* stands in A. *vuñā*=**vrajjñāti*=*vrajati*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppipi* (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. *vaññadi* (§ 488).

§238. As a rule *ṭ* becomes *ḍ* in the inlaut between two vowels (§ 198). *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* in lieu of *ḍa*, in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *phaḷiḥa*=*sphaṭika*, AMg. *phaḷiṣa*=*sphaṭika* (§ 206). In M. *phaḍiḥa* (R. s.v.; the better recension C has °li^o), certainly, and in Ś. *phaḍiḥa* (§206) probably are false.—*phaḷei* (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to *vpaṭ* with Hc. 1,198, but to *vphal*, *sphal*.—*capetā* forms also M. AMg. *caviḍā*, *caviḷā* (Hc. 1,146.198) besides *caveḍā* (Hc. 1,146; H.; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* also, for which the North Indian MSS. write *la* (§ 226). So M. AMg. *kakkoḷa*=*karkoṭa* (G.; Paṇhāv. 527); AMg. *kaṭṭita*=*kaṭṭira* (Ovav. §10); AMg. *kheḷa* (*saḷiṣa*)=*kheṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,1,7; Thān. 483; Paṇhāv. 343.505; Antag. 23; Vivāhap. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.). *kheḷei*=*kheṭayati* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *piḷāga*=*piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208); Mg. *yūḷaka*=*jūtaka* (Mṛcch. 136,15); Mg. *śaḷa*=*śakaṭa* (Mṛcch. 122,10), beside Ś. *saḍḍiā*=*śakaṭikā*, AMg. *sagaḍa*, dialectical *saḍḍha* (§ 207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Piṅgala: *niḷa*=*niḷaṭa* (1,127^a.129^a; 2,84); *paḷa*=*prakaṭa* (1,72; 2,97.272); *paḷiṣa*=*prakaṭiṣa* (2,264); *phuḷa*=*sphuṭa* (2,48); *phuḷe*=*sphuṭati*, in the sense of *sphuṭanti* (2,230); *makkaḷa*=*markaṭa* (1,91.99); *vakuḷiā*=*vadhūṭikā* (2,84). Beside *balamoḷiā*=*balamoṭiṭa* (1,140^a), for *moḷiā*=*moṭitaḥ* (2,112) we have to read *moḍiā*, or for *choḍiā*, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. GOLDSCHMIDT for *loḍiā*) we have to read perhaps *choḷiā*=*choṭitaḥ*. In M. stands *balāmoḷi*^o (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has °ḍi^o), and so we have to read, since *vmut* has *ḍa* constantly. So M. *balamoḍi*^o (H.); M. JM. Ś. *balāmoḍi* (Deśin. 6,92; Pāyāl. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāvyaaprakāśa 72,10 (cf. § 589); Kk. 260,35; Mallikām. 122,8); Ś. *balāmoḍiā* past passive participle; Mālatim. 76,4; 128,8; 253,7; absol.

Mālatim. 235,3; Rukmiṇīp. 15,13;21,6)¹, *pacchāmodia* (absol.; Śak.144,11); M. *āmodaṇa* (G.); Mg. *modāṣṣam*, *modāṣṣāmi* (Mṛcch. 113,1;128,14), *modemi*, *modia* (Mṛcch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also *āmoda*, *moda* (braid of hair; Deśin. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. *mōṭṭima* (Anarghar. 152,9; Rucipati : *mōṭṭimam balātkāre deṣi*), probably also *mōṭṭāi*=*ramote* (Hc. 4,168).—For *kaḍaṣi* (cemetery; Deśin. 2,6)=**kaḷaṣi* from *kaḷa* (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa 3,13,10)=Pkt. *kaḍa* (vanished; dead; Deśin. 2,51)+*ṣi* (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have *karasi*, hence a change of *ṣa* to *ra* through *ḍa*. The same transition of *ṣa* into *ra* takes place in AMg. *purabheyaṇi* (city; Uttar. 618)=Pāli *putabhedana*². On *ḍha* for *ṣa* see § 207.

1. In *balā* we should not, with FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 210; BÜHLER, Pāṭiyā. s.v. *balāmodi*, look for the ablative *balāṭ*. Rather the prefix *ā* has to be assumed, as *āmoda*, *āmodana* indicate.—Very false JACOBI, SBE. 45,102, note 2. *puta* is wrongly Sanskritized into *putra* (cf. Vr. 12,5) in *pātaliputra*. Cf. §292.

§239. In the inlaut *ṭh* becomes *ḍh* between vowels (§ 198). Dialectically very rarely it becomes *h*: AMg. JM. *kuḥāḍa*=*kuṭhāra* (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17.18), JM. *kuḥāḍaya* (T. 7,1); *piḥāḍa*=*piṭhara* (Hc. 1,201), AMg. *piḥāḍaga* (Jiv. 251), *piḥāḍaya* (Uvās. §184), beside *piḍhara* (Hc. 1,201; Pāṭiyā. 172), AMg. *piḍharaga* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5). On the interchange between *ḍa* and *ra* see 241.258.

§240. As a rule *ḍ* becomes *l*, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write *l* (§ 226; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe *ṣa* for *ḍa* as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits *ḍa* in *dādima*, *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa*; Hc. requires *ṣa* for *vaḍavāmukha*, *garuḍa*, *taḍāga*, *kriḍati*, allows optionally *ṣa* and *ḍa* for *baḍiṣa*, *dādima*, *guḍa*, *nāḍi*, *naḍa*, *āpiḍa*, and teaches *ḍa* as necessary for *nibiḍa*, *gaḍa*, *piḍita*, *nīḍa*, *uḍa* and *taḍita*. With him agrees Triv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (*baḍiṣādau*) and 1,3,30. Ki. has, like Triv., the gaṇa *baḍiṣādi*, but he limits it to *baḍiṣa*, *nibiḍa* and *jaḍa*, which must have *ḍa* according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example: AMg. *āmeḷiya*=*āmreḍita* (Anuog. 37); AMg. *gaṇeḷaga*=*gaveḍaka* (Ovav.); AMg. JM. *guḷa*=*guḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), Mg. *guḷodaṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,20), also *guḍa* (Hc. 1,202), Mg. *guḍāha*=*guḍaka* (Mṛcch. 116,25); M. Mg. *niḷa*=*nigaḍa* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMg. *nigaḷa* (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. *niḷa*=*nigaḍita* (G.R.), JM. *niḷaḷiya* (Pāṭiyā. 197); M. *niḷāvia* (H.); Ś. *niḷaḷavadī* (Mālav. 51,21); AMg. *eḷaya*=*eḍaka* (Uttar.226; Paṇṇav. 366f.; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *garuḷa*=*garuḍa* (Hc. 1,202; Pāṭiyā. 25; G.; Thāp. 71.85; Sūyag. 317.771; Āyār. 2,15,12,13; Paṇḥāv. 235.311; Vivāhap. 183.964 [°ḍa]; Paṇṇav. 97; Jiv. 485.488; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them M. has *garuḍa* (R.), JM. *garuḍavūha* beside *garuḷa-sattha* (Erz.); Ś. *garuḍa* (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12;99,1), Mg. *galuḍa* (text °ru° Nāgān. 68,4,15); in M. stands *galuḍa* (Acyutaś. 2.29.34; AMg. *chaḷaṃsa*=*ṣaḍaṣṭra* (Thāp. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya* (Sūyag. 590), *chaḷāyāyapa*=*ṣaḍāyatana* (Sūyag. 456), *chaḷasi*=*ṣaḍaṣiṭi* (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211.441; AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, A. *soḷa*=*ṣoḍaṣa* (§ 443); *vaḍavā* (Pāṭiyā. 226); M. *vaḍavāmūha* (R.), A. *vaḍavāṇala* (Hc. 4,365,2.419,6), beside M. *vaḷavāmūha*, *vaḷaāmūha* (R.), *vaḷaāṇala* (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. *vaḷaāmūha* (Erz.); Ś. *dādima* (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhaś. 15,2), M. *dādīmi* (G.), beside AMg. *dālīma* (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Paṇṇav. 483.531; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *āmeḷa*, M. *āmeḷia*, AMg. *āmeḷaga*, *āmeḷaya*=**āpiḍya* (§122), beside *āveḍa* (Hc.1,202), Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatim.207,4); AMg. *taḷāga*, *taḷāva*

beside *taḍāga* = *taḍāka* (§ 231); M. *kīlei* (G.), AMg. *kīlanti* (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), *kīlāe* (Uttar. 570), *kīliya* (Āyār. p. 135,17); Samav. 23), JM. *kīlāi*, *kīlanta*-, *kīlanti*-, *kīliṇa* (Erz.), Ś. *kīlasi* (Mr̥chh. 54,3; 95,11), *kīla* (Mr̥chh. 95,23), *kīlamha* (Ratn. 293,25); Ś. Dh. Mg. *kīlēmha* (Mr̥chh. 94,15; 30,18; 131,18); Ś. *kīlissam* (Vikr. 41,7; 47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of °di°; Mālav. 60,11), *kīlissasi* (Mr̥chh. 94,19; 95,12); Mg. *kīlissam* (Mr̥chh. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. Ā. *kīlidum* (Mr̥chh. 100,21; 140,7; 148,13); Ś. *kīlida* (Mr̥chh. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); Ś. *kīlamāṇa* (Vikr. 52,9); A. *kīlāi* (Vikr. 64,5), *kīladi* (Hc. 4,442,2), *kīlanti* (Vikr. 63,5) from *kriḍ*; M. Ś. *kīlā* = *kriḍā*; Ś. *kīlaṇaa*, AMg. *kīlaṇa*, *kīlāvaṇa*, beside AMg. JM. *kīdā*, *kīddā* (§ 90), as well as Ś. *kheḷadi*, A. *kheḷanta*, AMg. *khēḷāvaṇa*, JM. *khēḷāveṇa*, *khēḷla*, A. *khēḷlanti*, beside AMg. JM. *khēḍḍa*, A. *khēḍḍaa*; *khēḍḍai* (§ 90, 206); AMg. *tālei* = *tādayati* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālayanti* (Uttar. 360.365), *tālējā* (Uvās. § 200), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *tālemāṇa* (Vivāgas. 102), *taḷijomāṇa* (Paṇhāv. 196), *tāliya* (Nāyādh. 1236), *tālaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śakāra. *tālia* (absol.; Mr̥chh. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. *tāḍaṇa* (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7; 65,9; Mr̥chh. 122,20); M. *tādiumaṇā* (Karp. 70,7), *tāḍia* (R.); JM. *tāḍiya*, *tāḍijjamaṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *tāḍedi* (Mr̥chh. 79,22), *tāḍia* (absol.; Mr̥chh. 155,4), *tāḍida* (Mr̥chh. 69,23), *tāḍaidum*, *tāḍaiṣam* (Mālav. 44,16; 65,20), *tāḍiadi* (Mālatim. 267,6), *tāḍianta*-, *tāḍiamāṇa* (Mudrār. 211,5; 212,2; 203,1); Mg. *tāḍhedha* (Mr̥chh. 166,24; 169,22), *tāḍaiṣam* (Mr̥chh. 80,5); Mg. Ā. *tāḍida* (Mr̥chh. 29,19; 105,2; 148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMg. have *udu* (Pāiyāl. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. *gaḍḍa* (G.), AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Piṅgala 2,112.138; cf. § 61^a); M. *nivida* (G.; on H.996; Karp. 49,11), *nivīḍia* (G.); JM. *nivīḍia* (Erz.); M. *niḍa*, *neḍḍa* (§ 90); M. JM. *taḍi* (Pāiyāl. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22; 71,23), AMg. *taḍiyā* (Vivāhap. 943), but A. *taḷi* (Vikr. 55,2); M. *piḍia* (G.R.), AMg. JM. *piḍiya* (Pāiyāl. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.), Ś. *piḍida* (Mr̥chh. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. *nippīḍia* (R.), *sampīḍia* (G.), *piḍijjanta*-(H.R.), *piḍaṇa* (H.), M. JM. Ś. *piḍā* (Pāiyāl. 161; G.; Erz.; Mr̥chh. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), Ś. *piḍiadi* (Mr̥chh. 72,15), *piḍedi* (Vikr. 16,17). In AMg. however, *ḷa* prevails: *pīliya* (Uttar. 590); *pīliyaga* (Ovav.); *pīlei* (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945.950); *āvilāe*, *pavilāe*, *nippīlāe* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); *uppiḷavējja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); *paripīlējja* (Sūyog. 208); *ovilemāṇa* (Vivāgas. 102; text u°); *āvilīyāṇa*, *paripīliyāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *pīḷa* (Paṇhāv. 394. 402.426; Uttar. 675); *sampīḷa* (Uttar. 926.934.940.945.950); *pīḷaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands *piḍoi* beside *āvilījja*. In Piṅgala 1,145^a we have to read *pīliya* with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with *mīlia*. AMg. *eḍei* = *eḍayati* (Vivāhap. 248), *eḍanti* (Vivāhap. 236), *eḍēnti* (Ovav.), *eḍittā* (Vivāhap. 236.248) have always *ḍa*. Beside *viḍḍā* = *viḍḍā* (§ 90), AMg. has an adjective *viḍḍa* (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads *veḍa*, that will be correct and is connected to AMg. *veḷanaya* (Anuog.333), that according to Deśin. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectical *veḷuṇā* (Deśin. 7,65). *e* is to be explained according to § 122. M. has *viḍia* beside *viḷia* = *viḍita*, AMg. *saviḷiya* (§ 81). *viḍḍāṇā*, *veḍuṇā* (Deśin. 7,65) are also adduced.

§ 241. *ḍa* has become *ra* in M. Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya* = *vaidūrya* (§ 80). Bh. 4,33 has *veluria*, by which *veluria* is meant, as by *velulia* (Deśin. 7,77), *velulia*. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also *vedujja*. Further in AMg. JM. *birāla* = *bidāla*¹ (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Nāyādh. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. *birālaa* (Piṅgala 1,67; ed. Bombay. °ḍā°), femin *birālī* (Nandis. 92; Paṇṇav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMg. *birālīyā* (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant *chirabirālī* = *kṣirabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532),

birāliya (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For *viḍāla* (Jiv.356) is to be read *birāla*. Ś. has *biḍāla* (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. *vi*°; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between *biḍāla*, *biḍāla*, *biḷāla* and *vilāla*, feminine *biḍālī* (Hāsy. 25,7), *biḍālīā* (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. *viāriā*, *biḷālīā*, *vuḍālīā*); Pāli *biḷāla* and *biḷāra*.

1. Excluding Nandīa. 92 and Sūyag. 824, the texts everywhere have *vi*°. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is *bi*°, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. *ḍha* remains unchanged in all the dialects: AMg. JM. *āḍhaya*=*āḍhaka* (Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *āsāḍha*=*āsāḍha* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. JM. *ḡāḍha*=*gāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *daḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161,544; Mṛcch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 116,8), JS. Ś. A. *diḍha* (Kattig. 400,329.330.336;403,370; Mṛcch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Piṅgala 1,86^a)=*dyḍha*; M. JM. *bāḍha*=*bāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.). On A. *khalikhadaḍ* cf. § 110.207. —Secondary *ḍha*, originating from *ṣha* (§ 66.67.304) becomes *ṭha* (in written *ṭha*) in *koḷhua* (jackal; Deśin. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from **koḍhua*=*kroṣṭuka*¹, to which belongs also *kuḷha* for **koḷha* (jackal; Deśin. 2,34) = **kroṣṭa* for *kroṣṭr*; *koḷhāhala* (fruit of momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,39) = **kroṣṭāphala*; cf. *kroṣṭuphala*. Likewise *goḷhā*=*gūḍhā* (momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,95), *goḷhāphala*=*gūḍhaphala* (Pāiyāl. 255)².

1. LEUMANN, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about *gūḍhaphala* with BÖHTLINGK s.v. It is assumed that *ṭha* makes a position.

§243. *ṇ* in *veṇu* may become *l*: AMg. *veṣu* (Hc. 1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197,248; Paṇnav. 33; Rāyap. 33.89.184), beside *veṇu* (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197,248; Vivāhap. 1526; Paṇnav. 40), *veṇudeva* (Sūyag. 317); likewise *veṣugā*, *veṣuṇa*=*veṇuka* (amomum; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhap. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇnav. 43). Since Pāli has *veṣu*, *l* is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably *veṇu* and *veṣu* go back to the basic form **velnu*, which belongs to the root *vel*, *veḷl* that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of *veṣu* "thief" and "pestle" (Deśin. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. *thūna* "thief" § 129. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* (§ 225). KI. 5,107.108 teaches that *la* enters: *phalati*=*bhaṇati*, *thvalati* [sic]=*dhoanati*, *phalitaṃ*=*bhaṇitam*, *thvalitaṃ* [sic]=*dhoanitam*, *palam*=Pkt. *vaṇam*=*vanam*; *phalaha* [sic]=*bhaṇata* (5,113); *phalāmo*=*bhaṇāmaḥ* (5,114). In the examples *kakaṇa*=*gagaṇa* (5,102), *jajaṇa*, *cacaṇa*=*yajana* (5,103), *calaṇa*=*carana*, *usaṇa*=*uṣṇa*, *paṣaṇa*=*praṣṇa*, *sināṇa* [sic]=*snāna* (5,109) the edition writes *ṇa*, and since *ṇa*, *na*, and *la* very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians *na* is to be read for *la*. According to KI. 5,110 *na* and *ṇa* could become also *ṇa* in P.: *kaṇaka*=*kanaka*; *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa*.

§244. Sometimes *ta* and *da* become *la*, and through the intermediate grades *ṭa*, *ḍa* (§ 218.219) they become *ḷa* (§ 226.238.240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by *la*, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether *la* or *ḷa* is to be written: Ś. *alasi*=*atasi* (Hc. 1,211), Mallikām. 87,15); but AMg. *ayasi* (Vivāhap. 41.1526; Paṇnav. 34.526; Uttar. 592; Ovav.); AMg. *āsila*=*asita* (Sūyag. 203); *palila* (Hc. 1,212) beside M. *palia*=*palita* (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M. *vijjula*=Pāli *vidyutā*=*vidyut* (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.), *vijjuli*=**vidyuti* (Vr. 4,26; Mk. fol. 37), M.Ś. A. *vijjuliā*=**vidyutikā*¹ (H. 584 v.l.; Vikr. 27,13; Piṅgala 1,142^a). *vijjula*, that Vr. 4,9; Hc. 1,15; KI. 2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only *vijjula* and *vijju* (G.H.R.); Ś. has *vijjudā*

(Mṛcch. 91,19; Venis. 60,17); M. *sālavāhaṇa*, *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc.1,8. 211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside *sālivāhaṇa* also *sājavāhaṇa* (Kk.); Mg. *śāla*=*sūta* (Mṛcch. 97,3). — AMg. *salilā* (stream; Sūyag. 317,460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479) is not, with JACOBI², to be equated as=Pāli *sarītā*=Skt. *sarīt*, which always retains *r*, but is a feminine of the adjective *salila* (Āyār. 2,16,10=Sūyag. 468) of which Skt. *salila* (water) is neuter.—*la* is to be read in Mg. *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11,1;40,4), *maḷa* (Mṛcch. 118,14.15.24; 132,21) beside *kaḍa*, *maḍa*=*kṛta*, *mṛta* (§ 219), JM. *vāuṣa*=*vyāpṛta* (Kk.; §218), A. *paḷai* for *paḍai* (§ 218)=*paṭati* (Piṅgala 1,78.116.120^a.123.125. 125^a.133.135;2,60.135.202.231.261). — *da* has become *la* in M.AMg. *kalamba*=*kadamba* (Vr. 2,12; Hc.1,222; Kt.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāṇḍ.255; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 60; Thāṇ. 321), beside *kaamba* (Hc.1,222), AMg. *kayambaga* (Nāyādh. 354.1045), *kayamboja*, (Kappas.; text falsely °bu°; v.l. *kalambaja*, *kalamba*, *kayamba*); AMg. *kālamba* (Thāṇ. 505), M. *kāmba* (G.R.)=*kādamba*.—M. *goḷa*=*godā* (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśin. 2,104; Pāṇḍ. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.³ The MSS. of Triv. write *la*, which is attested by the v.l. *goḍā* in H.—M. AMg. *ṇollaī*, *nullaī*=*nuddti* with doubling according to § 194 (Vr. 8,7; Hc. 4,143; Kt. 4,46 (text *ṇoṇṇa*); Mk. fol. 53); M. *ṇollei* (H.R.), *ṇollēnti* (G.), *ṇollia* (R.), *paṇollia* (G.R.); AMg. *ṇollāvehinti*, *ṇollāviya* (Vivāhap. 1280), *paṇollā* (absol.) Sūyag. 360), *vipaṇollā* (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), *paṇullemāna* (Nandis. 146; commentary °no°).—JM. *palivei*=*pradipayati* (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13), *palivesi*, *palivehi* (Āv. 9,19;32,21); JM. *palivai* (Hc. 4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); M. *palivesi*, *palivium*, *palippamāna* (H.), *palivei* (R. 5,67)⁴; M. AMg. *palitta* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,221; Kt. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117); M. *palivā* (H.), JM. *paliviya* (Pāṇḍ. 16; Āv. 9,15;32,22,26); AMg. *āliviya* (Vivāgas. 225); *ālivaṇa*=*ādīpana* (Deśin. 1,71); JM. *palivaṇaga* (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. *dippanta* (R.), *dippanti*, *dippamāna* (G.), A. *divia*=*dipita* (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ś. *uddivanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22), *padivesi* (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p. 55,19 has °li°).—AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (Paṇhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168.173.249.608; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *duvālasaṅga* (Hc. 1,254; Samav. 3; Thāṇ. 569; Sūyag. 616; Nandis. 388.394), *duvālasaviha* (Vivāhap. 159.524; Paṇnav. 30.374; Jiv. 44), *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699).—AMg. JM. *dohaḷa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa*=*dohada*, M. Ś. *dohaḷaa* (§222), according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with *la*, as is shown also by Mg. *haḷaka* (Mṛcch. 9,25), *haḷaa* (Mṛcch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. *haḍakka* (§ 194). Cf. § 436.—M. *maḷai*=*mṛadate* (Vr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), *maḷesi* (H.), *maḷei* (R.), *maḷia* (G.H.R.), *parimaḷasi* (H.), *parimaḷia* (H.R.), *vimaḷai* (G.), *vimaḷia* (G.R.), *omaḷia* (R.), *maḷana* (G.), *parimaḷana* (H.), with *la* as in Marāṭhi and Gujarātī⁵.—AMg. *elisa*=*idṛśa*, *aṇelisa*=*anidṛśa*, *elikkha*, *elikkhaya*=*idṛkṣa*, *idṛkṣaka* (§121).—*sōllaī* (cooks; Hc.4,90)=*sūddayati*, with doubling according to §194, AMg. *sōlla* (cooked; roasted; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), *sōllaya* (Uvās.)=*sūd+na*, *sūd+na+ka* (§566)⁶ and from the present stem (§ 565) *sōlliya*=*sūḍita* (Ovav.).—*veḷūṇā* beside *bedūṇā*, *viddūṇā* (§ 240); AMg. *vibhelaya*=*vibhedaka* (§121).

1. So correctly BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks WEBER on H. 584 with regard to *viḍyullatā*.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even JACOBI's explanation of *kulala* is wrong; see §80.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 3,237f.—4. The text has *paḍivei*, in the same stanza with *paḍitta*, for which 1,5;5,87 *paḍitta*, 15,73 perhaps *paḍita* stands. Forms with *da* are not attested elsewhere.—5. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,126.—6. Wrongly equated by HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. as=*śūlya*, *śūlyaka*, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovav. §74 *ingālasaḷliya*.

§245: *ta* becomes *ra* through *ḍa* (§ 218) in *sattari*=*saptati* (Hc.1,210);

AMg. JM. *sattariṃ*, *sattari*, JM. also *sayari* (70); AMg. *egūnasattariṃ* (69), *ēkkasattariṃ* (71), *bāvattariṃ* (72). JM. also *bisattari*; AMg. *tevattariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ*, JM. *caḥhattari* (74) etc., A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76). See §446. More frequently *da* has become *ra*, Mg. *la* through *da*; AMg. *urāla*=*udāra* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9; 2,15,14,15 [text *o*]¹; Sūyag. 95.392.408.639; Thāṇ. 177; Nāyādh. §4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhap. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942. 1039.1228f; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. s. v. *orāla*); *orāliya*=*audārika* (Pannav. 397 [*u*]¹. 461ff.; Uttar.881; Vivāhap. 111.146. 528ff.620; Thāṇ. 54.55; Ovav.). — *korali*=*kadali* in the meaning “elephant flag”, but *kaali* in the meaning “musa sapientum” (Hc. 1,220). False is *Ś. kaṇaakeriā* (Bālar. 131,14)=*kanakakadalikā* against M. Ś. *kaali* (Karp. 46,14; 102,6), Ś. *kadaliā* (Prab. 66,2), AMg. JM. *kayali* (Pāyāl. 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v.l.). — *gaggara*=*gadgada* (Vr.2,13; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — *daśa* becomes *rasa*, *raha* in the numerals 11-13,15,17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Ki. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So : AMg. *ēkkārāsa*, A. *eāraha*, *ēggāraha*, *gāraha*, but also A. *ēkkadaha*, CP. *ekātasa* (11); AMg. JM. *bārāsa*, A. *bāraha*, beside AMg. JM. *duvālāsa* (§ 244) (12); AMg. *terāsa*, A. *teraha* (13); AMg. JM. *paṇṇarāsa*, A. *paṇṇaraha* (15); AMg. JM. *sattarāsa* (17); AMg. JM. PG. *aṭṭhārāsa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18). See §443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further *da* becomes *ra* in the adjectival and pronominal compound words formed with *-dṛś*, *-dṛśa*, *-dṛkṣa*, like M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erisa*, AMg. JM. *erisaṃ*, A. *erisa* beside AMg. *eliśa*, *apelisa*, P. *etiśa*, Ś. *iḍisa*, Mg. *iḍisa*=*iḍṛśa* (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kerisa*, JM. *kerisaṃ*, Mg. *kelisa* beside Ś. *kīḍisa*=*kīḍṛśa* (§ 121); JM. *annārīsa*=*anyāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), Ś. *aṇṇārīsa* (Vikr. 52,19; Mālatīm. 89,7; 138,10; 217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛharinirveda 4,1), but P. *aññātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *aṇṇāisa* (Hc. 4,413); M. JM. Ś. *amhārīsa*=*asmāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,16.17.21; 18,3; Mudrār. 36,4; 241,8; 259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaś. 25,8), feminine Ś. *amhārīsī* (Viddhaś. 71,9; 116,5), but P. *amhātīsa* (Hc. 4,317); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārīsa*=*yuṣmāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaś. 51,12; 121,9; Karp. 93,9), but P. *yumhātīsa* (Hc. 4,317); *edārīsa*=*etāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142), Ś. *edārīsa* (Viddhaś. 102,2; so to be read); feminine *edārīsī* (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. *jārīsa*=*yāḍṛśa* (Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; Uttar.794; Erz.), AMg. *jārīsaṃ* (Nāyādh.1284), but P. *yātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), Ś. *jādīsa* (Viddhaś. 29,3; 32,1,2), feminine *jādīsī* (Śak. 51,1,1,12; Prab. 16,10), A. *jaīsa* (Hc.4,403.404); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *tārīsa*=*tāḍṛśa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Ki. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyag. 365.429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27.2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read *tārīsī*, AMg. *atārīsa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *tārīsaṃ* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. *tālīsa* (Mṛcch. 37,11), but Ś. also *tādīsa* (Śak. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7; 53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine *tādīsī* (Śak. 51,12; Viddhaś. 32,1,2), Mg. *tāḍīsī* (Mṛcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. *tātīsa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *taīsa* (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. *sarī*=*sadrk* (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgaḷa 1,42); M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. D.A. *sarisa*=*sadrśa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Mk. fol. 11; G.H. R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Ki. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 399,316; Mṛcch. 17,18; 24,16; 55,4; 95,11; 134,18; 152,21; Śak. 132,1; 134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mṛcch. 102,23; 105,4; A. Piṅgaḷa 1,10), AMg. *sarisaṃ*, feminine *sarīsīyā* (Nāyādh.), Mg. *śālīsa* (Mṛcch. 154,20; 164,20; 176,5), A. *sarīsima*=**sadrśīman*=*sāḍṛśya* (Hc.4,395,1); M. Ś. *sariccha*=*sadrkṣa* (Hc. 1,44.142; H.; Viddhaś.23,4), also M. JM. JS. *sāriccha* (§ 78), and Ś. *sārikkha* (Karp. 108,2), *sāriccha*=**sadrkṣya* (Hc. 2,17; G. G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. *sārikkha* (Hc. 2,17; 4,404); Ś. *sārikkhadā*

(Karp. 109,7.10). Cf. also *bhavārisa* (Hc. 1,142) against A. *avarāisa* = **aparādya* (Hc. 4,413).

1. *orāla* is likewise false, as *urālija*. Both the words are substituted by one another in the anlaut in the MSS. and the printed editions.

§246. Sometimes *va* has taken the place of *ta* and *da* just seemingly. *āvajja* is not = *ālotya* (Hc. 1,156), but = **āvādya* (§ 130). AMg. *ujjovemāna* (Pannav. 100.102.112; Uvās.; Ovav.), *ujjoviya* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *ujjevēnta-* (Nāyādh.) are not = *uddiyotayamāna*, *uddiyotita uddiyotayant* with the infixed *v*¹, but belong to *ṽdyu*, that occurs in Skt. *dyu* (day), *didyu* (thunder-bolt; lightening), perhaps also in A. *joedi* (sees; Hc. 4,422,6 and Wort-verzeichniss zu Hc) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects². M. *ruvāi*, M. JM. *rovāi* do not belong to *rud*, but to *ru* (§ 473). *kavaffia* is not = *kadarthita* (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but = *kava* in the sense of *kaḍ* = *ku* + **ārtita* = *ārta* (§ 289.428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. *erāvāṇa* is not = *airāvata* (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *airāvāṇa* (Hc. 1,148.208; §60). *gabbhina* is not = *garbhita* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *garbhin* with a transition to the *a*-declension (§ 406). *atimuktaka* form; according to Hc. 1,26.178.208, *aññumṭaa* beside *aṁumṭaa*; in AMg. it regularly becomes *aṁmullāya* (Hc. 1,26; Ovav. §8), in Ś. *adimoṭṭaa* (Mrcch. 73,10), as *atimukta*, JM. *aṁmutta* (Pāyā. 256), Ś. *adimutta* (Vikr. 21,9; Vṛṣabh. 15,17;47,15; Mallikārn. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 *aṁumṭa* is to be read for *aṁmutta* of the MS., in Bh. 4,15 probably *aṁmuhka* is to be read for *ahimuhka*, which is explained by *abhimukta*. Whence comes *aññumṭaa* is not clear. On *ta* erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on *da* for *ta*, §192.203. 204; on *ta*, *da* for *ta*, §218.219; on *ta* for *da*, §190.191; on *da* for *da*, §222.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *ujjoy*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,322.

§247. *tha* may become *dha* (§221), *dha* may become *dha* (§223), in CP. *tha* (§191). AMg. *samilā* (Uttar. 592.788) is explained by JACOBI¹ with *samidh*. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The explanation of the commentators by *kilikā*, *yugakilikā* points to **samilā*; cf. *samit*, *samiti*. — *na* becomes mostly *ṇa* (§224). In *nimba* it may become *la*: *limba* (Hc. 1,230) = Marāṭhi *limba*, A. *limbaḍaa* (Hc. 4,387,2) = Gujarāṭi *limbaḍa*, beside M. *nimba* (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. *nimboliyā* = *nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173; cf. §167). — On *nhāviā* = *nāpita* see §210.

1. SBE. 45, p. 94, note 4.

§248. For *pa*, which as a rule becomes *va* (§199), dialectically also *ba* (§192) and *bha* (§209), there may appear sometimes also *ma*: M. AM. JM. *āmeja* = *āpidya*, *āmelaa*, AMg. *āmelaga*, *amefaja* (§122); *ṇimeja* = **nipidya* (§122); M. *ṇumajjai* = *nipadyate*, *ṇumajja* = *nipanna* (§118); AMg. *āṇamaṇi* = *ājñāpani* (Pannav. 363ff.369) beside *āṇavaṇi* (Pannav. 364f.); AMg. *cimidha* = *cipiṭa* (Nāyādh. 751; commentary *cimiṭṭha*) against *cividha* (Nāyādh. 7+5; text *civiṭṭha*, commentary *cimiṭṭha*, in the text, therefore, to be read *cimidha*, as for example in 751; cf. §207); AMg. *kuṇima* = *kuṇapa* (Sūyag. 225. 282. 483. 811; Thāp. 338; Paṇhāv. 179; Jiv. 255; Ovav.); AMg. *talima* = *talpa* (D.śāo. 5,20; Pāyā. 117.122; Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMz. *nima*, *ṇima* = *nīpa* (Hc. 1,234; D.śay. 623,5; Pannav. 31; Ovav.; cf. Ovav. §6 note 12), beside AMz. *nīva*, A. *nīva* (Hc. 1,234; Ovav.; Pāṇala 1,60+;2,82); AMg. *bhīṇḍimāla* = *bhīṇḍipāla* (Jiv. 257.279; Paṇhāv. 61.158; Ovav.), beside *bhīṇḍivāla* (Vr. 3,46; Hc. 2,38[also FISCHER].89; Ki.2,65; Mk. fol.26; AMg. *maṇāma* = Pāli *maṇāpa* (Thāp. 65.66.527; Samav. 94; Vivāhap. 162.480; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.), feminine *maṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 196), *amaṇāma* (Sūyag. 630; Vivāgas. 40f.; Samav.227; Jiv.256; Vivāhap. 89.117.254); AMg. *vaṇimaga*,

**ja*=*vanīpaka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2, 5, 1, 9ff.; 2, 6, 1, 7; 2, 10, 23; 2, 15, 11; Paṇhāv. 492; Thān. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dasav. 622, 31.35; 626, 29; Kappas.), *vaṇimajajāe*=*vanīpakatayā* (Paṇhāv. 358; text *vaṇimajāe*); AMg. *viḍima*=*viṭapa* (twig; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 12; Paṇhāv. 437; Jiv. 548f.; Dasav. 628, 28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dasav. N. 645, 4; Rhinoceros; Deśin. 7, 89; Ovav. §37. [37]; young roe; Deśin. 7, 89), but M. S. *viḍava* (Bh. 2, 20; Ki. 2, 10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67, 2; 137, 5; Vikr. 12, 17; 22, 12; 31, 1); *viḍavi*=*viṭapin* (Pāiyāl. 54); AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* beside *suviṇa*, JM. *sumiṇaga* beside *suviṇaga*; *simiṇa* beside M. *siviṇa*, S. AMg. *siviṇaa*=Pāli *supina*=Skt. *svapna* (§ 177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of *ma* and *va* (§ 251.261).

§249. S. *pāraddhi* (hunting; Viddhaś. 23, 9), which is equated by Hc. 1, 235 and Nārāyaṇadīkṣita on Viddhaś. 23, 9 as=*pāpardhi*, is=*prāraddhi*; its synonym *pāraddha* (Deśin. 6, 77), that means also "compensation for an act done in a former life", "oppressed" and "tortured", is=*prāraddha*.

§250. Like *pa* (§ 248), *ba* also sometimes becomes *ma*: *kamandha*=*kabandha* (Vr. 2, 19; Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16). Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16; Prākṛtamañjari in Pischel, De gr. Prācr. p. 14 teach also *kayandha*, that will originate form AMg. JM. or JŚ. and, therefore, will be=*kajandha*. We find in the texts also M. JM. A. *kavandha* (§ 201), which according to Mk. fol. 67 S. too always has.—*samara*=*śabara* (Hc. 1, 258), but M. AMg. JM. S. *savara*, M. AMg. *savari* (§ 201). AMg. JM. *māhaṇa* with WEBER¹, E MÜLLER², JACOBI³, LEUMANN⁴, S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵, ASCOLI⁶, HOERNLE⁷ to be equated as=*brāhmaṇa*, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. JM. *bambha*=*brahman*, *bambhayāri*=*brahmācārin*, *bambhaṇajāya*=*brāhmaṇajaka*, *bambhaloṇa*=*brahmaloka* etc. (§ 267) the word must be pronounced as *bambhaṇa*, as is the case also, AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (Uttar. 748.753f.; Āv. 18, 15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *subambhaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1, 7 *māhaṇassa*, but 1, 8 *bambhaṇa*; Kk. 276, 25 *bambhaṇarūva*, but II, 508, 19 *māhaṇarūva*. AMg. employs almost exclusively *māhaṇa*⁸ (e.g. Āyār. 2, 1 1, 12, 2, 1, 3, 11, 9; 2, 2, 1, 2, 8, 9; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 7, 2, 15, 2, 4, 11; Sūyag. 17.56.74. 105.106.113.118.373.419.495.553.620.642f.; Vivāhap. 115.119.343; Vivāgas. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *māhāmāhaṇa* (Uvās.), femin. AMg. JM. *māhaṇi* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Nāyādh. 1151; Vivāhap. 788; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 1), *māhaṇatta*=*brāhmaṇatva* (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. *mākha* (sacrifice), *mākha* (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as=*mākhaṇa*=*"sacrificial priest."*

1. Bhag. 1, 410, note 5.—2. Beiträge p. 29.—3. Kalpas. und Erz. s.v.—4. Aup. S. s.v.—5. Prākṛtica p. 15.—6. Kritische Studien p. 221 with note 8.—7. Uvās., Translation p. 120, note 273.—8. Cf. Uttar. 748 *je loe bambhaṇo vutto...taṁ veyasā būma māhaṇaṁ*.

§251. In A. *ma*, in the inlaut, may become *va* (Hc. 4, 397); *kāvāla* beside *kamāla* (Hc. 4, 397); *bhāvāra* beside *bhamāra* (Hc. 4, 397); *niśāvāṇṇa*=*niśāmāṇya* (Hc. 4, 341, 1); *paḍāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (Hc. 4, 419, 3); beside *pamāṇa* (Hc. 4, 399, 1); *bhāvāṭi*=*bhramāṭi* (Hc. 4, 401, 2); *vajjāva*=*vajramaya* (Hc. 4, 395, 5); *sava*=*sama* (Hc. 4, 358, 2); *suṇarāhi* beside *sumari*=*smara* (Hc. 4, 387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either *v* has vanished behind the *anunāsika* or more frequently the *anunāsika* has disappeared before *v*, so that only *~* or *v* has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1, 178 the *anunāsika* takes the place of *m* in *aṇṇūṇṭaa*=*atimuktaka* (§ 246); *kāua*=*kāmuka*; *cāuṇḍā*=*cāmuṇḍā*; *jāuṇḍā*=*yamunā*. According to Vr. 2, 3; Ki. 2, 5; Mk. fol. 14 *m* drops off in *yamunā*, and so has M. AMg. JM. *jāuṇḍā* (G.; v.l. on H. 671; Kāmsav. 55, 5; Pra-

bandhac. 27,2; Thāp. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 *jamunā*, as also Ś. (Vikr. 23,13;41 3). The correct ecriture in M. AMg. JM. will be *jāūṇā* (§ 179). For *kāua* M. Ś. have *kāmua* (H.; Mrcch. 25,21;71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. *kāmuṇya* (Erz.); for *cāuṇḍā* Ś. has *cāmuṇḍā* (Mālatim. 30,5; Karp. 105,2;106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. *kuarī* for *kumarī*=*kumārī* (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H.² p. LXI on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in *thāu*=*sthāman* (Hc. 4,358,1; text *thāu*), in the sense of *sthāna*, as the scholiasts explain. Kī. 5,99 has *thāma sthāne*. Further in *bhōhā* from *bhamuhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *bhohā*, S. GOLDSCHMIDT *bhauphā*; cf. § 124.166) and *hanūā*=*hanumān* (Piṅgala 1,63^a; text *hanūā*).—*va* has taken the place of *ma* in AMg. *anavadagga*, AMg. JM. *anavayagga*=Pāli *anamatagga*=*anamadagga*¹ (Sūyag. 456 [°no°]. 787.789.867; Thāp. 41.129; Paṇhāv. 214.302; Nāyādh. 464.471; Vivāhap. 38.39.160.848. 1128.1290.1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from *ṽnam*, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes *va*: *ṇavai* (Hc. 4,226); M. *ṇavia*=**avanamita*=*avanata* (H. 637); JM. *navakāra*=*namaskāra* (Erz. 35,23.25.27.29); AMg. *vippaṇavanti*=*vipraṇamanti* (Sūyag. 472); A. *ṇavahi*=*namanti* (Hc. 4,367,4), *ṇavantiāhā*=*namatām* (Hc. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, *nam* mostly retains its *m*. *ahivapṇu* (Hc. 1,243), beside Mg. Ś. *ahimappu* (Hc. 1,243; Venis. 34 12; 64,16); A. *raṇapṇa*=*ramanya* (Hc. 4,422,11); AMg. *vāṇavantara*² beside the usual *vāṇamantara* (Nāyādh. 1124; Thāp. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too *ma* has sometimes become *vā*: AMg. *vimāṇsā*=*mimāṇsā* (Sūyag. 59; Thāp. 332f.; Nandis. 351.381.383.505), *vimāṇsa ya*=*mimāṇsaka* (Paṇhāv. 109)³; *vaṇjara* (Hc. 2,132) beside *maṇjara* (§ 81.86); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Kī. 2,45; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11;47,16;57,6; Viddhaś. 24,12; Dhūrtas. 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mrcch. 10,13; text *ba*^o; cf. GEPABOLE 28,4 with note), but in Ś. only *mammadha*⁴ (Śak. 53,2; Hāsy. 22,15;25,3.14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatim. 81,2;125,2;266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12;36,18;84,3; Vṛṣbh. 29,19;38,11;42,11;49,9;51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23;28,5;30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Karpas. 30,5; Anarghar. 270,8 etc.). On *va* from *ma* in consonant groups see § 277.312. Cf. also ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. *bhasala* (bee; H.; Karp. 10,7.8; 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244.254; Deśin. 6,101 from *bhramara*, nor with WEBER⁵ from *ṽbhrāmś*, but it belongs with *bhasman* (ashes), *bhasad* (the hinder part), *bhastrā* (bellows) to *ṽbhas* “to blow”, and therefore designates the bee as “the humming creature.”⁶ The word has also gone over into Skt. too.⁷

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap. 991, is an adjective of *jamūāra*, probably means “whereof the beginning is not bent off”=“what does not change”=“endless.” The root *ṽnam* has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also FISCHER, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by *ananta*, *aparyanta*, *aparyavayāna* and mostly consider *avadagga*, *avayagga* as Deśi words used in the sense of “end”, and, therefore, analyse the words as *av*=*avadagga*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vāṇamantara*.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by *vimāśa*, *vimāśaka*.—4. The Indian editions always write *mammaha*. Falsely they sometimes have also *vammaha* in Ś. (Bālar. 24,11;242,4; Viddhaś. 23,9.99,8; Rukminip. 19,10;20,7;28,6;30,14; Mallikām. 122,18;124,3;158,19 etc.), as conversely *mammaha* in M. (Acyutaś. 58; false also H. 327.576 [cf. v.l.]). P. GOLDSCHMIDT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as *ḍammaha*.—5. On H. 444.—6. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. FISCHER, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. *ya* becomes *ja* in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245; Kī. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17): M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D.

(Mṛcch. 101,9; 102,21; 103,15; 105,7). Dh. A. *jaī*, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mṛcch. 105,3) *jadi*=*yadi*, but Mg. *yaī*, *yadi*; M. AMg. JM. Ā. (Mṛcch. 100,12). A. *jaha*, JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. D. (Mṛcch. 105,21) *jadhā*=*yathā*, but Mg. *yadhā* (§ 113); M. AMg. JM. *jakkha*=*yakṣa* (G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyag. 674; Paṇṇav. 75; Thāp. 90.229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,25ff.; Erz.; JŚ. *jadi*=*yati* (Pav. 383,69); M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*, Ś. *jūdhā*=*yūtha* (§ 221); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jāriṣa*, but P. *yātisa*=*yādr̥ṣa*, Ś. *jād̥isi*=*yādr̥ṣi* (§ 245). So also in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A. (Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Kī. 2,36.37; Mk. fol. 16), as M. JM. A. *dijjaī*, JŚ. *dijjadi*=*diyate*, but P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi* (§ 545); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*=*bhūyāt*, AMg. *dejjā*=*deyāt*, *ahūtthējjā*=*adhithēyāt*, *pahejjā*=*prahēyāt* (§ 466); M. AMg. JM. *karāṇijja*=*karāṇiya*, but Ś. *karāṇia*; AMg. *vandaṇijja*, but Ś. *vandaṇia* (§ 571); AMg. *aṅgulijjaka*=*aṅguliyaka* (Nāyādh. [°l°]); Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañcuijja*=*kañcukiya* (chambelain; Vivāhap. 792.800.963.966; Rāyap. 289; Nāyādh. §128; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMg. *koṣējjā*=*koṣeya* (Ovav.); AMg. *gevējjā*=*grāveya* (Uttar. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. [°vi°]); AMg. JM. *nāmadhējjā*=*nāmadheya* (Āyār. 2,15,11.15; Nāyādh. § 92,116; p. 1228.1351 [°dhi°]; Paṇḥāv. 303.327; Ovav. § 16,105.165; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 10,2). As a rule *y* drops off in the inlaut according to § 186. In Mg. P. CP. *y* remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292): Mg. *yuga*=*yuga* (Hc. 4,288); *yādi*=*yāti*, *yadhāsalūva*=*yathāsvarūpa*, *yāṇavatta*=*yānapattira* (Hc. 4,292); *yutta*=*yukta* (Hc. 4,302); *yaśka*=*yakṣa* (Nāmi-ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; *yadhā*=*yathā*, *yam yam*=*yad yad*, *yahastam* [read °dha°]=*yathārtham* (Lal. tav. 566,5.8.9); in the inlaut: *alaskiyyamāṇa*=*alakṣyamāṇa*, *pēskiyyamādi*, *pēskiyyasi* [read °si°]=*prekṣyante*, *pr kṣyase*; *yāṇiyyadi*=*jñāyate* (Lalitav. 565,7.13.15; 566,1). As in the case of *ja* (§ 236) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P.: *yutta*=*yukta*, *yātisa*, *yumhātisa*, *yad*=*yādr̥ṣa*, *yusmādr̥ṣa*, *yad* (Hc. 4,306, 317.323); in the inlaut: *giyyate*=*giyate*, *tiyyate*=*diyate*, *ramiyyate*=*ramyate*, *paḍhiyyate*=*paṣhyate*, *huvēyya*=*bhavet* (Hc. 4,315.320.323): CP. *niyocita*= (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On *dōgga*=*yugma* see § 215, on *yeva*=*eva* § 336.

§ 253. As in the case of treatment of *na* (§ 224), so in that of *ya* too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in °*yāji* (5,1); °*ppayutte*=°*prayuktān* (5,6); °*yaso*=°*yasas* (6,9); °*yōllaka* (? 6,31); *yo*=*yah*; (7,46), on the contrary it becomes *ja* in *jo* (7,44) and °*samjutto*=°*samyuktaḥ* (7,47). VG. has *yuvā*° (101,2). In the inlaut simple *ya* remains unchanged in PG. VG.: PG. °*vājapeyā*° (5,1); *visae*=°*viṣaye* (5,3); *neyike*=°*niyikān* (5,6); °*āyu*=°*āyus*°, *viṣayavejayike*=°*viṣayavajayikān* (6,9); °*ppadāyino*=°*pradāyinaḥ* (6,11); *ātteya*°=°*ātreya*° (6,13); °*śamvānayikam* (6,32); *viṣaya*°=°*viṣaya*° (6,35); *āpittiyam*=°*āpittiyam* (6,37); *bhūyo*=°*bhūyah* (7,41); *vasudhādhipataye*=°*patin* (7,44); *ajātāc*=AMg. *ajjattāc* (Kappas. Th. 2; S. 6 7)=°*adyatācāya* (7,45)¹; *sahassāya*=°*sahasrāya* (7,48); VG. *viṣaya* (101,1.3); *nārāyaṇassa*, *āyūm*, *vaddhanīyam* (101,8); *gāmeyikā* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2); *pariharayam* (101,11; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated *ya* as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand *karēyya*, *kāravejja*=°*kuryāt*, *kārayet*; 7,1 *karēyyama*=°*kuryāma*, but 7,46 *vaṭṭeja*=°*carayet* and 7,48 *hoja*=°*bhūyāt*². As usual (§ 280). As usual *dya* becomes *jja* in *golasamajasa*, *agisamajassa*, *dattajasa*, *dāmajasa*, *sālasamajasa*, *agisamaja*° (6,12.13.21.23.27.37), if BÜHLER were right in equating °*aja*° as=°*ārya*°. But *namdijasa* and *samijasa* (6,21.26) cannot be equated phonetically with BÜHLER as=°*nandīāryasa* and

svāmīyāryasya, but are = *nandijasya*, *svāmijasya*. Also for the rest, therefore, °*ja* has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of LEUMANN; false FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211.—2. Cf. BÜHLER, El. 1, 2f.—3. I.C. 1, 2.

254. In the place of *ya*, apparently *ga* has entered into AMg. *pariyāga* = *pariyāya* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 135, 173, 220, 223, 235, 249, 796, 845, 968, 969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside *pariyāya* (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate *pariyāga* as = *pariyāyaka* by contraction, according to § 165, with HOERNLE (Uvās. s. v.), in the case of a t.t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that *pariyāga* stands for **pariyāva* with *ga* for *va* according to § 231. In support of this view stands AMg. JM. *pajjāva* = *pariyāya*, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMg. *niyāga* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 1; Sūyag. 665 [ṇi°]) = **nyāva* will stand for *nyāya* (commentary = *mokṣamārga*, *saṁyama*, *mokṣa*).—Interchange of *ya* and *va*, as in Skt.¹ and in Pāli², occurs in *kaṭāvaṁ* = *katipayam* (Hc. 1, 250); AMg. JM. *pajjāva* = *pariyāya* (§ 81); AMg. *tāvattisā* = *trayastrimśat*, AMg. JM. *tāvattisagā*, °*jā* = *trayastrimśakāḥ* (§ 438); A. *āvāḥ* = *āyāti* (Hc. 4, 367, 1, 419, 3), *āvahi* (Hc. 4, 422, 1), *āva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *āu*] = *āyāti* (Piṅgala 2, 38)³; A. *gāva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *gāu*] = *gāyanti* (Piṅgala. 2, 88), *gāvanta* (Piṅgala 2, 230); further in the participle necessitatis in A. *-evā*, *-ēvāṁ*, *-iēvāṁ*, like *soevā* = **svapeyya* (§ 497), *jaghevā* = **jāgreyya* (§ 556), *kariēvāṁ* = **kareyyakam* of the passive stem (§ 547), *sahevāṁ* = **saheyyakam* (§ 570). In AMg. *murava* for **muraya* = *muraja* (Paṇḥāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas. [so to be read]), *muravā* = *murāji* (Ovav.), beside M. Ś. *murā* (Pāṭiyāl. 266; H.; Mr̥ch. 69, 23) *va* has entered for the secondary *ya*. *murava* might rest also upon the popular etymology = *mu* + *rava*. The *pa* in P. *hitapa* = *hr̥daya*, *hitapaka* = *hr̥dayaka* (§ 191) goes back to a secondary *va* for *ya*, whilst *va* has become *pa*, as in *gopinta* = *govinda*, *kesapa* = *keśava* (§ 191).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 42f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar p. 30f.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 367, 1; cf., however, also *Var* (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1, 1. vi

§ 255. Corresponding to Pāli *nhāru*, Greek νῆρον, Latin *nervus* AMg. JM. have *nhāru* = *snāya* (Thāp. 55; Paṇḥāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89, 349, 810; Jiv. 66, 271; Erz.), AMg. *nhārupi* = **snāyuni* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs *nhāu* twice (Samav. 227).—In *yaṣṭi ya* becomes *la* (Vr. 2, 32; C. 3, 17a p. 49; Hc. 1, 247, 2, 34; Ki. 2, 39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. *laṭṭhi*, *laṭṭhi* (H.; R.; Karp. 44, 3, 49, 12, 58, 5, 69, 8, 73, 10, 80, 10; Viddhaś. 64, 4; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 5, 2, 4, 2, 11; Sūyag. 726; Paṇḥāv. 282; Nāyādh. § 135, 136; p. 1420; Vivāhap. 831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. has *jaṭṭhi* only and so stands Vṛṣabh. 37, 2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129, 19, where the text has *taṇuyajṭhi*, and at 192, 22, where it has *hārayajṭhi*. Rājasekhara, however, uses *laṭṭhi* (Karp. 110, 6; Viddhaś. 42, 7, 97, 11, 122, 3 [hāralaṭṭhi]; Bālar. 305, 10) and *laṭṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 108, 3) in Ś. too, corresponding to M. *laṭṭhiā* (C. 3, 17a p. 49), AMg. *laṭṭhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 2). False is *jaṭṭhi* in M. (Sāhityadarpaṇa 73, 5). Pāli has *laṭṭhi* and *yaṭṭhi*.—*kaṭāvaṁ*, according to Hc. 1, 250 = *katipayam*, is = Pāli *katipāham* = Skt. *katipayāham* according to § 167.—M. *chāhā* (shade; shadow; Vr. 2, 18; H.), Ś. *scchāhā* (Hc. 1, 249; Mr̥ch. 68, 24) and M. *chāhi* (shade, shadow; sky; Hc. 1, 249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3, 26; Pāṭiyāl. 236; H. R.) are not = *chāyā*, but = **chāyākhā* = **chāyākā*; they stand, hence, for **chākhā*, **chākhī* with contraction according to § 165 and with aspiration according to § 206. In the sense of “beauty” only *chāā* is used according to Hc. 1, 249, as generally *chāyā* occurs in M. Ś. Mg. only as *chāā* (G. H. R.; Karp. 69, 5; Mr̥ch. 9, 9; Śak. 29, 4, 51, 6; Vikr. 51, 11; Karp. 41, 2; Mg. Mudrār. 267, 2), in AMg. JM. as *chāyā* (Pāṭiyāl. 113, 236; Kappas.; Erz.).

§256. *ra* always becomes *la* in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12; Simhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: *lahasavaśaṇa-milāsulaśilavialidamandalālāyidaṁhiyuge vilayine* = *rabhasavaśanamrasuraśirevicali-tamandāraṭājītāṁhriyugo virajinah* (Hc. 4,288); *śāṣāmbhalisalaśilavila* = *sākam-bharisvaraśibira*, *viggahāḷaṇaśalaśilipam* = *vigraharājjanareśvaraśrīpām* (Lalitav. 565,6.11); *ṇagalantala* = *nagarāntara*, *dalidda cāludattāha apulattā* = *daridracā-rudattasyānuraktā*, *andhaālapūlida* = *andhakārapūrita*, *ovālidasaṭila* = *apavārita-śarira* (Mṛcch. 13,8,25; 14,22; 127,25); *mahāladanabhāśula* = *mahāratnabhāśura*, *udalabbhantala* = *udarābhyyantara* (Śak. 113,3; 114,10); *śamale piabhattālām luki-lappiam* = *samare priyabhartāram rudhirapriyam* (Venṣ. 33,8); *bahūnalakaduk-khadālunapalīnāms dukkale* = *bahunarakadukkhadārūṇapariṇāmo duṣkaraḥ* (Caṇḍik. 42,6). — Dh. : *ate le* = *are re*; *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ*; *palioevida* = *parioevita*; *kulu* = *kuru*; *dhāledi* = *dhārayati*; *pulisa* = *purusa* (§ 25). — According to C. 3,38; Ki. 5,109; Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,3 in P. too *ra* becomes *la*: *ale ale duṭṭhalakkhasā* = *are are duṣṭarākṣasāḥ* (C); *calaṇa* = *carāṇa* (Ki. 5,109); *chaṅkāla* = *jhaṅkāra* (Ki. 5,102); *hali* = *hari* (Ki. 5,111); *ludda* = *rudra* (S.). Undoubtedly in C. Ki. S., P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304.307.314.316.319.320.321.323.324 have throughout *ra*, as also Ki. 5,109 *usara* = *uṣṭra*, *kāria* = *kārya*. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. *la* may enter for *ra*: *golicalana* = *gauricarāṇa*, *ekātasatanuthalam luddam* = *ekādasatanudharam* *rudram*, *hala* = *hara* (Hc. 4,326); *nala* = *nara*, *sala* = *saras* (Triv. 3,2,64). Likewise Vr. fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, *ra*, as *nagara*, *kiritaṭa*, *rāca*-, *caccara*, *nicchara*, *chacchara*, *ṣamaruka*, *tāmotara*, *mathura* etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Pāṣācī dialect, which Mk. calls Pāñcāla (§ 27). Presumably the transition of *ra* into *la* in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāñcāla (§ 256) the change of *ra* into *la* is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Ki. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take *la* under the ākṛtiṇa *haridrāḍi*. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: *haladdā*, *haladdi* (Grr.), M. AMg. JM. *haliddā*, M. *haliddi*, AMg. *hālidā* (§ 115); M. JŚ. S. *dalidda* = *daridra* (Gr.; G. 859 [so to be read : v.l.]; H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mṛcch. 18,9; 29,1,3; 54,3; 55,25; 70,7), S. *daliddadā* (Mṛcch. 6,8; 17,18; 54,1), but M. also *dariddattāṇa* (Karp. 16,2), S. *dariddadā* (Mālav. 26,15), AMg. JM. *daridda* (Kappas.; Erz.), JM. *dariddi* = *daridrin*, *dariddiya* (Erz.); *jahiṭṭhila* (Grr.), *jahuṭṭhila* (Hc.), AMg. *jūhiṭṭhila*, but S. A. *jūhiṭṭhira* = *yudhiṭṭhira* (§ 118); M. JM. S. *muḥala* = *mukhara* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8; AMg. JM. *kaluṇa* = *karuṇa* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 225.270.273.282.286.288.289.291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagara 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb *kaluṇam*), beside JM. S. A. *karuṇa* (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. JM. *karuṇā* (pity; G.; Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,15 [text here false *kaluṇa*°]; Sagara 5,18; Kk.); M. *karuṇaa* = *karuṇaka* (pity; G.); M. *cilāa*, AMg. *cilāya* = *kirāta*, AMg. *cilāi* = *kirātī*, *cilāiyā* = *kirātikā*, beside S. *kirāda*, JM. *kirāya*, and M. *kirāa* in the meaning “Śiva” (§ 230); M. AMg. JM. *phaliha* = *parigha*, M. AMg. *phaliḥā* = *parikhā* (§ 208); *phāliḥadda* = *pāribhadra* (§ 208); *valuṇa* = *varuṇa* (Hc. 1,254), but M. *varuṇa* (H.), S. *vāruṇī* (Bālar. 134,13); AMg. *antalikkha* = *antarikṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13; 2,5,1,20.21; 2,7,1,7; Sūyag. 294.708; Uttar. 456.651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. §93; Uvās.), but S. *antarikkha* (Pāīyal. 27; Mṛcch. 44,19;

Mālav. 25,14); AMg. *ruila*=*rucira* (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 [°lla]. 59; Paṇhāv. 269.285; Paṇnav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *lūha* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,5,3,5; 1,6,5,5; 1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165.185.578.665; Paṇhāv. 348f.; Vivāhap. 279.838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56.106; Ovav.), *sulūha* (Sūyag. 497) and *lukkha* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 1,8,3,3; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vivāhap. 1470ff.; Paṇnav. 8.11.12.13.380; Anuog. 268; Jiv. 28.224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=*rūkṣa*, *lukkha* (Uttar. 1028), *lukkhatta* (Thān. 188; Vivāhap. 1351), *lūhei*, *lūhittā* (Jiv. 610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), *lūhiya* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), falsely *rukkha* (Sūyag. 239), that in AMg. too always is=*rūkṣa* (tree; § 320); but A. *rukkha* (Piṅgala 2,98), and so also JM. in the word-play with *rukkha* "tree" (Rṣabhap. 29), AMg. shows *la* also in *lādhā*=*rādhā* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and=*rādhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6.8; Paṇnav. 61; Vivāhap. 1254)=Ś. *rādhā* (Karp. 9,4)=Skt. *rādhā*; further in *pariyāla*=*parivāra*¹ (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 724.784.1273.1290.1327.1460 [°ra]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside *parivāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.); further in *sūmāla*, *sukumāla* beside M. *sonāra*, also *somāla*, *suumāra*, Ś. *suumāra*, *sukumāra*, JM. *sukumārayā* (§ 123); in the numeral AMg. JM. *cattālisam*, AMg. *cattālisā*, JM. *cāyālisam*, *cālisa*², A. *cālisa*=*catoṣāriṃśat* and in combinations with other numerals, as AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42), *caḷyālisam*, *coyālisam* (44) and others (§ 445). Often in AMg. *pari* becomes *pali*, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in *paliuñcayanti*=*parikuñcayanti* (Sūyag. 489), *paliuñciya*=*parikuñciya* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *paliuñcana*=*parikuñcana* (Sūyag. 381), *apaliuñcamāṇa*=*aparikuñcamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,4,1; 2,5,2,1); *paliyanta*=*paryanta* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1.4; Sūyag. 103.172); *palei*=*paryeti* (Sūyag. 495), *palinti*=*paryanti* (Sūyag. 95.134); *paliyāṅka*=*paryāṅka* (Āyār. 2,13,19.20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); *palikkhiṇa*=*parikṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 978); *palicchinna*=*paricchinna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), *palicchindiya*=*paricchidya* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 2,5,2,3.5), *paliōcchinna*=*paryavacchinna* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3); *palibhindiyaṇam*=*paribhidya* (Sūyag. 243); *palicchādei*=*paricchādayati* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6); *palimadejjā*=*primardey* (Āyār. 2,13,2); *paliucchūḍha*=*paryutkṣubha* (§ 66); *sampalimajjamaṇa* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3). Therefore, AMg. has *la* for *ra* more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§ 18). According to Hc. 1,254 here is said beside *jadhara*=*jathara*, *vaḍhara*=*vathara*, *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* also *jadhala*, *vaḍhala*, *niṭṭhula*. Up to this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. Ś. *jadhara* (Pāiyāl. 112; G.; Mṛcch. 72,19); M. *niṭṭhura* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *niṭṭhura* (Pāiyāl. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400,333 [ni°]). Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that *carāṇa* becomes *calaṇa* in the sense of "foot", and that otherwise it remains. *carāṇa*. Bh Mk. Pkl. have *calaṇa* without limitation. So *calaṇa* "foot" in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. (Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.R.³; Karp. 46,8; 56,1; 60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.⁴; Rṣabhap.⁴; Mṛcch. 41,4.12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6; 84,14; Mālav. 34,12; Karp. 22,15; Hc. 4,399). AMg. has *carāṇa* in the meaning "way of life" (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning "foot of a metre" (Piṅgala 1,2.13.79.80 etc.), but also in the meaning "foot" (1,4^a.22.85^a. 116; 2,186). In stead of *sakkāla*=*satkāra* (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sakkāra* is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8; 27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2; 72,2). — On *iṅgāla* beside *aṅgāra* see § 102, on *kāha'a* beside *kāara* see § 207, on *bhasala* see § 251.

1. The form conformably is *pariyāla*, rather=*paricāra*, the meaning, however conformably is=*parivāra*. — 2. R. 6,7; 8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as *calaṇa*, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as *calaṇa*. — 3. Kappas. § 36 stands *carāṇa* behind *calaṇa* of the preceding line. One corrects it to *calaṇa*. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as *calaṇā*. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in BOLLENSSEN has *carāṇa*, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second

place PANDIT, with his MSS., reads *carapa* (127,1), however, FISCHEL *calaṇa* (658,18). It is to be corrected as *calaṇa*.

258. AMg. *tuḍiṇa* (Āyār. 2,11,14; Paṇhāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyap. 20.21.60.80; Nīrayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas) is not, with the commentators, JACOBI¹, E. MÜLLER², WARREN³ and LEUMANN⁴, to be equated as=*tūrya*, but is=**tūḍita=tunna* from *tudai* (Hc. 4,116)=*tudati* with cerebralization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. *tuḍ*, *toḍi*, *toḍikā* (name of a musical mode), *todya*, *ātodya* (cymbal). — *kiḍi*, *bheḍa*, presumably=*kiri*, *bhera* (Hc. 1,251) are=Skt. *kiṭi*, *bheḍa*⁵. AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* (saddle; Hc. 1,252) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=*paṇyāṇa*, but as=**pratyā-dāna* according to § 163; cf. Skt. *ādāna* (decoration of a saddle). For *ra* has entered *ḍa* in AMg. JM *kuḥḍā*=*kuḥhāra* and *piḥaḍa*=*piḥhara* (§ 239). — AMg. *kaṇavīra*=*karavīra* (Hc. 1,253; Pāiyal. 146; Paṇnav. 526; Rāyap. 52 ff; Paṇhāv. 194), *kaṇavīraja* (Paṇnav. 527 ff) is to be explained perhaps from **kaḷavīra* or *kalavīra* according to § 260, if a synonym **kaṇavīra* does not occur. M has *karavīra* (G.), Mg. *kalavīra* (Mṛch. 157,5). According to § 166 167 *kaṇera* (Hc. 1,168) too goes back to *kaṇavīra*. Hc. equates it as=*karṇikāra*, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give *kaṇero*, according to which it has been so written in my edition too. But F and the Bombay edition read *kaṇero*, and in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Urdū *kaṇ-ra* means "Oleander"; for Hindi BATE gives the meaning "Cuscuta Ovata", which is in no way correct. Since *karṇikāra* may according to § 287, form *kaṇīra* with a simple *ṇa*, Hc has evidently interchanged the plants. JM. *kaṇeradatta* (E z) will, therefore, be=*kaṇīradatta* *karavīra*, *karavīraka*, *karavīrya* are well known as proper names, but not *karṇikāra*. It is phonetically impossible to refer *kaṇera* back to *karṇikāra*⁶.

1. Kalpasūtra s. v. — 2. Beiträge p. 28. — 3. Nīrayāv., s. v. — 4. Aup. S. s. v. —

5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,251. — 6. JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,578.

§ 259. For Skt. *kila* dialectal *kira* has been retained in M JM A. *kira* (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki. 4,83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Piṅgala 1,60; Hc. 4,349). Beside i JM. has *kila* (Āv. 8,45; Erz.) and so always Ś. (Mṛch. 2,24; Sak. 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr. 52,4; 72,18; 80,20 etc.). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś *kira*, as Pras. 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, the *e* is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. *ira*, beside *kira*, (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki. 4,83; G.; R.) is explained according to § 184, *hira* (Hc. 2,186) according to § 388. Otherwise *ra* for *la* is also only isolated and dialectal: Ś *pharaa*=*phalaka* (shield; Deśin. 6,82; Karp. 97,6); AMg. *saradūya*=*śalāṣuka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,6); *sāmavī*=*śātmavī* beside AMg. *sāmavī* (§ 88 109).

§ 260. In the anlaut *la* has become *ṇa*, *na* in *nāhala*=*lāhala* (Vr. 2,40; Hc. 1,256), beside *lāhala* (Hc. 1,256); *naṅgala*, AMg. *naṅgala*=*lāṅgala* (Hc. 1,256; Ki. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18; Pāiyal. 121 [n°]); Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Paṇhāv. 234; Dasav. N. 646,10), beside *laṅgala* (Hc.; Mk.), *naṅgaliya*=*lāṅgaliḱa* (Ovav.; Kappas) AMg. *naṅgula*=*lāṅgula* (Mk. fol. 18; Jiv. 883 886,887), *goṇaṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *naṅgula*=*lāṅgula* (Hc. 1,256), *naṅgūli*=*lāṅgūlin* (Aquog. 349), *naṅgola* (Nāyādh. 502), *naṅgoli*- (Jiv. 345), *naṅgoliya* (Thāp. 259); Jiv. 392 ([n°]), beside M. *laṅgula* (Hc. 1,256); G.; *ṇohala*=*lohala* (Ki. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18), beside *lohala* (Mk.). It is noticed that the texts in AMg. mostly write, *ṇa* in the anlaut. According to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli *naḷāta* beside *laḷāta* Pkt. has *naḷāḍa* (Hc. 2,123). M. AMg. with *i* according to § 103 *niḷāḍa* (R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5 [n°]); Nāyādh. 1310. 1312; Paṇhāv. 273 [n°: commentary *niḍāla*]; Vivāgas. 90 [commentary *niḍāla*]. 121.144.157.169) more frequently with transposition of the last

syllable according to § 354, M. *ṇaḍāla* (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Kī. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M. AMg. JM. *ṇiḍāla* (AMg. JM. sometimes *ni*^o; Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48,6. Nāyādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyap. 113; Jiv. 351.353; Paṇhāv. 162.285; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Av. 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text^o *ḍo*°]; Candak. 87,8; Mallikām. 195,5); A. *ṇiḍaḷā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *ṇiḍāḷā*). For *Ṣ*. the form is apparently incorrect. *laḷāḍa* is made certain for *Ṣ*. by the similarly sounding *laḷāḍe*, *laḷāḍara* (Bālar. 74,21); It occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Venis 60,5 [text^o *ṭa*; v. l. *ṇiḍāla*, *ṇiḍa'la*, *ṇiḍila*]. False in AMg. *liḷāḍa* (Rāyap. 165). Mk. fol. 38 teaches also *laḷāḍa*. *ṇiḍila* is edited in *Ṣ*. in Pārvatīpariṇaya 24,12 [ed. GLASER 23,31 has *ṇiḍala*; cf. v. l. to Venis. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as *niṣāla*, *niṣāla*, *niṣila*¹. To *ṇaḍāla* belongs M. *ṇāḍāla* (found on the forehead; G. 29), to *ṇiḍāla* belongs the dialectical *ṇeḍāli* (a kind of head ornament; Deśin. 4,43). In the infant *l* has become *m* in *jampai*=*jalpati* and derivatives (§ 296).— In P. CP. *la* becomes *ḷa*: in the infant P. *kamaḷa*, *kuḷa*, *jaḷa*, *saḷiḷa* *ṣiḷa*=*ṣila* (Hc. 4,308); CP. *thūḷi*=*dhūli*; *pāḷaka*, *bāḷaka*=*bālaka*; *maṇḷaḷa*=*maṇḍala*, *liḷā*=*lilā*; *saḷiḷa*=*ṣaila* (Hc. 4,325—327). So probably *ucchaḷanti* (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226.

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573 *ṇiḍāla* cannot directly be identified with *laḷāḷa* without more ado.

§ 261. In A. sometimes *va* becomes *vā*¹: *ēva*=*eva* in the sense of *evam* (Hc. 4,376,1.418,1); *evaḷ*=*eva*+*api*, in the sense of *evam eva* (Hc. 4,332,2.423,2.441,1); *ēvahiṇ* in the sense of *idānim*=Vedic *evaiḥ* (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); *keṽa* (Hc. 4,343,1.401,1); *kiḍa* (Hc. 4,401,2.422,14) in the sense of *katham*=**keva* (cf. § 149.434), *keḍai* (Hc. 4,390.396,4)=*kathamapi*; *tēva* (Hc. 4,343,1.397.401,4), *tiḍa* (Hc. 4,344,367,4.376,2.395,1.397.422,2), in the sense of *tathā*=**teva*, *tēvāḷ* (Hc. 4,439,4); *jēva* (Hc. 4,397.401,4; Kī. 5,6 [so to be read]), *jiḍa* (Hc. 4,330,3.336.344.347.354.367,4.376,2.397 etc.; Kk. 272,37 [text *jiva*] in the sense of *yathā*=**yeva*, **yiva* (§ 336); *jāṽa*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3); *tāṽa*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3). From *vā* a full-fledged *ma* has developed in A. *jāma*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,387,2.406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *tāma*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *jāmahi*, *tāmahi*=*yāvadbhiḥ*, *tāvadbhiḥ* in the sense of *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text^o *va*°]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which *va* is represented by *ma*: *ajjama*=*ārjava* (Triv. 1,3,105²); *ohāmai* (excels; Hc. 4,25), *ohāmiya* (overcome; Pāiyal. 187), beside *ohāvai* (Hc. 4,160), *ohāia*=**ohāvia* (downcast; Deśin. 1,158)=**apabhāvati*, *apabhāvita*³; *gamaṣai* beside *gavesai*=*gaveṣati* (Hc. 4,189); *ṇimī* beside *ṇivai*=*ṇivai* (Hc. 1,259); *ṇumai*, *ṇimai* from *vai* (§ 118); *Ṣ. damiḷa* (Mallikām. 296,14)=*draviḍa*, AMg. *damiḷa* (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyap. 288), *damiṣi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.)=Pāli *damiṣi*=Skt. *draviḍi*, beside AMg. *daviḷa* (Paṇhāv. 41), *Ṣ. ḍaviḍa* (Mrech. 103,6; Viddhaś. 75,2)=*draviḍa*, M. *daviḍi*=*draviḍi* (Viddhaś. 24,12); AMg. JM. *vesamaṇa*=*vaiṣravaṇa* (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary *vā* in the passive *cimmai* beside *civvai* from *civ* and JM. *summai* beside *suṽvai* from *svap* (§ 536); further in AMg. *bhumā*=**bhruvā*=*bhrūh*, M. *bhumāḍ*, AMg. *bhumajā*, *bhumagā*, *bhamuhā*=**bhruvukā* (§ 124.206).— On the analogous change of *pa*, *ba* through *va* into *ma* see § 248.250, on *va* for *ma* see § 251.277, on *ga* for *va* see § 231, on *pa* for *va* see § 191.254 and on *va* for *ya* see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write *mva* for *vā*; more seldom *va*, what perhaps is corrected close to *va*.— 2. PUCHERL, BB. 76,94.— 3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 14 f., who wrongly assumes *asabhā*. Cf. 286.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become *ha* dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44.45; C. 3,14;

Ki. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in *daśan* and in the numerals connected with it *śa* becomes *ha* necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to *ha* is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. *dasa* (R. [v.l. often *daha*]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), *daha* (Karp. 12,7); *dasakaṁdhara* (G. R.); *dasakaṁṭha*, *dahakaṁṭha* (R.); *dahamuha*, *daharaha*, *dāsarahi*, *dahavaṇa*, *dasāṇa* (R.). *ha* occurs also in A. (Piṅgala 1,83 [so S. GOLDSCHMIDT]. 123.125.156; 2,196); yet *dasa* (Vikr. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only *dasa* (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *śa* in *daśan* and *caturdaśan* may become either *sa* or *ha*; on the other hand *sa* must stand in the proper names, *ha* in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are *dasa* (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,5) and *daha* (Ratn. 292,12); *dasakaṁdhara* (Mañāv. 118,3); *dasaradha* (Uttarar. 27,4 [°ha]; Bālar. 152, 10 [°ha]; Anarghar. 150,12 [°ha]); *dāsaradhi* (Anarghar 157,10 [°hi]), *dasamuha* (Mañāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), *dasāṇa* (Bālar. 57,2; 123,17; 125,10; 139,13), *dasakaṁṭha* (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. D. have *dasa* only (Mṛcch. 11,1:32,18;38,17;121,25;122,19;133,20;134,13; Dh. Mṛcch. 29,15;30,1;31,4;32,3;34,9.12.17;35,7;39,13), Mg. *dasakaṁdhara* (Mṛcch. 12,13). False is Mg. *daha* (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have *ha*, the other dialects, *sa* (§ 443). *śa* has further become *ha* in M. Ś. *śiddhamētta*=*īdṛsamātra*, M. *śiddaha*=*tādṛśa*, *jēddaha*=*yādṛśa* (§ 122); A. *eha*, *keha*, *jeha*, *teha* beside *aśa*, *kāśa*, *jaiśa*, *taśa*=*īdṛśa*, *kīdṛśa*, *yādṛśa*, *tādṛśa* (§ 121.166); A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (§ 64). According to Ki. 2,104 *palāśa* becomes *palāha*. A mention should be made of M.AMg. Ś. *palāsa* (G.H.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 127,21), Mg. *palāśa* (Mṛcch. 127,24).

§ 263. *śa* has become *ha* in M. *dhaṇuḥa*=**dhanuṣa*=*ṭhanus* (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), *dhaṇuho*=*dhanuṣaḥ* (Bālar. 113,17). — M. *pacūḥa*=*pratyūṣa*, in the meaning "morning sun" (Hc. 2,14; Deśin. 6,5; Pāiyāl. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *pacūsa* in the meaning "morning twilight" [Hc. 2,14; Pāiyāl. 4,6; G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 403.374.375; Śak. 29,7; Mallikā. 57,16; Viddhaś. 115,4]. — M. AMg. JM. *pāhāṇa*=*pāsāṇa* (C. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Ki. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G.H.; U. ās.; Erz.), JM. *pāhāṇa* (Erz.), beside *pāsāṇa* (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMg. *bihāṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa*, *bihāṇa*=*bhīṣaṇaka*, M. JM. *bīhaṇ*, *bīhei* beside M.Ś. *bhīsaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (§ 213.501). A. *eho*, *eha*, *ehu*=*eṣa*, *eṣā*, **eṣam*=*etad* (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Piṅgala 1,4 [in BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 527]. 66.81; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16). — A. *akkhiṇi* from **akkhiṣi*=**akṣiṣmin*=*akṣṇi* (§ 312.379). — *chaha*=**ṣaṣa*=*ṣaṣ* with crossing over to the *a*-declension (Piṅgala 1,95.96.97). So is explained *ha* also in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suphā*, M. *sōphā* from P. *snusā* for **sunuhā* (§ 148); *kāhāvaṇa* (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Ki. 2,71; Mk. fol. 25) from **kāsāvaṇa* (§ 87), *kārṣāpaṇa*, also with shortening of *ā* of the first syllable (§ 82), *kahāvaṇa* (Hc. 2,71), AMg. *kūdakahāvaṇa* (Uttar. 629); in future, as *kāhimi*, *hohimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*, *hohāmi*=**kargyāmi*, **bhoṣyāmi* (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like *kāhi* beside *kāsi* (§ 516). JACOB¹, misled by the commentators, equates AMg. *viha* (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=*viṣa*. The word recurs in Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,3,3,14; 2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=*aṭavi*, therefore, means "forest" and probably is=*vikha* "without heaven"="where one does not see the sky." Therefore, Āyār. 1,7,4,2 is to be translated as "for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone". *viṣa* in M. AMg. JM. Ś. becomes only *visa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1.8.

15,16; 53,14; Mudrār. 40,6; Mālav. 56,8; 65,10); Mg. *viśa* (Mṛcch. 136,17; 164,1; Mud ār. 193,3; 194,6); JM. *nivaiśa*=*nivaiśa* (Sagara 6,2).

1. SBE. 22, p. 68.

§ 264. *sa* has become *ha* in: *ñiharaī* beside *ñisaraī*=*ñihsarati* (Hc. 4,79). In *divasa* *sa* becomes *ha* compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Ki. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prākṛta-mañjari in PSCHER, De gr. Prācr. p. 14. M. has *diasa*, *divasa* (G.R.) and *diaha* (G. H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.); AMg. only *divasa* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); JM. *divasa* (Erz.; Kk.), *diyasā* (Prākṛta-mañjari l. c.), *diyasajara* (Pāiyāl. 4), *diyaha* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.), *anudiyaham* (Kk.); JS. *divaha* (Kattig. 402,364); Ś. only *divasa*, *diasa* (Mṛc. h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5; 53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrār. 184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), *anudiasam* (Śak. 51,5) against M. *anudiahām* (H.; Karp. 116,1 [pha]); Mg. *diasā* (Śak. 114,9), falsely *diaha* (Venis. 33,5); A. *diaha* (Hc. 4,388.418,4), *diahaḍa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2). — *dūhala* (unhappy; Deśin. 5,43) beside *dūsala* (Deśin. 5,43; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 6,87)=*duhsara*. — M. JM. *sāhai*=*sāsati*¹ (Hc. 4,2; H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JM. A. *hattari*, AMg. *hattariṃ*=*saptati*, as JM. *caūhattari* (74), AMg. *pañcāhattari* (75), *sattahattariṃ* (77), *aṣṭahattariṃ* (78), A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76); (§ 245.446). — In future, as *dāhimi*, *dāhāmi*, *dāham*=*dāsyāmi* (§520 ff.) and in aorist, as *thāhi* beside *thāsi* (§ 516); in the loc. sing. of the pronouns *ta-*, *ya-*, *ka-*: *lahim*, *yahim*, *kahim* beside *tasim*, *jassim*, *kassim* (§ 425.427.428) and in the loc. of nouns formed according thereto in Mg., as *kuḷāhim*=*kule*; *pavahāṇāhim*=*pravahāṇe* and in A., as *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *gharahī*=*ghare*; *sisahī*=*śirṣe* (§366); in the genitive plural formed likewise according to the pronominal declension with the ending *-sām* in Mg. and A., as Mg. *śaandhā*=*vagaṇānām*, A. *taṇahā*=*trṇānām*, *mukkāhū*=*muktānām*, *loaṇahā*=*locunayoh*, *saūṇāhā*=*śakunānām* (§ 370), in the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as *sariāhā*=*saritām*, *kammāhā*=*karmaṇām*, *tāhā*=*teṣām*, *tumhāhā*=*yuṣmākam*, *amhāhā*=*aṃmākam* (§ 395.404.419.422); in the genitive sing. in Mg. in *āha* from **-āsa*=*-asya*, as *kāmāha*=*kāmasya*; *calittāha*=*caritrasya*; *puttāha*=*putrasya*, and in A. in *-aha*, *-ahō*, as *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, *kāmahō*=*kāmasya*, *sesahō*=*śeṣasya* (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing. active in *-hi* beside in *-si* as *ñisarahi*=*ñihsarasi*; *ruahi*=Vedic *ruvasi*; *lahasi*=*labhase* (§ 455). On *h=s* in consonant groups see § 312 ff.

1. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 72; WEBER. ZDMG. 28,369.

§ 265. For *sa* in *gaṣṭi* (60) and *sa* in *saptati* (70) there occurs *va* too beside *cha*, *sa*, *ha* (§ 211.264) in conjunctions with units in AMg. JM.: *bāvastthim* (62), *tevastthim* (63), *caūvastthi*^o (64), *chāvastthim* (66), *bāvattariṃ* (72), *tevatariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ* (74), *chāvattariṃ* (76); (§ 446); AMg. *tinni* *tevatthāim* *pāvādūyasayāim* (363 adversaries); JM. *tiṇham* *tevatthānam* *najarasayānam* (of the 363 cities); (§ 447). The *va* has probably developed on the analogy of *va* in the numeral for 50, as *egāvannam* (51), *bāvannam* (52), *tevannam* (53), *caūvannam* (54), *paṇavannam* (55), *sattāvannam* (57), *aṣṭāvannam* (58), A. *bāvanna* (52), *sattāvannāi* (57); (§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for *pa* in **pañcat* (§ 445). *aūpaṭthim* (59), *aūpattariṃ* (69); (§ 444), *pañnatthim* (65); (§ 446) stand for **agunavastthim*, **agunastthim*, **agunastthim*; **agunavattariṃ*, **agunattariṃ*; **pañnavastthim*, **pañnatthim*, **pañnatthim*, *pañnavastthim* according to § 167.83. Spellings like *khaḍaṅgavi*=*śaḍaṅgavid* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,425), *khodasama*=*śoḍaśa* (Sūyag. 562 in the subscription), *hōkkhaī*=**bhogyati* (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing of *kha* for *sa*, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in Northern India at the present day.¹ On this is based the false reading

AMg. *pākhaṇḍa* (Thāp. 583), Mg. *pāhaṇḍa*=*pāsaṇḍa* (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have *pāsaṇḍa*, as also AMg. (Apuṅ. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.)¹ and JM. *pāsaṇḍiya*=*pāsaṇḍika* (Kk.).

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1.261 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 19 p. 24; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 118. — 2. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,213, note 6; KERN, Jaartelling p.67 note; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 32 f.

§ 266. *ha* neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed¹ rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies.² Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for *h* of Skt. there we need not see "coarsening" of *h*³, but the old phonetic conditions.⁴ So Ś. Mg. *Ā. idha*=*iha* (Ś. Mr̥cch. 2,23; 4,14; 6,9; 9,10,12; 24,20; 51,24; 57,17; 69,6,15; etc.; Śak. 12,4; 20,3; 67,5; 115,5; 168,15; Vikr. 30,17; 43,4; Mg. Mr̥cch. 37,10; 100,20; 113,17; 114,21; 123,21; 133,15,16; 164,10; Śak. 114,11; *Ā. Mr̥cch.* 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have *iha*, as Ś. (Mr̥cch. 70,12; 72,13; Vikr. 21,12), *ihaloḥi* (Mr̥cch. 4,1), Mg. (Mr̥cch. 37,10 [beside *idha*!]; 122,12), readings, that are to be corrected.⁵ The rest of the dialects have *iha*, also D. (Mr̥cch. 101,13) and JŚ. *iha* (Pav. 389,2), *ihaloḥa* (Pav. 387,25), *iḥaparaloya* (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in Ś. *iha* beside *idha*(§21). For Dh., where *ida* was expected, examples are wanting. — *dāgha*=*dāha* (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. *nidāgha*. — AMg. *nibhelāṇa* beside *nihelāṇa*, M. *sibhara* beside *sihara* (§206). — AMg. *maghamaghanta*, *maghamaghēnta* beside M. *mahamaho*, JM. *mahamahiya* (§558). — AMg. *vebhāra* (Vivāhap. 194,195; Uttar. 194 f.), *vēbbhāra* (Nāyādh.), *vibbhāra* (Nāyādh. 1032)=*vaihāra*, with Jains also in Skt. *vaibbhāra*⁶. The passive *vubbhāi*=*uhyate*, *dubbhāi*=*duhyate*, *libbhāi*=*lihyate* (§ 541,544) go back to the root-doublets **vabh*, **dubh*, **libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g*, (230,231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of gutturals to labials. — *rubbhāi* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the parasmaipada *rumbhāi* in M. AMg. commonly (§ 507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On *hammāi*=Pāli *ghammāti* see § 188. Obscure is *bhimora*=*himora* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word *himora* is not known, and the meaning *bhimora* has not been handed down.

1. WEBER teaches dropping off, Hāla¹ p. 29; 3 on the stanzas 4,410,584; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; Bhag. 1,411, P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 471, S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *tāha*; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *bhamuho* teach insertion. — 2. FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 333 f.; BB. 3,246 f.; 6,92 f.; cf. § 296. — 3. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 469 ff. — 4. FISCHER, BB. 6,91 f. — 5. FISCHER, KB. 81137.

§ 267. After nasal vowels *h* can become *gh*, after nasals, the aspirates here as well might be older than *h*, as certainly in *saṅghaṇḍa* (body; Deśin. 8,14; Pāṇīyā, 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. *saṅghayaṇḍa* (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=**saṅghatana*=*saṅghanana*, AMg. *saṅghayaṇḍi* (Jiv. 66,87)=**saṅghateni*, Ś. *saṅghadi*=*saṅghati* (Anarghar. 290,2). Other examples are: *saṅghāra*=*saṅhāra* (Hc. 1,264); *siṅgha*=*siṁha* (Hc. 1,264), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *siha*, Ś. *siṁha*, Mg. *siṁha* (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. *siṅgha* (Śak. 102,2 ed. BÖHLINGK according to some MSS.), *vīrasīṅgha* (Karnas. 53,20), *siṁghala* (Mallikām. 88,21), M. *siṁghali*=*siṁhali* (Viddhaś. 24,11). AMg. *haṁbho* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740, 761,767,769,1337; Uvās.; Nirayāv.)=Ś. Mg. *haṁbho* (Viddhaś. 97,10; Mg. Mr̥cch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. *haṁbo*. —

Behind nasals the aspirate stands for *h* in M.AMg. JM. *cindha* from **cinha* (§ 330) = *cinha* (Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text *cinnam*]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāṇyāl. 68.114; G.; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyādh. §64; p. 1318; Paṇṇav. 101.117; Vivāhap. 498; Paṇhāv. 155.167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 13.5; Dvār. 507,38), JM. *cindhiya* = *cinhiṭa* (Āv. 27,1), dialectical *cindhāla* (delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22), M. in compounds °*indha* (G.), beside M. Ś. Mg. A. *cinha* (Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11). According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *cinha*. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cindha* also *cēndha* (§119). Further in AMg. JM.A. *bambha* = *brahman* (Jiv. 912; Sūy. g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412); AMg. *bambha* = *brahman* (Uttar. 904.906; Dasav. N. 654,39), *bambha* = *brāhma* (Āyār. p. 125,34), feminine *bambhī* (Vivāhap. 3; Paṇṇav. 62.63): M. *bambhaṇḍa* = *brahmāṇḍa* (G.); AMg. *bambhaloṇa* = *brahmaloka* (Uttar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224.4-18; Ovav.); AMg. *bambhacāri* - (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās.), AMg. JM. *bambhōjāri* = *brahmācārin* (Dasav. 618,34; 632,38; Uttar. 353.487.917 f.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg.A. *bambhacera* = *brahmācarya* (§ 176); AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 250); AMg. *bambhaṇṇa* = *brāhmaṇya* (Ovav.; Kappas.) and others. The other dialects have only *bamha*, *bamhaṇa* (§287.330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary *h*, that originated from a sibilant (§ 262 ff.) in *āsaṁghā* = **āsaṁhā* = *āsaṁsā* (Deśin. 1,63), mostly with a change of gender (§ 357)¹, M.Ś. *āsaṁgha* (Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhaś. 42,7; Kāmsav. 7,20), Ś. *aṇāsaṁgha* (Mallikām. 93,9); M. *āsaṁghai* = *āsaṁsati* (Hc. 4,35; G.R.); *saṁghai* = *saṁsati* (Hc. 4,2); AMg. *dhimkuna*, dialectical *dhāmkuna*, *dhēnkuna* = **damhkuna* from *damś* (§ 107.212)². Beside AMg. JM.A. *simbha* - (Hc. 2,74; Paṇhāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412), AMg. *sēmbha* - (WEBER, Bhag. 1,439), also femin. *sēmbhā* (Mk. fol. 25) = *ślesman* from **sēmbha* - , **simha*, AMg. *sēmbhiya* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,415; 2,274.274), *simbhiya* (Ovav.) = *ślaṁsika*, AMg. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *siṁghāṇa* from *ślesmāṇa* - (§ 403), **sēmhāṇa* - , *siṁhāṇa* - , **siṁhāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l.]; Thāp. 483; Paṇhāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūyag. 704; Ovav.; Kappas.; Bhag.). The word, as *siṁghāṇa*, *śiṁghāṇika*, has been taken into Skt. A denominative therefrom is AMg. *siṁghāṇi* (Vivāhap. 112). A. has also *gimbha* = *grīṣma* (Hc. 4,412). On *kambhāra* = *kāśmira* see § 120, on *sepha* = *ślesman* see § 312, and on *bharai* = *smarati*, §313.

1. BOLLSENSEN on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. FISCHER, De gr. Präcr. p. 5. f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250. — 2. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,255; 6,85 f.

II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel (§131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *pha*, *mha*, *lha*, and dialectically also of consonant + *ra*, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the anlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as anlaut (§ 196). M. *kaḍhai* = *kvathati*; *kiḷai* = *kriḍati*; *khandha* = *skandha*; *gaṇṇhi* = *granthi*; *jalaḷi* = *jvalati*; *thala* = *sthala*; *thāmatthāma* = *sthāmasthāma* - (G.); *diā* = *divja*; *bhamai* = *bhramati*; *ṇhāṇa* = *snāna*; *ṇhāṇa* = *snāpita*; *ṭhasai* = *hrasati*. — *mhi* = *asmi*, *mha*, *mho* = *smah* can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the anlaut.¹ The grammarians permit a consonant + *r* in the anlaut and the anlaut (Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20): *doha*, *droha* = *droha* (Bh. 3,4),

daha, *draha*=*hrada* (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14); *canda*, *candra* (Grr.); *rudda*, *rudra* (Bh.; Hc.); *inda*, *indra* (Mk.); *bhadda*, *bhadra* (Hc.; Mk.); *sammudda*, *samudra* (Hc.). So there occurs M. *bodroha* (Pāṇi. 1. 62; cf. Deśin. 7,80) or *vodraha* (young; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 7,80; H. 392)²; JM. *vandra* (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; D śin. 7,32; Erz. 26,3) or *bandra*, *bundra*³. Frequent is consonant + *r*, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: *tram*=*tad*, more correctly=*tyad* (4,360); *dramma*=*dr* ∞ *κμν* (4,422,4); *dravakka* (fruit; 4,422,4); *draha*=*hrada* (4,423,1); *drehi*=**dekhi*=*dṛṣṭi* (4,422,6; cf. § 66); *dhrum* in the sense of *yad*, *yasmād* (4,360. 438,1), in Ki. 5,49 *drum*=*tad*, *jrūm*=*yad* and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛacaḍa Apabhraṁśa; *dhruvu*=*dhruvam* (4,418; cf. Ki. 5,5, where *ghruva*, *ghru* has been edited); *praṅgaṇa*=*prāṅgaṇa* (4,360.420,4); *pramāṇia* *pramāṇita* (4,422,1); *prāṇvodi*=*prajāpati* (4,404); *prassadi*=*paśyati* (4,393); *prāiva*, *prāiva* *prāu*=*prāyah* (4,414); *pria*=*priya* (4,370.2.377.379,2; 398.401.6.417); *bruvahu*=*brūta*; *brōppi*, *brōppiṇu*=**brūta* (4,391; also Ki. 5,58); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *vratta*=*vrata* (4,394); *vrāsa*=*vyāsa* (4,399; Ki. 5,5). In Ki. besides those mentioned above also *bhāsa*=*bhāṣya* (5,5). In the inlaut: *antraḍi*=*antra* (Hc. 4,445,3); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *putra* (Ki. 5,2); perhaps also in *jatru*, *tatru*=*yatra*, *tatru* (Hc. 4,404), and in *etrula*, *ketrula*, *jetrula*, *tetrula*=*iyat*, *kiyat*, *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between *tta* and *tra*. Ki. 5,50 has in the edition *yadru*, *tadru*=*yatra*, *tatra*. — In Mg. A. there occur dialectically in the inlaut also *yea*, *yja* (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80. The MSS., according to WEBER on H. 392 and IS. 16,140 f., do not have *r*. — 3. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds *pha*, *mha*, *lha*; 3) dialectically consonant + *r* (§ 268); 4) nasal + consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to Ki. 2,121; Mk. 1.1. 34 *m* comes in for *n*, *ṇ*, according to Vr. 4,14, for *n*, *ṇ* before a consonant¹: *vañcaṇia*=*vañcaniya*; *vinjha*=*vinḍhya*; *paṇti*=*paṇktih*; *maṇti*=*mantrin*. According to Hc. 1,1 *ṇ*, *ṇ* can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ* must become *m* before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Deśin. 1,26 it is seen that *airimpa*, not *airimṇpa*, was written, and D śin. 1,18 makes it probable that *andhandhu*, and not *amḍhamḍhu* should be read.² The examples of the grammarians partly relate to words in which the nasal in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them *m* must be written.³ So: Ś. *avarāmṇmuha*=*aparāmṇmuha* (Vikr. 44,9); AMg. *chaṇmāsīya*=*ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M.A. *chaṇmuha*=*ṣaṇmuha* (§ 441); M.Ś. *diṇmuha*=*diṇmuha* (Karp. 39,3; Viddhaś. 34,11; Laṭṭakam. 4,3); M. *diṇmoha*=*diṇmoha* (H. 866); M. JM. Ś. *paraṇmūha*=*parāṇmūha* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bhārīharin. 22,13); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṇti*=*paṇkti* (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446,512; Paṇhāv. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Piṅgala 1,10), M.Ś. *vaṇti* (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1), AMg. *paṇtiyā*=*paṇktikā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5; Aṇuog. 386; Thāṇ. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇṇav. 80.84.85); AMg. *baṇjha*=*bandhya* (Sūyag. 460 [text *va*]), *abaṇjha* (Sūyag. 600 [text *ava*]); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vinjha*=*vinḍhya* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189.1274.1287; Erz.; Rukmiṇīp. 48,3); Ś. *vinjhaḥḍu* (Priyad. 14,6; 52,6); M. JM. Ś. *saṇjhā*=*sandhyā* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,

like Vr. 3,43=Hc.2,61; Ki.2 98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for *nma* the change into *mma* is especially prescribed again. Whether an exception should, however, be generally made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even *parammuha*, *chammāsija* should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found *śca*, *yyha*, *śha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śta*, *śta*, *śta*, *śpa*, *śpha*, *śka* (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331).

1. On the misunderstanding of this rule by Bbāmaha see COWELL on Vr. p. 137, note 2.—2. FISCHER, *Defin.*, Introduction p. 8 f. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 1,25.

§ 270. Of the conjunct mutes of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second (Vr. 3,1.50; C. 3,3.24; Hc. 2,77.89; Ki. 2,49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26). 1) *k+t* becomes *tt*: M. *āsatta*=*āsakta* (G.H.); *jutta*=*yukta* (H.R.); *bhatti*=*bhakti* (G.H.); *mōttia*=*mauktika* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects¹. *mukka* beside rare *nutta*=*mukta* is derived from **mukna*, as *ragga* beside *ratta*=*rakta* goes back to **ragna* (§ 566). *sakka*, which Hc. 2,2 equates as=*śakta*, is everywhere=*śakya* (Ki. 2,1)². *nakkamcara* (Hc. 1,177) is not=*naktamcara*, which must become *nattamcara*, but goes back to **nakkā* from **nakā* (§ 194.355)=Vedic *nak*³.—2) *k+th* becomes *tt*: JM. *rittha*=*riktha* (Pāyā. 49; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *sitha*=*siktha* (Hc. 2,77; Ovav.; Kappas.); *sithaa*=*sikthaka* (Bh. 3,1; Pāyā. 228).—3) *k+p* becomes *pp*: M. *vappāra*=*vāpātirāja* (G.)—4) *g+dh* becomes *ddh*: M. *duddha*=*dugdha* (G.H.); M. *muddha*=*mugdha* (G.H.R.); M. *niddha* (H.R.), *siṇiddha*=*snigdha* (G.).—5) *g+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *pabbhāra*=*prāgbhāra* (G.R.)⁴.—6) *t+k* becomes *kk*: AMg. *chakka*=*śatka* (§ 451); AMg. *chakkasthaga*=*śatkāsthaka* (Nāyādh.).—7) *t+c* becomes *cc*: AMg. *chacca*=*śasca*; *chaccaraṇa*=*śaścaraṇa* (§ 441).—8) *t+t* becomes *tt*: AMg. *chattala*=*śattala*; *chattisam*, *chattisā*=*śattimisat* (§ 441).—9) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *chappaa*=JM. *chappāya*=*śatpada*; AMg. *chappāṇam*, A. *chappāṇa*=**śatpāṇat* (56; § 441.445).—10) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: *kappala*=*kaṭṭhala* (Hc. 2,77).—11) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *khagga*=*khadga* (G.H.R.); M. *chaggaṇa*=*śadgaṇa*, Ś. *chaggaṇaa*=*śadgaṇaka* (§ 441).—12) *d+j* becomes *jj*: AMg. *chajjiva*=*śadjiṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,7,7); *sajja*=*śadja* (Hc. 2,77).—13) *d+d* becomes *dd*: AMg. *chaddisim*=*śaddisam* (§ 441).—14) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: AMg. *chabbhāya*, **ga*=*śadbhāga* (§ 441); Ś. *chabbhua*=*śadbhujja* (Cait. 42,7).—15) *d+v* becomes *vv*: AMg. JM.A. *chavvisam*=*śadvimsati* (§ 441).—16) *t+k* becomes *kk*: M. *ukkaṇṭhā*=*utkaṇṭhā* (G.H.); AMg. *ukkalijā*=*utkalikā* (Ovav.); Ś. *balakkāra*=*balātkāra* (Mrcch. 13,22; 17,23; 23,23,25; Śak. 137,3), Mg. *balakkāta* (Mrcch. 140,15; 146,17; 158,22; 162,20; 173,12).—17) *t+kh* becomes *kkh*: M. *ukkhāa*, JM. *ukkhaja*=*utkhāta* (80).—18) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *uppala*=*utpala* (G.H.R.); AMg. *tappadhamaṇḍā*=*tatprathamā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *sappurisa*=*satpurusa* (G.H.).—19) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: M. *upphulla*=*utphulla* (H.R.); M.Mg. *upphāṇa*=*utphāṇa* (R.; Mrcch. 99,10).—20) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *uggama*=*udgama* (G.H.R.); M.Ś. *mōggara*=*mudgara*: AMg. JS. *pōggala*=*puḍgala* (§ 125).—21) *d+gh* becomes *ggh*: M. *ugghāa*=*udghāta* (G.H.R.); M. *ugghuṭṭha*=*udghuṭṭha* (R.).—22) *d+b* becomes *bb*: M. *bubbua*=*budbuda* (G.); Ś. *ubbandhya*=*udbandhya* (§ 513).—23) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ubbhāa*=*udbhāṇa* (G.R.); M. *ubbheaa*=*udbhēda* (G.H.R.); M. *sabbhāa*=*sadbhāva* (G.H.R.).—24) *p+t* becomes *tt*: M. *ukkhitta*=*utkṣipta* (G.H.R.); M. *pajjatta*=*paryāpta* (G.H.R.); M. *sutta*=*supta* (H.).—25) *b+j* becomes *jj*: M. AMg. JM.Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (§ 206).—26) *b+d* becomes *dd*: *adda*=*abda* (Hc. 2,79); M. *sadda*=*śabda* (G.H.R.).—27) *b+dh* becomes *ddh*: *ārodha*=*ārabdha* (R.); M. *laddha*=*labdha* (G.H.R.); *lōddhaa*=*lubdhaka* (§ 1255).

1. Cf. § 184, note 1. — 2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 12,120; FISCHER on Hc. 2,2.

Cf. 279. — 3. Skt. *nakṣatra* "star", "constellation" too should be equated as = **nakkṣatra* "ruling over the night". The customary explanations on account of **nakṣatra* (AUFRECHT, KZ. 8,71; cf. WEBER, *Nakṣatra* 2,268) or from *nakṣ* (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) are in any case perverse. — 4. So according to the usual interpretation. ZACHARIAE (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 60 ff.) sees probably rightly in *prāgbhāra* a false back formation of *pabbhāra*. He would like to derive *pabbhāra*, that is frequent in AMg. also (e.g. Uttar. 1034; Aquog. 416; Vivāhap. 248,920; Thāp. 135,297; Ovav.; Nirayāv.) and is found also in JM. (Kk.) and Ś. (Anarghar, 149,10), from **prahvāra*. The common meaning "crowd" points, however, rather to **prabhāra* (JACOBI, Kk. s.v.) with duplication according to §196.

§271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the cases mentioned in §333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. *ṣṭ* becomes *st* (Hc. 4,290); *paṣṭa*=*paṣṭa*; *bhaṣṭālikā*=*bhaṣṭārikā*; *bhaṣṭinī*=*bhaṣṭinī*. STENZLER, in *Mrcch.*, writes *ṣṭ* for *ṣṭ*: *bhaṣṭaka*=*bhaṣṭaka* (10,5;16,18;22,3.5;114,16;118,8,12.22;119,9;122,10;124,12 ff.; 125,1,3.8.24;132,11.15.18); *bhaṣṭālaa*=*bhaṣṭāraka* (22,5;32,4;112,18;119,13;121,12;154,9;164,12;165,1.5;176,4); *piṣṭadu*=**piṣṭadu*=*piṣṭoyatu* (125,8). GODABOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭhaka*, *bhaṣṭālaka*, *bhaṣṭālaka* [laa], only some of the MSS. have *ṣṭ* in 10,5;22,3.5;32,4;119,13;124,24;132,11. For *piṣṭadu* all have *piṣṭadu*¹ or *viṣṭadu*, likewise *aṣṭahāśaṣṭa* (168,21), for which we should read *aṣṭa*² according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have *ṣṭ*³ throughout, likewise all the editions at Śak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8,10.11.12; Caṇḍak. 60,12 etc. In *Mrcch.* *ṣṭ* can be a dialectical variant for *st*, as *ṣk* beside *hk*=*kt*. But elsewhere according to Hc. *st* should be written for *ṣṭ*⁴. Cf. §290. — *kṣṭti* (skin) becomes *kicci* according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only *katti* (Pāyāl. 110; G.H.) and *M. kitti* (H.). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v.l. **kaccia* for **kattio*; in Dhvanyāloka at 128,6 the edition reads **katti a* and so also Kāvya prakāśa 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. *kacci* and *kicci* presuppose Skt. **kṣṭyā*=*kṣṭyā* (scil. *toak*) "what is to be cut off (skin)". Cf. AMg. *vigiñcaī*=**vikṣṇtyati* (§485). On Mg. *ṣca* for *ccha* see §233.

1. *piṣṭadu* in GODBOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 233 note; SENART, *Piyadasi* 1,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate *st* as=ṣṭ. Cf. PSCHHEL, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchanged as a rule, when the nasal precedes: *M. añka* (G.H.R.); *M. Ś. sañkhalā*=*ṣṇkhalā* (§213); *M. siṅga*=*ṣṇga* (G.H.); *M. jañghā* (G.); *M. koñca*=*krañca* (G.); *M. lañchana*=*lāñchana* (G.H.R.); *M. mañjari* (G.H.); *M. kañṭha* (G.H.R.); *M. khaṇḍa* (G.H.R.); *M. anta* (G.H.R.); *M. manthara* (G.H.R.); *maaranda*=*makaranda* (H.R.); *M. bandha* (G.H.R.); *M. jambū* (G.H.). If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes *m* (§269).

§273. Dialectically *ñca* becomes *ṇa* in *pañcadaśan* and *pañcāśat* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Ki. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: *pañnaraha* (15; Grr.; A. Piṅgala 1,112.114); AMg. JM. *pañnarasa* (**nnā*) (Hc. 3,123; Kappas.; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), *pañnarasi* (Kappas.); *pañṇāsā* (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas.); AMg. JM. also *pañṇāsam* (Ki. 2,66; Thāp. 266; Bhag.; Erz.), also *pañṇā* (C. 3,32) in the remaining fifties shortened to **pañṇam*, **vañṇam*: **ekkāvañṇam* (ed. *eka*²; 51; Samav. 112); *bāvañṇam* (52); *tevañṇam* (53); *caivañṇam* (54); *paṇavañṇam* (55); *chappañṇam* (56); *satiḍvañṇam* (57); *aṣṭhāvañṇam* (58) (WEBER, *Bhagavati* 1,426; Samav. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI)

āṇḍapaṇṇam (49; Ovav. §163); *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.); A. *bāvaṇṇa* (52), *sattāvaṇṇā* (57) (Piṅgala 1,87,51). So also AMg. *paṇṇaṭṭhi* (65; Kappas.) and *paṇṇattari* (75; Samav. 133). Before 20—60, in JM. AMg. *paṇṇa* is mostly weakened to *paṇa*: *paṇaviśam* (25); *paṇatisam* (35); *paṇajālīsam* (45); *paṇavaṇṇam* (55) and *paṇavaṇṇā* (C. 3,33; [so to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside *pañcāvaṇṇā*); *paṇasajjhim* (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72-123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.) and A. *chappaṇa* (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli *paṇṇuvisati*, *paṇṇuvisam* (25) stands AMg. *paṇuvisāhi* (Instr.; Āyār. p. 137,25), AMg. *paṇuvisam* (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jiyak. 19,20); JM. *paṇuvisā* (Āv. 48,13), of which *u* is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has *paṇnarasa*, *paṇnarasī*, *paṇnarasa*, *paṇṇāsa* beside *paññāsa*. E. KUHN has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “ññ should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of *c* and *ś*, and accordingly it goes to back to a time, when *ś* had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to *c*.” That is not possible for for *ṇṇa*. Pañjābī and Sindhi *pañjāh*, P. °*vañjā*, S. °*vañjāha* (HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from *ñca* to *ñja*, *ñya*, *nya*. Cf. Pāli *āṇḍā*=*ājñā*, *āṇḍpeti*=*ājñāpayati* and § 274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in *paśisa* (25) and *paśaālīsahī* (45; instr.). See §445. On AMg. *āṇḍaṇa* supposed to be=*ākuñcana* see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 in Mg. *ñja* becomes *ñña*: *aññali*=*añjali*; *dhaññāñña*=*dhanamjaya*; *paññala*=*prāñjala*. According to this *ja*, as in the anlaut (236), has become *ya*. In Mṛcch. 19,6 stands *añjaliṃ*.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmisādhū on Rudrātā, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; Amaracandra, Kāvyaśālikāra p. 9 in Ś. and Mg. *nta* can become *nda*. The examples of the grammarians are: Ś. *andeura*=*antahpura*; *niścinda*=*niścinta*; *mahanda*=*mahat*; Mg. *mahanda*; in addition to the assumptive Ś. *randūṇa*=*ratvā* (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 *saṃdāle*=*śakuntale*. Inscriptionally *nda* occurs throughout for *nta* in Lalitav. in Mg.: *payyāṇde*=*paryante* (565,7); *avayyāṇdāda*=*aparyantāda* (565,12); *peṣkiyyāṇdi*=*preksyante* (565,13); *puścāṇde*, [ni]līkaṇde= *prechan nirikṣamāṇaḥ* (565,20); *vaññāṇdassa*=*vrajataḥ* (566,7), whilst in Ś. *nta* exclusively remains: *viloiṇjāṇti*=*vilokyante* (554,21); *peṣkhiṇjāṇti*=*preksyante* (554,22); *vuttāṇtā*...*suṇiyāṇti*=*vṛttāntāḥ*...*śrūyante* (555,2); *huvaṇti*=*bhavadānti* (555,5); *peraṇtesu*=*paryanteṣu* (555,11), *desaṇtara*=*deśāntara* (560,19) etc. HOEFER¹ and LASSEN² have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as *bhakkhandi*, for which STENZLER, Mṛcch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads *bhakkhandi*=*bhaksayanti*, *saṇḍāva*, for which stands *saṇḍāpa* (Mṛcch. 78,8; Śak. 55,1; 68,1; Ratn. 298,10; 229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.). Bombay (Bb.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have *nda*, even in words other than in BROCKHAUS, as 39,2 B. Bb. *ramandī*, M.P. *ramāṇdī*, 9 B. *saṃbhāvaṇḍī*, M. P. *saṃbhāvaṇḍī*, Bb. *saṃbhāvaṇḍī*, but 4 B. *ciṣṭhanti*, M. *ciṣṭhanti*, P. *ciṣṭhanti* Bb. *tussanti*, while all 7 read *nti* in B. *paḍichanti*, Bb. M. *paḍicchanti*, P. *paḍichanti*. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PAṆḌIT writes Mālav. 27,2 *oloṇṭī*, 3 *antare*, but 5 *uvaḍṛāṇḍandaram* (BOLLENSEN 6,9 correctly °*ntaram*); 66,1 *ṭākarattabbhāṇḍare* (BOLLENSEN 34,13 °*ntare*), but 5 *āntavvaṇṭi* etc.; TĀRĀKUMĀRA CAKRARTI, Uttarar. 59,5; 69,10; 77,4; 89,11 *vāsandī*=*vāsanti*; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 *jāṇḍi*, but 38,2 *jāṇḍam*; 39,4 *sahandī*,

but 7 *nivedianti* [sic]; [DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, *Unmattarāghava* 3,2,5; 7,4 *disandi*, but 5,4 *disanti*=*drīyante*; 7,4 *apnesandī*=*anveṣantiyā*, but 5,4 *sambhamantā*=*sambhramantaḥ*; Mukund. 13,2 *kim di*=*kim iti*; 13,18 *andareṇa*=*antareṇa*; 17,14 *sandi*=*śānti*; 21,12 *akkando*=*ākraṇtaḥ*. Frequent is the writing in both the editions of Pārvatīp., as *nirandaram cindāntam* (2,15,16), *vāsandī* (9,3), *vāsandīā* (9,15), *ahilasandi* (24,16; 28,4) and others. LASSEN was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś³. But *nda* is found also in Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. *jāṇandā* v.l. for *jāṇantā* (H. 821); *kim deṇa* (H. 905); *bhaṇandi* (Pārvatīp. 28,2); *ramandi*=**ramanti*, *ujjhando*=*ujjhantaḥ*, *rajjandi*=*rajyante* (Mukund. 5,2,23,2). Hc. 2,180 teaches that *haṇdi* is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and 2,181 teaches that *haṇda* is used in the sense "take!", "take care". *haṇda* is=*handā*=Skt. *hanta*. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where the MSS. read *geṇhaha*, *giṇhaha*, *maṇda*, the Jaina recension R. has *haṇdi* and Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,70 on strophe 145) reads *haṇta*. AMg. has *haṇda ha* or *haṇda haṇ* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6,11,1,2; Thāṇ. 354); elsewhere, however, M.AMg. JM.Ś. *hanta*, AMg. also *haṇtā* (G.; Āyār. 2,5,2,4; Nāyādh. 1332; Vivāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31,7). AMg. *haṇdi* (Sūyag. 151; Dāsav. 624,26 [*handi*]; Dāsav. N. 647,41 [*handi*]; 653,13 [*handi*]; Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuoz. 323; Nāyādh. 1134), goes back to JM. *haṇti* (Kk.), that is=*ham iti*. Cf. § 185 and AMg. *haṇbho* §267. The examples in Hc., with the exception of *handā*, are found in the Telugu recension, and like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of *nd* for *nt* is to be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce *nt* as *nd*. Hence *nd* is found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write *ntta* for *nta* in Skt. too, e.g. *śakuntalā*⁴, to ensure the pronunciation *nt* thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes *mahaṇtte* (7,43) for *mahaṇte*=*mahataḥ* (acc. plur.)⁵, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond of doubling *t* after *m*⁶. Especially frequently is found *saṇtāva* in M. (H. 817; Appendix 994) and Ś. (Mālatīm. 79,1; 81,2; 219,1; Uttarar. 6,1; 92,9; 163,5; Nāgān. 87,12; Viddhaś. 81,4; Priyad. 4,7; 22,12; 24,7; 25,13; Mallikām. 218,10,223,6; 330,17; Rukmiṇīp. 27,6,11; 33,13), *saṇdāvedi* (Priyad. 20,7; Mukund. 73,3 [so to be read]), *saṇdāvida* (Mālatīm. 79,1). Śak. too has *saṇdāva* at 55,1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68,1, in two of them at 127,7, most of them have *saṇdāvedi*. Since M. possesses a verb *dāvaī=tāpayati* (Śak. 55,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1), one might derive *saṇdāpa* from it. But in M. *saṇtāva* is the most accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same phonetic change has occurred in *oandaī=apakṛntati* (§485), and *viḥuṇḍua*=*viḥuṇḍuda* (Deśin. 7,65; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,252).

1. De Prakrita dialecto p. 54.—2. Inst. p. 238; 378 note.—3. Inst. p. 238.—4. FISCHEL, GN. 1873, 211 f.; KB. 8, 130 f.; Vikramorvaśīya p. 615.—5. FISCHEL, GN. 1895, 210.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29, 494, note 1; Rāvaṇavaho p. xi.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, *ṇ*, *n* become assimilated to the preceding consonant: M *aggi*=*agni* (G.H.R.); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *uvigga*=*udvigna* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mpech. 150,16; 151,2). *uvvinṇa*, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as=*udvigna* is rather=**udvṇṇa* from Vedic *vrad*, **vrd* with *ud*. An original *r* is pointed to by *vunṇa* (timid; frightened; Hc. 4,421; Deśin. 7,94; Pāiyāl. 76) and *uvunṇa* (frightened; Deśin. 1, 123); JM. *nagga*=*nagna* (Erz.); M. *rugga*=*rugna* (G.); M. *viggha*=*vighna* (R.); AMg. *saṇagghī*=*śatagghī* (Uttar. 285; Ovav.); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *paṭṭi*=*patni*

(Uttar. 363.422); M. *savatta*=*sapatna* (G.R.), M. J.M.Ś. *savatti*=*sapatnī* (H. ; Āv. 28,9; Anarghar. 287,1; Venīs. 12,6), Ś. *nisavatta*=*nihasapatna* (Mṛcch. 5,1), M. *paatta*=*prayatna* (H.); AMg. *pappoi*, JŚ. *pappodi*=*prāpnoti* (§504). See 566. The sound-group *jña*, as a rule, becomes *ṇṇa*, in the anlaut *ṇa* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ki. 2,102; Mk. fol. 25); M. *ahinṇāṇa*=*abhijñāna* (R.); M. *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (H.); *pañṇā*=*paññā* (Hc.2,42); M. *saṇṇā*=*saṃjñā* (R.); M.AMg. J.M. *āṇā*=*ājñā*, AMg. J.M. *āṇavei*, Ś.Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 88); M. *ṇajjai*, AMg. J.M. *ṇajjai*=*jñāyate* (§548), AMg. *nāṇa*=*jñāna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6). Hc. 2,83 permits also *ajjā*=*ājñā*; *pañjā*=*paññā*; *saṃjā*=*saṃjñā*; *jāṇa*=*jñāna*, and beside *ṇṇa*, *ṇṇu* (§105) also *jja*, when *jña* forms the second member of a compound: *appañṇu*, *appajja*=*ātmajña*, *ahinṇu*, *ahijja*=*abhijña*, *iṅgiṇṇu*, *iṅgiajja*=*iṅgitajña*; *daivaṇṇu*, *daivajja*=*daivajña*; *maṇṇṇa*, *maṇṇjja*=*maṇojña*; *savaṇṇu*, *savajja*=*sarvajña*, but only *viṇṇāṇa*=*viññāna*. According to Vr. 3,52; Ki. 2,52; Mk. fol. 20 in M. only *jja* is used in words of the type of *sarvajña*: *sahajja*, *ahijja*, *iṅgiajja*, *sujji*=*sujña*, in Ś. on the other hand, according to Vr. 12,8 only *savaṇṇa*, *iṅgidajña*, according to 12,7 in *viñña* and *yajña* optionally *ñja*, according to Ki. 5,76 *ahijjo*, and *ahinṇo* optionally, according to 5,77 *paññā*=*pratiññā*. The correct reading in Vr. Ki. is wholly doubtful; presumably *jja* and *ṇṇa* should be permitted. The forms found in the texts are Ś. *anahinṇa*=*anabhijña* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1); *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (Śak. 142,3; Mālav. 70,15); *pañṇā* (§220). In AMg., beside *ṇṇu*, *ṇṇu* (§105), *ṇṇa*, *ṇṇa* also are suitable for use: *samaṇṇa*=*samanujña* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *kheṇṇa*=*khedajña* (Āyār. 1,1,4,2; 1,2,3,6; 1,2,5,3; 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,3,4; 1,4,1,2; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 234 [°da°]. 304.565); *māṇṇa*=*mātrajña* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2; 1,8,1,19; Dasav. 623,15; Uttar. 51); *kālanna*, *balanna*, *khaṇṇanna*, *khaṇṇa*, *viṇṇanna*, *samaṇṇa*, *bhāṇanna* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2); *meṇṇa* (Uttar. 508); *pañna*=*pañña* (Uttar. 33); *āsupanna*=*āsupañña* (Uttar. 181); *mahāpañna* (Uttar. 200); *maṇṇa*, *amaṇṇa*=*maṇojña*, *amaṇojña* (Āyār. 2,1,10,2,11,2; 2,4,2,6; p. 136,7 ff; Sūyag. 390; Ovav. 53,87), but Ś. *maṇṇjja* (Mallikām. 195,5). So also AMg. *janna*=*yajña* (Uttar. 742), *jaṇṇai*=*yajñakṛt* (Ovav.). In Mg. *jña* becomes *ñña* (H. 4, 293); *avajñā*=*avajñā*; *paññā*=*paññā*; *paññā*=*paññā*; *sarvajña*. Vr. Ki. Mk. do not have this rule, and the MSS write only *ṇṇa*. So: *jaṇṇa*=*yajña* (Mṛcch. 171,11); *jaṇṇaseṇi*=*yajñaseṇi* (Venīs. 34,13); for which, according to Hc., should be written *yañña*, *yaññaseṇi*; *paññā*=*pratiññā* (Venīs. 35,13); *viṇṇā*=*viññā* (Mṛcch. 37,21), *viṇṇavia*=*viññāpya* (Mṛcch. 138,25; 139,1) etc. The rule accredits *vaññā*=**vrajñā* (§ 448), which the copyists did not change, as they did not recognize it. — In P. too *jña* becomes *ñña* (Hc. 4,303; Nāmisādhn on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12); *paññā*=*paññā*; *saññā*=*saññā*; *savañña*=*sarvajña*; *ññā*=*jñāna*; *viññā*=*viññāna*; *yaññā*=*yajña*; *raññā*, *raññā*=*rājñā*, *rājñā* (Hc. 4,304) beside *rācīñā*, *rācīṇa* (§237.399) In Vr. 10,9.12 the MSS. give *ñja*, *jja*, which will simply be an error for *ñña*.

§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is *ma*, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule *gma* becomes *gga*: M.AMg. *jugga*=*yugma* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275.362); *tigga*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62); *vaggi*=*vāgmin* (Bh. 3,2); probably also *dōgga*=*yugma* (§215). Dialectically, however, it becomes *mma* as well: AMg. *junna*=*yugma* (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Thāp. 275; Samav. 138); *timma*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62). — *kma* becomes *ppa* Vr. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Ki. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); *ruppa*=*rukma* (Bh. 3,49; Ki. 2,63); AMg. *ruppi*=*rukmin*, by Hc. 2,52 equated as =*rukmin* (Samav. 114.117.139.144.157.160; Thāp. 75; Nāyādh. 781 ff; Rāyap. 177); AMg. J.M.Ś. *ruppiṇi*=*rukmiṇi*

(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Niraṣāv. 79; Paṇhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracandap. 18,15; Mālatīm. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.=ed. Jībananda Vidyasagara 49,7, where, however, *rukhiṇi*]. — According to Hc. 2,52 *kuṭmala* forms in Pkt. *kumpala*, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also *kuṇcala* (Deśin. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to *kuṭmala* or *kuṇmala*, *kumpala* also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside *kuṭmala*. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has *kuppala*. — *ātman* becomes almost always in M., always in A *appa-* (Vr. 3,48; Ki. 2,63; G.H.R.)¹, very rarely M. *atta-* in *attano* (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillate (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have *appa-* and *atta-* beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. *ajjhappa*=*adhyātman* (Āyār.1,5,4,5; Paṇhāv. 437); AMg. JM. *attaja*=*ātmaja* (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. *attajā*=*ātmajā* (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also *āya-* for **āta-*, corresponding to JŚ. *āda-* (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has *appa-*; in Ś. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. *appa-* is frequent; in the other cases almost only *atta-*, accus. *attāṇaṃ*; Dh. has *appa-* (§401). The form occurring in the Gīrṇār inscriptions, *āpta-*, which is not to be read² *ātpa-* with ASCOLI³ and SENART⁴, shows that *appa-*, by the route *ātma-*, **ātva-* (§251.312), **ātpa*, *āpta*, has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst *atta* is the regular continuation of *ātman*⁵. In *kma*=*ppa* must be added a transition step: *rukma*, **rutma*=*ruppa*. — *dma* becomes *mna*: *chamma*=*chadma* (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form *chaūma* (§139); *po'mma*=*padma* (§166.195) beside *paūma* (§139).

1. At H. 201 in place of *attano*, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read *appano* with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably *appano*, should be read *attano* everywhere. — 2. BHAGVANLĀL INDRAJI, IA. 10,105; FISCHER, GGA.1881, p. 1317 f.; BÜHLER, ZDMG. 37,89. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10. — 4. Piyādasi, 1,26 ff. — 5. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then *nma*, *nma* become *nma* (§269), *nma* becomes *nma* (Vr. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Ki. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), *mna* becomes *nna*, AMg. JM. JŚ. also *nna* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ummoha*=*unmukha* (G.R.), *ummūla*=*unmūla* (H.), *ummūlaṇa*=*unmūlaṇa* (R.), *jamma*=*janman* (H.R.); *manmaṇa*=*manmana* (Hc. 2,42); M. JM.A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (§251); M. *niṇṇa*=*nimna* (Hc. 2,42; G.), *niṇṇaā*=*nimnagā* (G.), AMg. *niṇṇa* (Vivāhap. 1244), *iṣiṇṇiṇṇayara*=*iṣannimnatara* (Vivāhap. 239), *ninnagā* (Paṇhāv. 440); M.Ś. *paṇṇa*=*pradyumna* (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratn. 295,26;296,5.17). In *dhṛṣṭadyumna*, according to Hc. 2,94 *mna* becomes *na*: *dhaṭṭhajjuna* Ś. has *dhaṭṭhajjuna* (Pracandap. 8,19), Mg. *dhiṭṭhajjuna* (Vepī. 35,19), for which should be read *dhiṭṭhayaṇṇa*. If *dhaṭṭhajjuna* is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to **dhṛṣṭārjuna*, as there occurs the synonym *arjuna* for *dyumna*.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. l). One of the sounds is *ya* (Vr. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19): *kya*=*kka*: Ś. *cāṇakka*=*cāṇakya* (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); *pāṇakka*=*pāṇakya* (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. *vakka*=*vākya* (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10 16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26.658,29.31;659,22.33); Ś. *sakka*=*sākya* (Ś.k. 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7). — *khyā*=*kkhā*: M. *akkhāṇa*=*ākhyāṇa* (H.); AMg. *akkhāi*=*ākhyāti* (§491);

Š. *vakkhāṇaissaṃ* = **vyākhyāṇayisyāmi* = *vyākhyāṇte* (Viddhaś. 63,3, Rukmiṇip. 19,3); M. AMg. JM. JS. Š. A. *so'kkha* = *saukhyā* (§ 61^a). On AMg. *āghāve* see § 88.551. — *gya* = *gga*: M.; *jo'gga* = *yogya* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. *veragga* = *vairāgya* (Ovav.; Erz.); M. *sohagga* = *saubhāgya* (G.H.R.) — *gya* = *cca*: AMg. *cuya* = *cyuta* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Kappas.); M. *muccai* = *mucyate* (G.); AMg. *vuccai*, Š. Mg. *vuccadi* = *ucyate* (§ 544). — *jya* = *jja*: M. *jujja* = *yujyate* (H.), *bhujjanta* = *bhujyamāna* (G.); *rajja* = *rājya* (H.R.). — *tya* = *tt*: *ṇatṭaa* = *nātyaka* (Mṛcch. 70,3); M. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4.116), M. A. *tuṭṭai* (§ 292) = *tru tyati*; M. *lōṭṭai* = *lutyati* (Hc. 4.146; Karp. 39,3). — *dya* = *dda*: *kudda* = *kudya* (Hc. 2,78; H.); AMg. *pidḍai* = *pidyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4). — *dhya* = *ddha* = *ādhya* (G.; Sūyag. 957; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.). AMg. JM. *vejaddha* = *vaitādhya* (§ 60). — *pya* = *ppa*: AMg. *appege* **apyeke*, *appegaiyā* = **apyekatyāh* = Pāli *appekacce* (§ 174); M. *kupṭai* = *kupyati* (H.G.), *supṭai* = *supyatām* (H.). — *bhya* = *bbha*: M. *abbhantara* = *abhyantara* (G.H.R.); Š. Mg. *abbhuvapanna* = *abhyupapanna* (§ 163); AMg. JM. *ibbha* = *ibhya* (Thāp. 414.526; Paṇḍāv. 319; Nāyādh. 547.1231; Vivāgas. 82; Ovav.; Erz.). On *d* for *jy* see § 215.

§ 280. In conjunction with dentals *y* is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus *tya* becomes = *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Ki. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23), *thya* = *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), *dya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), *dhya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). — *tya* = *cca*: M. AMg. JM. JS. Š. *accanta* = *atyanta* (§ 163); M. *ṇaccai* = *nṛtyati* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.); M. *do'cca* = *dautya* (H.); AMg. *vejāpacca* = *vaiyāpṛtya* (Ovav.); M. *sacca satya* (G.H.). — *thya* = *cca*: M. Š. *nevaccha*, AMg. JM. *nevaccha* = *nepathya*¹ (G.R.; Vikr. 75,14; Ratn. 309,16 [°*utha*]; Mālatim. 206,7; 234,3 [both the times °*utha*]; Priyad. 27,18; 28,1,4; Viddhaś. 30,8; 120,11 [both the times °*utha*]; Rukmiṇip. 37,15; 41,11 [°*cca*]; 42,5; 43,5,9; Āyār. 2,15,18 [°*utha*]; Vivāgas. 234; Paṇḍāv. 240.459 [both the times °*utha*]; Thāp. 238 [°*utha*]; Nāyādh. § 117 [°*utha*]; Ovav.; Āv. 27,17; Erz.), AMg. JM. also *nevacchiya* (Vivāgas. 111; Paṇḍāv. 196 [both the texts °*uthiya*]; Āv. 28,5) = **nepathyita*; JM. *nevacche'ittā* (absol.; Āv. 26,27); AMg. *paccha* = *pathya* (G.R.; Kappas.); M. Š. *racchā* = *rathyā* (G.H.); Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4; 30,7). — *dya* = *jja*: PG. *ajātāye* = *adyatvāya* (§ 253); M. *ajja* = *adya* (G.H.R.); M. *ujjāna* = *udyāna* (G.R.), *chijja* = *chidyate* (R.), *vijjajjoa* = *vidyuddyota* (G. 907); M. JM. Š. *ve'jja* = *vaidya* (§ 60). — *dhya* = *jja*: M. Š. *uvajjhāa*, AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* = *upādhya* (§ 155); M. *majjha* = *madhya* (G.H.R.); M. AMg. JM. Š. *vinjha* = *vindhya* (§ 269); M. JM. Š. *sanjha* = *sandhya* (§ 269). In Mg. *dya* becomes *yya* corresponding to § 236 (Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāta, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12): *ayya* = *adya*; *avayya* = *avadya*; *mayyā* = *madya*; *viyyāhala* = *vidyādhara*. Corresponding to this *dhya* must become *yyha*, therefore, e.g. *madhyamāna* becomes *mayyhaṇṇa* (§ 148.214.236). The MSS. write throughout *jja*, *jja*, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 *yujjha* = **yudhya* = *yuddha* = M. AMg. JM. Š. A. *jujha* (G.H.); Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 1311.1313; Erz.; Lalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel *i* does not hinder palatalization: AMg. *ciyatta* from **tiyakta* = *tyakta* (Thāp. 528 [text *bi*°]; Kappas. § 117; cf. § 134), absol. *ciccā*, *cēcā*, *ciccāna* *cēcāna* = **tiyakvā*, **tiiktā*, **tiktā* = *tyaktvā* (§ 587), quite like *cajāi* = *tyajati* (Hc. 4,86; Uttar. 902; Daśav. 638,18), *cajanti* = *tyajanti* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [ci°]. 174), *cae* = *tyajet* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *cajāhi* = *tyaja* (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), *caissantī* = *tyaktyanti*

Sūyag. 361), *catta*=*tyakta* (Āyār. 2,15,23.24), JM. *cāi*=*tyāgi* (KJ, 5). AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti*, as M. *jhāi* (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *ccha* and *ttha*, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *ttha* in this word. The v.l. has throughout the only correct form *pevaccha*.

§ 281. D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dāksyātīyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. *ghatta* (Sūyag. 964), *aghatta* (Sūyag. 969.983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*ghātya*, *aghātya*. Yet *ghatta* may also be equated as =*ghātd* according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. *caitta* (Hc. 1,151; 2,13; Mk. fol. 23) is not =*cāitya*¹, but =*cāitra*, in the sense of *cāitya* (B-R. s.v. *cāitra*). — In M. *paṭṭiāi*, AMg. JM. *paṭṭijāi*, Ś. Mg. *paṭṭiādi* (§487) = *pratiyāti* and AMg. *putteya*=*pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,1,5; Sūyag. 28.783; Jiv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Paṇṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyap. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādh. §42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṭṭeyabuddha*=*pratyekabuddha* (Nandis. 245; Paṇṇav. 19) *paṭṭi* = **parati*, **parti* with separation-vowel is from *prati* (§132). *prati* and **parti* may, therefore, be compared with *πρωτι*¹ and *πορτι*². AMg. **paṭṭijam* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN³, to be equated as =*pratyayam*, but as =*pratikam*. On AMg. *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna* etc. see §163. — AMg. JŚ. *tacca* (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.: Kappas.; Kattig. 400,324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as =*tathya*, but with WEBER⁴ and HOERNLE⁵ as =*tāttva*, more correctly through the intermediate step **tāṭṭya* (§299). *tathya* with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tahiyā* = **tathiyā*; it sometimes stands beside *tacca*, as *taccāṇam tahiyāṇam* (Nāyādh. 1006; Uvās. §85), *taccēhim tahiehim* (Uvās. §220.259). — *sāmattha* beside *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22) is not = *sāmarthya*, but presupposes a **sāmartha*. — M. *kutthasi*, *kutthasu*=*kvāthyase*, *kvāthyasva* (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the v.l.) for *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* passive of *kaḍḍhai*=*kvāthati* (§221).

1. With Hc., WEBER, ZDMG. 28,403; on Hāla² 216. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,210. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. *paṭṭiya*. Deviating BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 331 f.; WEBER on Hāla² 216; E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 64. — 3. Aup. S. s.v. — 4. Bhag. 1,398, note 2. — 5. Uvās. Translation p. 177, note 281.

§ 282. *y* is assimilated to a nasal: *nya*, *nya* become *ṇṇa*; in AMg. JM. JŚ. it is written also *nna*; in Mg. (Hc. 4,293; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-ākāra 2,12), P.CP. (Hc. 4,305) they become *ñña*. So M. *dakkhiṇṇa*=*dāksyina* (G.H.R.), *puṇṇa*=*puṇya* (H.R.); AMg. *hiranṇa*=*hiranya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17.18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), Mg. *sahilaṇṇa*=*sahiranya* (Mṛcch. 21,9); AMg. *pinnāga*=*pinyāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūyag. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7), *panna*=*panya* (Sūyag. 921); M.Ś. Mg. *anna*, AMg. JM. *onna*=*anya*; M. *ṇḍsa*=*nyāsa* (H.), *viṇṇāsa*=*vinyāsa* (G.); M.Ś. *maṇṇe*=*manye* (§457); M.Ś. *seṇṇa*=*sainya* (G.R.; Adbhutad. 56,6.19). — Mg. *abamhañña*=*abrahmanya*; *puñña*=*puṇya*; *ahimaññu*=*abhimanyu* (cf. §283); *aññadisam*=*anyadisam*; *kaññakā*=*kanyakā*; *sāmañña*=*sāmānya*; (Hc.; Nāmisādhū). The MSS. of the dramas have only *ṇṇa*. — P. *puñña*=*puṇya*; *abhimāññu*=*abhimanyu*; *kaññakā*=*kanyakā* (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. *kanyā* becomes *kañjā*, according to 12,7 in Ś. *bhāhmaṇya* becomes *bamhaṇṇa* or *bamhañca*, *kanyā* becomes *kaṇṇā* or *kañcā*. The reading in Vr. and Ki. is very doubtful. In Ś. we find in the texts *bamhaṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 89,12), *abbamhaṇṇa*=*abrāhmaṇya* (Śak. 142,8.14; Vikr. 84,13; Karpas. 10,3; 33,10); *kaṇṇā* (Śak. 30,3; 71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālatim. 73,8; 80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1; 243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratn. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [kā]; 11,1.10

etc.); in Mg. Mudrār. 193,3;194,6 [so to be read]. -*mya* becomes *mma*, after a long vowel *ma*: M. *kilammai*, Ś. *kilammadi*=*klāmyati* (§136); M. *tāmai*=*tāmyati* (H.), Ś. *uttamma*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 19,8), *uttammia*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 56,9); *so*=*mma*, AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* (61^a); Ś. *kāmā*=*kāmyayā* (Mṛcch. 49,14).

§ 283. *abhimanyu* becomes, according to Vr. 3,17; Kī. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, *ahimajju*, according to Hc. 2,25 *ahimajju*, *ahimāñju*, *ahimannu*. Ś. has *ahimannu* (Mk.fol.68; Venis. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venis. 34,12), for which *ahimāñju* should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. *manñu* (H.R.; Venis. 9,19;11,15;12,1;61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for *manyu* is used also *mantu*. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a v.l. for *manñu*¹. According to Pāiñāl. 165 *mantu* means "bashfulness", "unpleasantry", the meanings that in Deśin. 6,141 are evidently given to the connected word *mantakkha*. Skt. too has *mantu*², which according to the form, is compared with *kantu* (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER on Hāla 683. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāiñāl. s.v.

§ 284. *yya* becomes *jja* (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Kī. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M. AMg. JM. *śējā*=*śayyā* (§101), in Mg. P. CP. *yya* (§252). — *rya* becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., *jja* (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Kī. 2,89; Mk.fol.21): M. *ajja*=*ārya* (G.) *ajjā*=*āryā* (H.), *kajja*=*kārya* (G.H.) *majjā*=*maryādā* (H.R.). In Ś. Mg. according to Hc. 4,266.302 *rya* can become *jja* or *yya*: Ś. *ayya*ūta *ṣayyakulikada mhi*=*āryaputra paryākulikṛtāsmi*; *suyya*=*sūrya*; beside *ajja*=*ārya*; *pajjāula*=*paryākula*; *kajjaparavasa*=*kāryaparavasa*; Mg. *ayya*=*ārya*. The writing *yya* is found only sometimes in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write, however, in place of the ligature a small circle: *aoa*=*ārya*; *paovasthāhāvehi*=*paryavasthāpaya*; *suoya*=*sūrya*, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations *jja* and *yya*¹ or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER², has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER³ wished to read as *yya*, which, however, with JACOBI⁴, and E. MÜLLER⁵, is read as *jja*. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jains. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects *jja*. Right is *jja* for Ś., *yya* for Mg. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: *kayya*=*kārya*, and is offered by Lalitav.: *payyamde*=*paryante* (565,7), *avayyamdadā*=*aparyantatā* (565,12). Instead of *jja* there occurs after *i*, *ā*, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, *ria*, *riya* (§134), also *ra*, therefore, elision of *y* according to §87 (Vr. 3,18.19; Hc. 2,63; Kī. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. *gambhira*=*gāmbhīrya* (R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ā*. *tūra*=*tūrya* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vikr. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venis. 23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgala 1,15); M. *soḍira*=*śauḍīrya* (Mk.; R.), Ś. *soḍirattana* (Karp. 30,7), *soḍira*=*śauḍīrya* (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6), *soṇḍiradā* (Mṛcch. 54,4;74,12). So especially in the passive, as *jirai*=*jīryate*, M. JM. *tirai*, *tirae*=*tīryate*, M. JM. *hirai*=*hīryate* (§537), M. AMg. JM. *kirai*=*kīryate* (§547)⁶. The word *sūra*, Mg. *śūra* frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from *sūra*. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in *bhāriā*=*bhāryā*. Hc. has also *suja*=*sūrya*, for which **suyya* was expected, and *kirate* for **kīryate*=*kīryate* (4,316). — *kacca* (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=*kārya*, but=*kṛtya*.

1. FISCHEL, GN. 1873, p. 208; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften für Berlin 1875, p. 615 f. — 2. Beiträge p. 12. — 3. Bhag. 1,388 f. — 4. Kalpasūtra p. 18 note 1. — 5. Beiträge p. 12 f. — 6. Falsely JACOBI, KZ. 28,250.

§ 285. Like simple *ra* (§256.257), sometimes even *r*, that is in conjunction with *y*, is changed into *l*, to which *y* is assimilated: JM. *pallāṇa*=*paryāṇa* (Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.), whilst AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* is=*pratyādāṇa* (§258); *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. *pallaṅka* (Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36,3) can, like AMg. *paliyaṅka* (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. *palyaṅka*, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-form of *paryāṅka*. In *pallaṣṭa* (Hc. 2,68), Ś. *pallaṭṭha* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bālar. 243,11; Venis. 60,10; 65,13; Mallikām. 26,18; 57,9; 125,6; 135,16; 195,3; Rukmiṇīp. 29,8), M.AMg.Ś. *palhattha* (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. *as*; Kappas; Mrcch. 41,20; Mālatīm. 118,3; 260,5), M. *vivalhattha*, Ś. *vipalhattha* (Uttarar. 63,13 [text °*nha*°]; 92,10 [text °*nha*°]) and their denominatives *pallaṣṭai*, *palhatṭhai* (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. *as*), AMg. *palhatthiya* (Pāṭyāl. 201; Vivāhap. 282.284; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the grammarians, scholiasts and all the moderners¹ from *as* (to throw) with *pari*, two roots are to be referred to. *pallaṣṭa* and *palhatṭha* are=*paryasta* (§308), *palhatṭha*, on the contrary=**prahlata* is from *hla*=*hras* with *pra*; cf. *nirhrasta*, *nirhrasita*. M. *palhattharaṇa* (R. 11,108) is a false reading for *paccattharaṇa*, as CK have=**pratyāstarāṇa*; cf. *pratyāstāra* (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 521; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 45.64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. 2 *as*; Sh. P. PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho s.v. *as*; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v. *palhatṭha*; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,434 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. §137.143.

§ 286. *lya* becomes *lla*: M. *kalla*=*kalya* (G.H.); M. *kullāhi tullā*=*kulyābhis tulyāḥ* (Karp. 44,6); M.AMg. JŚ. Ś. *mulla*, AMg. JM. *mōlla*=*mālya* (§83.127).—*vya* becomes *vva*: M. *vavasḍa*=*vyavaṣḍya* (G.R.), *vāha*=*vyādha* (G.H.), *kavva*=*kāvya* (G.H.R.); the participia necess. in *-tava*, as AMg. JM. *hojavva*, Ś.Mg. *hodavva*, JŚ.Ś. *bhavidavva*, Mg. *huvudavva*=*bhavitavva* (§570). AMg. *pittijja* (Kappas.) is not=**pitrya*¹, but=**pitriya*. AMg. *pūha* (Nāyādh. §18; p. 331.353.845; Ovav.) is not=*vyūha*², but=**pyūha* for **apyūha* from *ūh* with *api* (§142). *pp* in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT³ and S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ wish to explain from *vy*, which WEBER⁵ earlier regarded as erroneously written *yy*, JACOBI⁶ and according to him JOHANSSON⁷ wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*, M. JM.AMg.A. *ghēppai* is=**ghēpyate* for **grbhate*=*grhyate* (§212.548). JM. *ādhappai* (Hc. 4,254; Āv. 12,21) beside *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,254) and M. *vidhappai* (Hc. 4,251; R.) beside *vidhavijjai* (Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,155; Ki. 4,46) and *vidhavai* (Hc. 4,108), the causatives from *dha* (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMg. JM. *ādhatta*, M. *samādhatta* M. JM.Ś. *vidhatta*, A. *vidhattaṭṭha* (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that *ādhatta* would be=**ādhapta*, like *ānatta*=*ājñapta*; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)⁸.—*sippai*=*snihyate* and *sicyate* (Hc. 4,255), M. *sippanta*- (v.l. to H.185) belongs to *simpai* (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī *śimṇem*, Gujarātī *śimṇum*⁹ and presupposes a root **sip*, which was parallel to *sic* from **sik*. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To **sip* belongs M. AMg. Ś. *sippi* (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhaś. 63,8; Uvās.; Bālar. 195,9; 264,3; Viddhaś. 108,2)=Pāli *sippi*, Marāṭhī *śipa*, *śimpa*, Gujarātī *śipa*, Hindi *sipi*, *sipa*, Sindhi *sipa*¹⁰.—*vāhippai* (Hc. 4,253), JM. *vāhippantu* (Āv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from *vrh*, is=*vyāhriyate*, is rather=*vyākṣipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Skt., as *samākṣip* occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we

have M. *nīhīpanta-* (R.8,97)=*nīkṣīpyamāṇa*, which is wrongly derived from *vāhā* by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. From this may be derived M. *nīhitta*, AMg. JM. *nīhitta* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. *nīhittā* (Hc. 4,395,2) and M.AMg. JM. *vāhitta* (Hc. 1,128;2,99; Pāṇīyā. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Āv.38,6)¹¹=*nīkṣīpta*, *vākṣīpta*. Possible is also, however, the explanation from *nīhita*, *vāhṛta* according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. *khuppai* (sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51), M. *khuppanta-* (R.), past passive participle M.AMg. *khutta* (R.; Pāṇhāv. 201), explained by S.GOLDSCHMIDT¹² from **khuyai* and derived from *khu=khan*, is=**kṣuyati* from *Vkṣupa avasādane*, *sāde* (WESTERGAARD, Radices p. 333). — *juppai* (yokes; Hc.4,109) is=*yuppati* from *yupa ekikaraṇe*, *saṁikaraṇe* (B.-R. s.v.), with which may be compared AMg. *juvala*, *juvalaja*, *juvalija* (§231). — M. *pahuppai* (Hc. 3,142;4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R.), which has been explained by WEBER¹ as a deponentially used passive of *bha* with *pra*, is a denominative from *prabhutva*=**prabhutvati* “exercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. *pahuccā* (Hc. 4,390.491), which presupposes a **prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. *ohuppanta-* (R. 3,18)=**apabhutvanti*. The scholiasts explain it by *ākrāmyamāṇa* and *abhibhūyamāṇa*. It belongs to *ohivai*=**apibhāvati*=**apabhāvyati* in the sense of *ākrāmati* (Hc.4,160), from which spring also *ohāia*, *ohāmai*, *ohāmiṇa* (§261) and *ohua* (overcome; Desin. 1,158)=**apabhūta-*. M. *oppāhai* (entrusts; Hc. 4,180), *oppāhei*, *oppāhēnta-*, *oppāheun*, *oppāhijai*, *oppāhia* (H.R.), which S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹⁴ artificially derives from an impossible **āvyāhṛta*, and WEBER¹⁵ doubtfully equates as=*har+abhyā*, is regularly=**āprārthayati* from *pratha prakhyāne* (Dhātupāṭha 32,19); cf. *viprathayati*, *saṁprakhita*.

1. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 17,35. — 2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. with the scholiasts. — 3. GN. 1874, p. 512 f. — 4. ZDMG. 29,491 ff.; Prakṛtica p. 3,13 note 1,17 f. — 5. ZDMG. 28,350; Hāla¹ p. 64; cf. IS. 14,92 f. — 6. KZ. 28, 249 ff. — 7. KZ. 32,446 ff.; where occur further literary details. — 8. The derivation from *rah* is linguistically impossible. — 9. FISCHER on Hc. 4,96 — 10. FISCHER on Hc. 2,138. — 11. Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 513 note.; JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *nīhitta*. — 12. Prakṛtica p. 17 f.; against it JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 448, note 1. — 13. On Hāla 7. — 14. Rāvaṇavaho s.v. — 15. Hāla s.v.

§287. II) One of the sounds is *r* (Vr.3,3; C.3,9; Hc.2,79; Ki.2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *rka*=*kka*; M. *akka*=*arka* (G.); AMg. *kakkeṇa*=*karketana* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *takkemi*=*tarkayāmi* (§ 490). On M. *kaṁkoda*, *kaṁkoṣa* beside M.AMg. *kakkoṣa*=*karkoṣa* see §74. — *kra*=*kka*; A. *kijai*=*kriyati* (§547); M. *cakka*=*cakra* (G.), *vikkama*=*vikrama* (G.). On M.AMg. JM. A. *vaṁka*=*vakra* see §74. — *rkha*=*kkha*; Ś.Mg. *mukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§139). — *rga*=*gga*; Ś. *niggamamagga*=*nirgamamārga* (Lalitav. 567,24); M. *duggama* *durgama* (G.R.), *vaḡga*=*varga* (G.H.R.). — *gra*=*gga*; PG. *gāmāgāmabhojake*=*grāmāgrāmabhojokān* (5,4), *gāme*=*grāme* (6,28), *gahaṇam*=*grahaṇam* (6,31.33.34), *nigaha*=*nigraha* (7,41); M. *gaha*=*graha* (G.H.R.); AMg. JM. *naḡgoha*, *naḡgoha*=*nyagrodha* (C. 3,9; Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Pāṇnav. 31; Vivāhap. 116[?]. 1530; Kappas. §212[?]; see also the v.l.]; Āv.48,25; Erz.); AMg. JS. *niggantha*=*nirgrantha* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4.6.15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Katūg. 404,386). — *rgh*=*ggha*; M. *nigghina*=*nirghṛṇa* (H.), *nigghosa*=*nirghoṣa* (R.), Ś.Mg. *digghā*=*dirghikā* (§ 87). — *ghra*=*ggha*; *āigghā*=*ājighrati*, *jigghia*=**jighrati*, M.AMg. *agghāi*=*āghrāti*, *agghāia*=**āghrāyita* (§408). — *rea*=*cca*; M. *accā*=*arcā* (G.); JM.Ś.D. *kucca*

=*kūrca* (Erz.; Śak. 134,4; Karp. 22,8; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); Ś. *caccari* *carcari* (Ratn. 293,17,18). — *rch=cch*: M. *mucchā=mūrchā* (R.). — *chra=ccha*: Ś. *samucchida=samucchrita* (Mṛcch. 68,15). — *ria=ija*: M. *ajjuna=arjuna* (G.), *gajjia=garjita* (G.H.R.), *jajjara=jarjara* (G.H.), *bhuva* (birch; Deśin. 6,106) is not=*bhūja*, but=*bhuja* (Vaijayanti 48,89), therefore, M. *bhuavatta* (G. 641)=**bhuja**apatta*. In Mg. *rya* becomes *yya* (Vr. 11,7; Hc. 4,292); *ayyuna=arjuna*; *kayya=kārya*; *gayyadi=garjati*; *gunavayyida=gunavarjita*; *duyyana=durjana*. The MSS. of the dramas have only *jja*, thus *kajja* (Mṛcch. 126,6; 139,23); *dujjana* (Mṛcch. 115,23). — *jra=jja*: M. *vajja=vajra* (G.H.R.). — *rjha=jjha*: M. *ñijjhara=nirjhara* (G.H.). — *rna=na*: M. *kaṇṇa=kaṇa* (G.H.R.), *cuṇṇa=cūrṇa* (G.H.R.). *vaṇṇa=varṇa* (G.H.). *kaṇṇikāra* can, beside *kaṇṇiāra*, form also *kaṇiāra* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,95; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol 27). So AMg. *kaṇiāra* (Āyār. p. 128,28), A. *kaṇiāra* (Hc. 4,396,5). The form shows accentuation on the final=**kaṇṇikārd*. On *kaṇera* see §258. A *cūra* (Hc. 4,337) is not=*cūrṇa*, which too becomes in A. *cuṇṇa* (Hc. 4,395,2), but=**cūrya*. — *rpa=ppa*: M. *kuppara*, AMg. *kōppara* (§127); M. *kuppāsa=kurpāsa* (G.H.), *dappa=darpa* (G.H.R.). — *pra=ppa*: PG.; *amhapesaṇappayutta=asmatpreṣaṇaprayuktān* (5,6), *oppatihata=opratiḥata* (6,10), *satasaḥasappadāyino=śatasaḥasapradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *patibhāgo=pratibhāgaḥ* (6,12 e.c.) etc.; M. *pia=priya* (G.H.R.) *appia=apriya* (H.). — *rba=bbā*: AMg. *kabbaḍa=karbaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,2,6; Sūyag. 684; Thāp. 347; Paṇḥāv. 175. 246. 406. 486; Nāyādh. 1278; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40,295; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *ñibbandha=nirbandha* (Mṛcch. 5,4; Śak. 51,14); M. *dōbballa=daurbalya* (G.H.R.). — *bra=bbā*: PG. *bamhaṇāṇam=brāhmaṇāṇam* (6,8. 27. 30. 38), AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (§250), Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* (e.g. Mṛcch. 4,16. 18. 21. 24; 5,5; 6,2; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,17; 121,10; 127,4; Śak. 113,7); Ś. *abbamhaṇa=abrāhmaṇya* (§282). — *rbha=bbha*: M. *gobbha=garbha* (G.H.R.), *ñibbhara=nirbhara* (G.H.R.); Ś. *dubbhējja=durbhedyā* (Mṛcch. 68,19). — *bhra=bbha*: PG. *bhātukāṇa=bhātrākāṇam* (6,18); M. *paribbhamaṇi=paribhramati* (G.H.), *bhamara=bhramara* (G.H.R.). — *rma=mma*: AMg. *ummi=ūrmi* (Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. M. *dhamma=dharma* (5,1; G.H.R.), PG. *dhamāyubala=dharmāyurbala*° (6,9), *siṇakhaṇḍavama=siṇakhaṇḍavarmā* (5,2), Ś. *dummaṇussa=durmaṇusya* (Mṛcch. 18,8; 40,14). — *mra=mma*: M. *dhummakḥha=dhūmrākṣa* (R.); AMg. *makkhei=mrakṣayati* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8), *makkhējja=mrakṣayati* (Āyār. 2,13,4). — *rla=lla*: M. *ñillajja=nirlajja* (H.R.), *dullaha=durlabha* (H.). — *rva=va*: PG. *savvattha=sarvatra* (5,3), *puvvaḍattam=pūrvadattam* (6,12,28); M. *puvva=pūrvā*, *savva=sarva* (G.H.R.). — *vra=va*: Ś. *pārivājāa=parivājaka* (Mṛcch. 41,5.7.10.17); M. *vaa=vraja* (H.); AMg. *vihi=vrīhi* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682; Thāp. 134; Vivāhap. 421.1185; Jiv. 356). On *rya* see §284.285.

§288. In conjunction with dentals *r* may be regularly assimilated. *rita=ita*: PG. *nivātanaṇam=nivartanam* (6,38); M. *āvatta=āvarta* (G.R.), *kitti=kirti* (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. *dhutta=dhūrta* (Mṛcch. 30,12; 32,7; 34,25; 35,1; 36,23); M. *muhutta=muhūrta* (H.R.). — *itra=ita*: PG. *goṭṭasa=gotrasya* (6,9 etc.); M. *kalatta=kalatra* (H.R.), *citta=citra*, *patta=patra*, *sattu=śatru* (G.H.). — *rtha=ttha*: M. *attha=artha* (G.H.R.), *patthiva=pārthiva* (G.R.), *sattha=sārtha* (G.H.R.), *samattha=samartha* (H.R.). — *rda=dda*: PG. *balivadda=balivarda* (6,33); M. *kaddama=kardama* (G.H.R.), *daddura=dardura* (G.), *duddina=durdina* (G.R.). — *dra=dda*: PG. *ācanda=ācandra*° (6,29); M. *inda=indra*, *ñiddā=nidrā* (G.H.R.), *bhadda=bhadra* (G.H.), *samudda*

=*samudra* (G. H. R.). — *rdha*=*ddha* : PG. °*vadhanike* = °*vardhanikān* (6,9); M. *addha*=*ardha* (G.H.R.), *niddhūma*=*nirdhūma* (H.R.); AMg. *muddha*=*mūrdhan* (§402). — *dīra*=*ddha*: AMg. *saddhim*=*sadhrim* (§103).

§ 289. In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is *r*, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians (Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Kī. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22) in the case of *rt* cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Kī.; Mk. in the *ākṛtigāṇa dhūrtādi*. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. *aṭṭa*=*ārta* (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,2,5,5; 1,4,2,2; 1,6,1,4; Sūyag. 401; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *aṭṭataraṇ* (Sūyag. 282); AMg. *aṭṭiya*=°*ārtita* (Ovav.); in addition to *kavaṭṭa* (§246); but Ś. *atti*=*ārti* (Śak. 57,4). — AMg. *kīṭṭai*=*kīrtayati* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), *kīṭṭe* (Sūyag. 661), *kīṭṭimāṇa* (Sūyag. 663), *kīṭṭittā* (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappa.), *kīṭṭiya* (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyag. 578.661), but always *kitti*=*kīrti* in all the dialects (§ 83.288). — *kevaṭṭa*=*kaivarta* (Hc.; Mk.), *kevaṭṭaa* (Bh.). — M. AMg. JM. *cakkavaṭṭi*=*cakravartin* (Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thān. 80.197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7.1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *cakkaṭṭi* (Caṇḍak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. *naṭṭaga*=*nartaka* (Ovav.; Kappas.); *naṭṭaa* (Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22); *naṭṭai*=*nartaki* (Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30). — Ś. Dh. *bhaṭṭā*=*bhartā* in the sense of "Lord", but in all the dialects *bhaṭṭā* in the sense of "husband", "consort" (§ 390); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraṇa*, Ś. *bhaṭṭidāra*, *bhaṭṭidāri* (§55). — The root *ṛt* forms M. *vaṭṭasi* (H.), *vaṭṭai* (R.), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai* (Vivāhap. 268.1408; Erz. 6,3), AMg. *vaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 35), M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭanta* (R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāhap. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), JŚ.Ś. *vaṭṭadi* (Pav. 382,27; Lalitav. 560,15; Mṛcch. 2,20,3,1,20; 169,21; Śak. 37,7; 59,12; Vikr. 21,10; 52,1; Caṇḍak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,3; 28,20 etc.), JŚ. *vaṭṭadu* (Pav. 387,21), Mg. *vaṭṭāmi* (Mṛcch. 32,22). Likewise with prefixes, pro ex. M. *āvaṭṭanta*, *āvaṭṭamāṇa* (R.); AMg. *anupaṛivaṭṭamāṇa* (Sūyag. 328), *anupaṛivaṭṭai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 1,2,6,5), *niyaṭṭai* (Uttar. 116), *niyaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,6,4,1), *niyaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *niyaṭṭaejjā* (Sūyag. 415), *uvaṭṭeṭṭi* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *uvaṭṭeṭṭi* (Āyār. 2,2,3,9), JM. *uvaṭṭiya* (Erz.), Ś. *paṭṭadi*=*pravartate* (Mṛcch. 71,7), A. *paṭṭai* (Hc. 4,347), and in derivatives, such as AMg. *paṛiyaṭṭanā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,1,4,2; Ovav.), *paṛiyaṭṭaya* (Kappas.), but M. Ś. *paṛiattaṇa*, *paṛivattana* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6), AMg. *paṛiyatta*=*paṛivarta* (Ovav.); AMg. *saṃvaṭṭaga* (Uttar. 1056). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Gr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. *uvattaṭṭai* (G.), *niattaṭṭai* (G.H.R.), *paṛiattaṭṭai* (G.), *paṛivattasu* (H.), *paṛiattanta*, *paṛivattium* (R.); AMg. *paṛvattaṭṭai* (Paṇṇav. 62); Ś. *niattiadi* (Vikr. 46,19), *niattiadu* (Mṛcch. 74,25; 78,10 [°*va*]), *niattissadi* (Vikr. 17,2), *niattaissadi* (Śak. 91,6), *niattāvehi*, *niattadu* (Śak. 91,5,6), *niattāsu* (Śak. 87,1,2 [to be so read]), *niavattamāṇa* (Vikr. 5,11), *niavattehi*, *niavattedu* (Mṛcch. 27,12.15), *niavattamha* (Śak. 74,3) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. *vaṭṭaya*=*vartaka* (quail; Āyār. 2,10,12; Sūyag. 100; Uvās.), *vaṭṭaga* (Sūyag. 681.708.722.747), but *vattiā*=*vartikā* (Bh.; Hc.) against *vaṭṭā* (Mk.). — AMg. *vaṭṭi*=*varti* (Hc. 2,30) in *gandhavaṭṭi* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) against M. *vatti* (H.). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolutive, as AMg. *kaṭṭu*=*kartu*°, *āhaṭṭu*=*āhartu*°, *saṃāhaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu* etc. (§ 577). On *kāum*, *kādum*=*kartum* etc. § 62. — Transition to the

media occurs in AMg. *gaḍḍa*=*garta* (Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246,479); *gaḍḍā*=*gartā* (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. *rtha* becomes *ltha* in AMg. JM. *aṭṭha*=*artha* in the sense of "reason", "cause", "thing", "story", but *attha* in the sense of "wealth", "money" (Hc. 2,33). So especially in the phrase AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samatṭhe* (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. *se ten' aṭṭheṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218,219), *se ken' aṭṭheṇaṃ* (Uvās. §218,219); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāe* (Uttar. 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.), *aṭṭhāyāe* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); JM. *aṭṭhā* (Erz.). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning "thing", "story" (Ovav.) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. *iccatṭham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), and more frequently in JM. (Erz.). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.¹ AMg. has also *anaṭṭha* "aimless", "false" (Uvās.; Ovav.), *niraṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 113), *samatṭha* (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. *caṭṭha*=*caturtha*, Hc. 2,33 teaches also *caṭṭha*; beside Ś. *caduttiha*, there occurs also *caduttiha* (§449). AMg. *addhuttiha* is=*ardha*+**turtha* (§450). On *kavattia* said to be=*kadarthita* see § 246,289. In Mg. *rtha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); *ese aste*=*eso 'rthah* (Nāmis.); *astavādī*=*arthavādī*, *śastavāhe*=*sārhavāhaḥ* (Hc. 4,291); *tista*=*tirtha* (Hc. 4,301). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has *yahastam* (read *yadhastam*)=*yathārtham*, but 566,7 *śastasā*=*sārthasā* and 566,8, *paṭidum*=*prārthayitum* with *sta*. In Mṛcch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have *attha*, likewise Caṇḍak. 60,11; Prabh. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads *palamacco*. Mṛcch. 145,17 K in GODABOLE has *accha*, 158,21 the very good manuscript E has *aṣṭa*. In Mṛcch. 138,17 the MSS. have *kajjattṭhi* for *kyyattī*; in Śak.114,11 there stands *vikkaattṭham*=*vikrayārtham*, 115,7 *sāmippasādattṭham*=*svāmiprasādārtham*, Prabh. 28,15 has *tittṭhichim*=*tirthikaḥ*, 29,7 *tittṭhā*=*tirthikāḥ*. Mṛcch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 STENZLER has *śatthavāha*=*sārthavāha*, 133,1, *śaṭṭhavāha*. The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in GODABOLE correctly has *śastavāha*, to which the reading *śasyastavāha* of B and *śatchavāha* of H point². The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *attha*. —

2. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1319 f.

§ 291. *rda* becomes *ḍḍa* in *kavaḍḍa*=*kaparda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23); — *gaḍḍaha*=*gardabha* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Ki. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23) beside *gaddaha* (Hc. 2,37; Pāṇīal. 150), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Dh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 (Sūyag. 204,724 f. 727 [°bha]; Samav. 83; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mṛcch. 43,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 79,13;175,14), JM. *gaddabhi* and *gārdabhi* (Kk.), *gaddabhillā* (Kk.), *gaddabbha*=**gārdabha* (unharmonious, shrill; Deśin. 2,82; Pāṇīal. 204); *gaddaha* (Deśin. 2,83), *gaddahaja* (Pāṇīal. 39; white lotus); Dh. *gaddahi* (Mṛcch. 29,19). Kāleyśk. 25,15 *gaḍḍuho* [sic] is edited in Ś. — *chaḍḍai*=*chardati* (Hc.2,36); AMg. *chaḍḍējjā* (Āyār.2,1,3,1) *chaḍḍasi* (Uvās. § 95), JM. *chaḍḍijjā* (Āv. 41,8), *chaḍḍei*, *chaḍḍijjau*, *chaḍḍiṇa* (Erz.); A. *chaḍḍēṇu* (Hc. 4,422,3); JŚ. *chaḍḍida* (Pav. 387,18; Tex. °ya); *chaḍḍi*=*chardī* (Hc. 2,36); JM. *chaḍḍī*=*chardis* (Erz.); AMg. *chaḍḍiyalliyā* (Ovav.); M. JM.Ś. *vicchaḍḍa*=*vicchardā* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāṇīal. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.; Anarghar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read]); *vicchaḍḍi*=*vicchardī* (Vr. 3,26; Ki. 2,23); AMg. *vicchaḍḍaṭṭā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *vicchaḍḍia* (R.). AMg. JM. *vicchaḍḍiya* (Ovav.; Pāṇīal. 79), Ś. *vicchaḍḍida* (Uttarar. 20,11; Mālatim. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anarghar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere]). — *maḍḍai*=*mardate* (Hc. 4,126), but Ś. *maddiadi*=*mardyate* (Mṛcch. 69,9);

maddia=*mardita* (Hc. 2,36); *saṁmadda*=*saṁmarda* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Ki. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23), but M. J.M.Š. *saṁmadda* (G.; Erz.; Mṛch. 325,17); *saṁmaddia*=*saṁmardita* (Hc. 2,36). Against these Š. *uamadda*=*upamarda* (Mṛch. 18,11); AMg. *paṁaddaṇa*=*pramardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṁaddi*=*pramardin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *pāṁaddā*=**pāṁamardā* (stamping asunder of corns with the feet; Deśin. 6,40); AMg. *parimaddaṇa*=*parimardana* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *piḍhamadda*=*piḍhamarda* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Š. *piḍhamaddiā* (Mālav. 14,9); Adbhutad. 72,13;91,9), AMg. *vāṁaddaṇa*=*vyāṁardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *viaddi*=*vitardi* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Ki. 2,23). — *khuddia*=*kūrdita*, *saṁkhuddai*=*saṁkūrdati* (§ 206), beside AMg. *ukkhuddai* (Uttar. 788). According to Mk. fol. 23, some taught also *taḍḍū*=*tardū*. — *rdha* has become *ḍdha* in; AMg. J.M. *aḍḍha*=*ardha* beside *adḍha*, as the other dialects alone have (Hc. 2,41; § 450); *aḍḍha*, pro ex. also in AMg. *avaḍḍha*=*apārdha* (Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhap. 1057.1306), *saḍḍha*, *aṇaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 354), *divaḍḍha* (§ 450); J.M. *aḍḍhamāsa* (Erz.), beside *addha*^o (Kk.) and AMg. *māsaddha* (Vivāhap. 168); J.M. *aḍḍharatta*=*ardharātra* (Erz.) etc.; M.A.Mg. J.M.Š.Mg.Ā.A. *aḍḍha* (G.H.R.; Samav. 156.158; Thān. 265; Jiv. 231.632 f.; Vivāhap. 209.1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Mṛch. 69,16; Caṇḍak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mg. Mṛch. 31,17.20.23.25;32,5;133,10;168,20.21; Śak. 118,4; Ā. Mṛch. 100,12; A. Hc. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6.61 ff.). — M. AMg. J.M. *vaḍḍhai*=*vardhate* (Vr. 8,44; Hc. 4,220; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 23; H.R.; Āyār. 2,16,5 [°i]; Sūyag. 460; Vivāhap. 160; Kk.); Š. *vaḍḍhadi* (Vikr. 10,20;19,7;49,4;78,18;88,14; Mālav. 25,4). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name *vardhamāna* becomes AMg. J.Š. Š. *vaḍḍhamāna* (Āyār. 2, 15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛch. 25,18;44,24;45,5 etc.), but AMg. also *vaddhamāna* (C. 3,26; Āyār. 2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas.), as also AMg. *nandisaḍḍhaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Kappas.) and *vaḍḍhāvei* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Niraṣāv.) are said. For *govardhana* Mk. fol. 24 teaches *govaddhaṇa*. Š. has *govaddhaṇa* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5).

§ 292. *tra* has become *ṭṭa* in M. A. *ṭṭṭai*=*trutyati* (R.; Piṅgala 1,65.68) beside AMg. *ṭṭṭai* (Sūyag. 100.105.148), *ṭṭṭanti* (Sūyag. 539); *ṭṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230); A. *ṭṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356). According to Vr. 12,5 in Š. *putra* in certain cases (*kvacit*) can become *puḍa*. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of *pāṭaliputra*, which will have been **pāṭalipuṭa* (§ 238, note 2), which must have regularly become **pāḍaliuḍa*. To the Skt. form corresponds M.Mg. *pāḍaliuṭta* (H. 2,150; Mṛch. 37,3), J.M. *pāḍaliputta* (Āv. 8,1;12,1.40; Erz.), Š. *pāḍaliputta* (Mudrār. 149,3). In Mg. STENZLER writes in Mṛch. 118,1;119,11.21;124,5;129,18;132,9.164,16;165,3 *puṭhaka*=*putraka*. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to *pustaka* or to *puṭhaka*. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. *puttaka*, and in Mg. in Mṛch. *putta* 19,19;116,8;129,7;133,1;160,11;166,1;167,24;168,3; *puttaka* 114,16;122,15;158,20; *saḍṭṭaka* 166,18.21 stand. STENZLER likes to correct it to *puṭhaka* at p. 294 on 114,16. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have *pustake*, *puṭhake*, *puthake*, otherwise all have °*ṭṭa*°, which will be right. As at 158,19 for *ṇattike*=*naṭṭikah* the vv. ll. *ṇattihike* (so STENZLER, GODABOLE and the Calc. editions in the text), *ṇattike*, *ṇattike* also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from *rṭha* (§ 290). After a long vowel *tra* frequently becomes *ṭa* through *ta* in AMg., as *gāṭe*=*gātra*, *goṭa*=*gotra*; *dhāi*=*dhātri*; *pāi*=*pātri* (§ 87). In *rātri* the same law occurs in M.Š. (§ 87). *dhāri* (nurse; Hc. 2,81) is not=*dhātri*, but is derived from *ṭṭhai* (to suckle) with suffix *-ra*=“wet nurse”. Cf. *dhāru*.

§ 293. Against 288 *tra* apparently becomes *ttha* in the adverbs ending in *-tra*, as *anṇattha*=*anyatra* (Hc. 2,161;3,59); *Ś. attha*=*atra* in *atthabhavaṃ* (Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9), *atthabhavado* (Mālav. 27,11), *atthabhodī* (Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1); M.AMg. JM. *kattha*=*kutra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D. *jattha*=*yatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig.; 401,353; Uttarar. 20,11;21,10; D. Mṛcch. 100,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tattha*=*tatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī. 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7;1,1,2, 1.2 etc.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6), in Ś. also in *tatthabhavaṃ* (Vikr.46,6;47,2;75,3,15), *tatthabhavadā* (Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav.10,13), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16), *tatthabhodī* (Mṛcch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4 7.13;18.5 etc.); *iarattha*=*itaratra* (Bh. 6,2); M. JM. *savatttha*=*sarvatra* (Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59.60; G.H.R.; Erz.). Meanwhile PG.M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg.D. *Ā. ēttha*, *A. ētthu* (§107), on account of the *e*, cannot be equated as=*otra*, but as=*Vedic itthā*. From *i* the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that *kattha* must be derived from **katthā*, *jattha* from **yatthā* etc.¹. The regular continuation of *yatra*, *tatra* are *A. jattu*, *tattu* (Hc. 4,404; cf. 268), of *anyatra*, *ḍh anṇatta* (Mṛcch. 36,23;39,10). Mg. *atta*=*atra* (Mṛcch. 161,17;167,17) is probably false. In the first place D. has *ēttha*, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing *atthabhavaṃ*, *tatthabhavaṃ*, which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have², and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous³. On *A. kēttthu*, *jēttthu*, *tēttthu* see §107. — *Ś. mahāmētttha*=*mahāmātra* (Mṛcch. 40,22) is a false reading for *mahāmētta*, as the MSS. D H in GODABOLE p.120 read, and *mēttthapurisa* = **mātrapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 69,12) for *mahāmēttthapurisa* (cf. D in GODABOLE p. 196), since *mātra* becomes only *mitta*, *mētta* (§109). Cf. also *mēṇṭha*, JM. *miṇṭha* (mahout, elephant-driver; Deśin. 6,138; Erz.), Pāli *mēṇḍa*. — *M. paṭṭhi* (H. 240), which WEBER wishes to equate as=*pātrī*, is a false reading for *pacchī* (Deśin. 6,1), Pāli *pacchi*; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.

1. Others in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; R. s.v. *kattha*; WEBER on H. 240. Cf. FISCHEL, BB. 3,253. — 2. BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 20,11 p. 177. — 3. FISCHEL, De Kālidāsae Çākuntalī recensionibus p. 34 f.

§ 294. *dra* has become *dda* in AMg. JM. *khudda*=*kṣudra* (Deśin.2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Thān. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559.622. 663.1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz.); *khuddāa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105), AMg. JM. *khuddāya*, *femin. khuddīyā* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Thān. 67; Paṇhāv. 520; Vivāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6), AMg. *khuddaga* (Sūyag. 872; Thān. 545; Vivāhap. 1101; Ovav.), *khuddāga* (§70); rarely AMg. also *khudda* (Sūyag. 504) and *khuddāya* (Kappas.). — Like simple *da* becoming *la* (§244), *dda*, originating from *dra*, also becomes *lla* in M. AMg. *alla*, beside M.AMg. JM. Ś. *adda*=*ārdra* (§111), and *chilla* (hole; hut; Deśin. 3,35), *uchilla* (hole; Deśin. 1,95), beside M.AMg. JM. *chidda* (H.; Uvās.; Erz.) and AMg. JM. *chiḍḍa* (Nirayāv.; Āv. 41,4,5; Erz. v.l.), M. *chiddia*=*chidrita* (G.). On *culla* see § 325. M. *maṣai* is not=*mardati*, but=*mradata* (§244). The synonymous *maḍhaī* (Hc. 4,126) is=*maḥati* from *maṣha mardanivāsayaḥ* (Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to *math*, *manth*. On *dra* beside *dda* see § 268.

§ 295. *b* is inserted between *m* and *r* in *āmra* and *tāmra*. The sound-group *mbra* created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: *ambira*, *tambira*(§137), or in it *r* is assimilated. So M.AMg. JM. *amba*

(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Ki. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 145; H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4,6; 2,7,2,2 ff.; 2,10,21; Thāp. 205; Paṇṇav. 482,531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz.); AMg. *ambaga* (Aṇuttar. 11; Uttar. 231,983 ff.); AMg. *ambāḍaga* = *āmṛātaka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,4; Paṇṇav. 482). — M. AMg. *tamba*=*tāmra* (Gr.; Pāiyāl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282 834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *tambaga* (Uttar. 1065), *tambiya* (Ovav.); M.Ś. *tambavaṇṇi*=*tāmrapaṇṇi* (Karp. 12,4; 71,8; Bālar. 264,3,4; Anarghar. 297,15 [so to be read]); M. *āmba*, AMg. *āyamba*=*ātāmra* (G.H.; Śak. 119,6; (Ovav.); *tambakimi*=*tāmrekrimi* (cochineal; Deśin. 5,6); *tambarattī*=**tāmṛarakti* (wheat rust; Deśin. 5,5); *tambasiha*=*tāmraśikha* (cock; Pāiyāl. 125); M. *tambā*=*tāmṛā* (cow; Deśin. 5,1; Pāiyāl. 45; H.). — According to Mk. fol. 27 *kanra* also becomes *kamba*. — *mā* is treated in the same way. *amla* becomes either *ambila* or *amba*: AMg. *sehambaddī-jambehim* = *sedhāmādadīkāmīlāiḥ* (Uvās. § 40); A. *ambaṇu* = *āmlatvam* (Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is *la* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19): *lka*=*kka*: M. *ukkā*=*ulkā* (G.R.); *kakka*=*kalka* (Vivāhap. 1025); M.Ś. *vokkala*=*volkala* (§ 62). — *kla*=*kka*: AMg. *kīsanti*=*kliṣyanti* (Uttar. 576), *kesa*=*kleṣa* (Uttar. 202,575), *kīna*=*klīra* (Thāp. 181); *vikkava*=*vikkava* (Bh. 3,3; Hc. 2,79). *śukla* forms beside AMg. *sukka* (Sūyag. 313; Thāp. 25 ff) and *suila*, AMg. *sukkila* (§ 136) according to Hc. 2,11 also *suṅga*. Provided this goes back to *śukla*, the more correct writing would be *suṅga*, corresponding to *suṅka*=*śulka* (§ 74) with transition to the media — *lga*=*gga*: M. *phaggu*=*phalgu*, AMg. Ś. *phagguna*=*phalguna* (§ 62); AMg. *vaggai*, *vaggittā*=*valgati*, *valgitvā* (Vivāhap. 253), *vaggāna*=*valgana* (Ovav.), *vaggu*=*valgu* (Sūyag. 245). — *lpa*=*ppa*: AMg. JM. Ś. *appa*=*alpa* (Sūyag. 371; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 150,18); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kappa*=*kalpa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4); M. AMg. JM. *sippa*=*śilpa* (H.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). AMg. Ś. *sippi*=*śilpin* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 152,25; 153,3). In *jalp* and derivatives *l* becomes *m*: M. JM. *jampai*=*jalpati* (Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,2; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *jampiā* [sic], *jampanteṇa* (Ki. 8,15); AMg. *jampantā* (Sūyag. 50); JM. *payampae*=*prajalpate* (Erz.); Dh. *jampidum*, *jampasi* (Mṛcch. 34,24; 39,9); Ś. *jampasi* (Vikr. 41,11), *jompijjādi* (Lalitav. 568,6), *jampissam* (Mālatim. 247,2); *jampaṇa* (disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51); JM. *ajampaṇa* (non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34); M.A. *jampira* (Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1), AMg. *ajampira* (Dasav. 619,22; 631,13; 632,28); AMg. *pajampāvaṇa*=**prajalpāvaṇa* (teaching to learn; Ovav.); Mg. *yampideṇa* (Lalitav. 566,12), A. *pajampaha* (Hc. 4,422,10; so to be read). For *mā* there often occurs *ppa*: AMg. *jappanti* (Sūyag. 26); Ś. *jappemi* (Hāsy. 33,21), *jappasi* (Kāṇṣav. 49,7), *jappesi* (Hāsy. 25,10,12; 34,3,7), *jappissadi* (Pras. 144,2), *jappidum* (Hāsy. 33,13), *jappanti* (Prab. 44,1; so ed. Bomb. P.M.), **jappini* (Pras. 37,16; Vṛṣabh. 26,7), *jappida* (Pras. 120,1) etc. Probably everywhere it is to be read *mā*, as certainly in M. *jampieṇa* for *jappieṇa* (Ratn. 322,4), as rightly stands *jampie* (Karp. 38,4) as well as A. *jampiam* (Piṅgala 1,60; so GOLDSCHMIDT for *iṃ*, *aṃ*, *jaṃ*) — *pla*=*ppa*: M. *pavaṃga*=*plavaṃga*, *pavaṃgama*=*plavaṃgama* (R.), *parippavanta*=*pariplavant* (G.R.), *pappua*=*prapluta* (G.); AMg. *pavum*=*plavitum* (Sūyag. 508); *vippava*=*viplava* (Hc. 2,106). — *lpha*=*ppha*: AMg. *guppha*=*gulpha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Ovav.). *lba*=*bba*: M. *ubbaṇa*=*ulbaṇa* (G. 734; text *uvvaṇa*); AMg. *kibbisa*=*kilbiṣa* (Uttar. 156 [text **vvi*]; Dasav. 624,11,12), *kibbisiya*=**kilbiṣika* (Ovav.); *subba*=*śulba* (Hc. 2,79). — *lbha*=*bbha*: AMg. *pagabbhāi* = *pragatbhate* (Āyār. 1,5,3,3[*ṛ*]; Sūyag. 134,150), *pagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 31,146,198), *pāgabbhiya*

(Sūyag. 596), *pagabbhittā* (Sūyag. 358), *viṇṇagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 50), *pagabbhi-* (Sūyag. 332), *pāgabbhi-* (Sūyag. 268, 296). Hence *pagambhai* (Uttar. 202) is a printing error for *pagabbhahai* = *pagabbhai*. — *lma* = *mma*: *kammāsa* = *kalmāsa* (Hc. 2,79; Pāiyāl. 53); AMg. *kummāsa* = *kulmāsa* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4,13); AMg. Ś. Mg. *gumma* = *gulma* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15; Nāyādh.; Mṛcch. 97,22; Mudrar. 185,8; 197,5; Priyad. 12,3; 13,3; 19,17; 23,14; Karpas. 28,7; Subhadr. 12,5; Mg. Caṇḍak. 61,11), PG. *gumike* = *gulmikan* (5,5); M. *vammia*, AMg. *vammiya* = *valmika* (§ 80); Ś. *vammi* = *vālmiki* (Bālar. 6,15). — *mīa* = *mma*: AMg. JM.Ś.A. *meccha* = *mleccha* (§ 84,105). — On *lya* see § 286, on *rla* § 287. — *lva* = *lla*: Ś. *gallakka* = *galvarka* (Mṛcch. 6,6); M. *paḷlala* = *palvala* (G.); AMg. *biḷla* = *bilva* (Hc. 1,85; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 148; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 1530 [v°]; Dāsav. 621,5), according to Hc. and Mk. also *beḷla* (§ 119).

§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is *va* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *kva* = *kka*: M. *kaḍhai* = *kvathati*, Ś. *kaḍhida*, AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (§ 221); M. *kaṇakkapa* = *kvāṇ=kvāṇitā* (Karp. 55,7); M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*, AMg.Ś. *pakka* = *pakva* (§ 101). — *gva* h's become *vva* instead of *gga* in *divvāsā* = *divgāsāh* (Cāmuṇḍā; Deśn. 5,39). — *jva* = *jja*: M. *jalai* = *jvalati*, *ujjala* = *ujjala*, *paḷjala* = *prajvalati* (G.H.R.); M. *jara* = *jjara* (H.). — *ṇva* = *ṇṇa*: M. *kiṇṇa* = *kiṇva* (G.); Ś. *kaṇṇa* = *kaṇva* (Sak. 9,10; 14,1; 15,1 etc.); Ś. *rumaṇṇado* = **rumaṇvataḥ* (Ra'n. 320,16). On *vya* see § 286, on *vva* § 287, on *lva* § 296.

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops *va* may be assimilated to the dental. *tva* = *tta*: PG. M. AMg. JM. *cattāri*, Mg. *cattāli* = *cattāri* (§ 439); M. Ś. *satta* = *sattva* (H. ; Sak. 154,7); the suffix *tta* = *-tva*, as *piṇatta* = *piṇatva*; AMg. *bhaṭṭita* = *bhaṭṭitva*; **-ttana* = *-tvana*, as M. *piṇattana* = **piṇatvana*, Ś. *niṇattana* = *nipūṇatvara*, A. *pattattana* = **patratana* (§ 597). — *dva* = *dda*: M. AMg. JM. *dāra* = *dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,70; 2,79,112; G. H. R. ; Sūyag. 129; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); always M. Ś. A. *diā*, JM. *diyā* = *divja* (Hc. 1,94; Pāiyāl. 102; G. ; Erz. ; Kī. 11 [dia]); Caṇḍak. 3,16; 52,6; 56,6; 93,13; Piṅgala 2,48), *diāhama* = *divjādhama* (the bird *bhāsa*; Deśn. 5,39), also = *divja* (Hc. 2,79); Ś. *diṇa* = *diviṇa* (Sak. 140,13), *diṇadara* = *diviṇadara* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *diṇida* = *diviṇita* (Nāgān. 18,2); Mg. *diṇa* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *dira* = *divrada* (Hc. 1,94); AMg. *dāvara* = *dvāpara* (Sūyag. 136), *dānda* = *dvandva*, *digu* = *divigu* (Anuog. 358); AMg. JM. *jambuddiva* = *jambudivja* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); PG. *bharaddāyo* = *bharadvājaḥ* (5,2), *bhāradāya*, *bhāradāyasa* (6,16,19); M. *saddala* = *śādvala* (G.). — *dhva* = *ddha*: *dhattha* = *dhvasta* (Hc. 2,79), M. *uddhattha* = *uddhvasta* (G. 608; so to be read). If the prefix *ud* occurs before a word beginning with *va*, so *dva* becomes *vva*: M. *uvvattana* = *udvartana* (G. H. R.), AMg. *uvvattana* (Uvās.); JM. *uvvattija* (Erz.); M. *uvvahaṇa* = *udvahaṇa* (G. R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uvvigga* = *udvigga* (§ 276).

§ 299. Dialectically *tva* becomes *cca* through *tya*, *thva* becomes *cca* through *thya*, *dva* becomes *jja* through *dya* and *dhva* becomes *jjha* through *dhya*. *tva* = *cca*: M. AMg. JM. *caccara* = *catvara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Vivāgar. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside M. Ś. *cattara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Mṛcch. 6,7; 28,20; Bālar. 147,20); AMg. JŚ. *tacca* = **tāttva* (§ 281); A. *pahuccā* = **prabhutvati* (§ 286); AMg. JM. JŚ. in the absolutes, as AMg. JŚ. *hiiccā* = *krtvā*; AMg. JM. JŚ. *so cca* = *śrutvā*; AMg. *bhōccā* = *bhuktvā*; AMg. *ciccāṇa*, *cēccāṇa* = **iyaktvāṇa*, *hiiccāṇa* = **hitvāṇa* (§ 587). — *thva* = *cca*: AMg. *picchi* = *prthvi* (Hc. 2,15). — *dva* = *jja*: AMg. *vijja* = *vidvān* (Hc. 2,15; Sūyag. 126,306). — *dhva* = *jjha*: AMg. JM. *jhaṇa*

(Hc. 2,27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgas. 61; Kappas. § 4,32; T. 5,10; Erz.); AMg. *isijjhaya*=*ṛsidhwa* (Uttar. 630); *aruṇajjhaya* (Uvās. § 179; 277,5), *indajjhaya* (Samav. 97), *mohindajjhaya* (Thāp. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26), *maṇḍalajjhaya* (Jiv. 552), *āsijajjhaya*=*uchchritadhwaja* (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40), *kaṇḍajjhaya* (Nāyādh. 1084), *cindhajjhaya*=*cinhadhwaja* (Nirayāv. § 5), *dhammajjhaya* (Ovav. § 16), *chattajjhaya*=*chattradhwaja* (Paṇhāv. 286), *tāḷajjhajjividdha*=*tāladhwajodviddha* (Paṇhāv. 249), *sajjhaya* (Samav. 97; Rāyap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42. 49), beside M. *dhaa* (Hc. 2,27; H. R.), JM. *dha* (Pāiyāl 68; Erz.), M. Ś. *maaraddhaa* (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālar. 289,13; Viddhaś. 105,8); P. *makaraddhaja* (Hc. 4,323), but AMg. *majjarajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 286); JM. *garuḷaddhaya* (Dvār. 507,37), but AMg. *garuḷajjhaya* (Paṇhāv. 235); AMg. *tāladhwaja* (Samav. 236). — A. *jhuṇi* (Hc. 1,52; 4,432), beside Ś. *dhūṇi* (Pras. 14,10; Kāṇḍav. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 48,9)=*dhvāni* from **dhvuni* with *u* according to § 104. — AMg. *bujjhā*=*buddhā* (Hc. 2 15), *abujjha* (Sūyag. 504). — M. JM. Ś. *sajjhasa*=*sādhvasa* (Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,75; Mk. fol. 23; G.; Erz.; Jivān. 88, 14; Mālatim. 276,6; Pāvati. 12,14.23), beside *saddhasa* (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands *adisaddhasena*; the ed. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has *adisajjhaseṇa*. — *māukka* is not=*mṛduta* (Hc. 2,2; Mk. fol. 26), but=**mārdukya* from *mṛduka* (cf. § 52), as JM. *garukka* (Ki. 13)=**gukukya* from *guruka* (§ 123).

§ 300. However, *va* behind *ta* shifts to *pa*, behind *da* to *ba*; dialectically *toa* becomes *ppa*, *dva* becomes *bba*¹. *toa*=*ppa*: M. *pahuppa*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); A. *pa*=*tvām*, *tvayā* and *tvayi* (§ 421); A. *-ppana*=*-tvana*, as *vaddappana* beside *vaddhattana*=**vaḍratvana*, *maṇusappana*=**maṇuṣatvana* (§ 597); A. absolute in *-ppi*=*-tvī*, as *jineḍḍhi*, *jēppi*=**jītvī*; *gampi*=**gantvī*=Vedic *gatvī*, *gamēppi*=**gamitvī*, and *-ppiṇu*=*-tvīnam*, as *gamēppiṇu*, *gampiṇu*=**gamitvīnam*; *karēppiṇu*=**karitvīnam* (§ 588). This secondary *pa* becomes *va* as well, as *karevi* beside *karēppi*; *leṇiṇu* beside *leḍḍiṇu*; *ramevi* beside *ramēppi* (§ 184.588). On *ppa* from *tma* see § 277. — *dva*=*bba*: PG. M. AMg. *be*, A. *bi*=*dve*, *bēṇi*, *biṇi*=**doeni* (436.437); M. *biṇa*=*dviguṇa* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79; G. H. R.)², but Ś. Mg. *diṇa* (§ 298); AMg. JM. *bāra*, A. *bāra*=*dvādaśa* (§ 443), as generally AMg. JM. A. *bā*=*dvā* (§ 445 ff); M. *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*, AMg. JM. *būya*, *bīya*, A. *bia*=*dvitiya* (§ 82 91. 165. 449); M. A. *bāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,79; 2,79. 112; H.; Hc. 4,436); AMg. JM. *bāraṇi*=*dvāraṇi* (Nāyādh. 524. 1296 ff; Nirayāv. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff); *biṣaṇṭava*=*dvīṣaṇṭava* (Hc. 1,177); M. *beṣa*=*dvēṣa* (G.); M. AMg. =*doesya* (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Paṇhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMg. *baissa* (Uttar. 961). *dhaa*=*bbha*; JM. *ubbha*=*ūrdhva* (Hc. 2,59; Erz.); JM. *ubbhaya*=*ūrdhva* (Pāiyāl 234); M. *ubhha*, JM. *ubbhaya*=**ūrdhva* (R.; Erz.), *ubbheha*=**ūrdhwayata* (Erz. 40,15), beside M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha* (§ 83), AMg. JM. *uddha* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1,5,2,3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc.; Sūyag. 215 273 288 304. 590. 914 931; Vivāhap 11. 101. 105 f. 260 etc.; Erz.). — *nva*=*ṇna*: M. JM. *anṇesaṇa*=*anveṣaṇa* (G.; Erz.), Ś. *anṇesaṇa*=*anveṣaṇa* (Vikr. 32,3), *anṇesiadi*=*anviyate*, *anṇesidava*=*anveṣitavya* (Mṛcch 4,4.21); Ś. *dhanṇantari*=*dhanvantari* (Bālar. 76,1); Mg. *maṇṇantala*=*manvantara* (Prab 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. *evam*, *ṇedaṇ*=*evam* *nv* *etat*; Ś. Mg. *kiṇ* *ṇedaṇ*=*kiṇ* *nv* *etat* (§ 174).

1. ASCOLI, Vorlesungen p. 59; Kritische Studien p. 197 ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f. — 2. The Indian editions and WEBER in H. mostly write *v* in lieu of *b*.

§ 301. If the first member of conjunct consonant is a sibilant and the consonant following it, a tenuis, as a rule, the sibilant is assimilated

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly when the first member is a prefix¹. *śca*=*ccha* (Vr. 3,40; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25); M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. AMg. *acchera*; *accharijja*; AMg. JM. *accheraja*, AMg. *accheraga*=*āścarya*, *āścaryaka* (§ 138. 176); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā*=*paścāt* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāhap. 101; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 150,18; Śak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8); A. *pacchi*=**paśee* (Hc. 4,388); M. AMg. JM. Ā. *pacchima*=*paścima* (Grr.; G. R.; Vivāhap. 63; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99,18); Ś. *pacchādāva*=*paścāttāpa* (Vikr. 33,11; 38,17); AMg. *pājacchitta*, AMg. A. *pacchitta*=*prāyaścitta* (§ 165); AMg. JM. *nicchaya*, A. *nicchaa*=*niścaya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,422,10), but M. *niccaa* (R.); AMg. JM. *nicchiya*=*niścita* (Dasav. 642,7; Nirayāv.; Erz.), Ś. *nicchida* (Bālar. 87,1), but also Ś. *niccida* (Muṭṭār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Sarīvat 1926; Mahāv. 55,1 ed. Bomb.); M. Ś. A. *niccala*=*niścala* (Hc. 2,21,77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 59,24; Mudrār. 44,6; Hc. 4,436), AMg. JM. *niccala* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. AMg. *niccēṭṭha*=*niścēṭṭa* (R.; Nirayāv.); M. *duccaria*, JM. *duccariya*, Ś. *duccarida*=*duścārita* (H.; Erz.; Mahāv. 118,11); AMg. *duccara*=*duścara* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2), *duccaraga* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6); JM. Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*tapāścaraṇa* (Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15,38; Mṛcch. 68,8,9; 72,6; Pārvaṭip. 24,3; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2,10). — *nahaara* is not=*nabhaścara* (Ki. 2,110), but=**nabhacara* (§ 347). M. JM. Ś. *harianda* (G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4), JM. *hariyanda* (Dvār. 503,16) is not=*hariścandra* (Hc. 2,87; Ki. 2,110 [text *harianno*, LASSEN *hariando*]), which becomes Mg. *haliccanda* (Caṇḍak. 43,5), but=*haricandra* like M. *hārianda* (G.)=*hāricandra*. — *cuai* may be=**ścutāti* (Hc. 2,77; cf. § 210, note 2), or=**cyutāti*. — In M. *viṃchua*, *viṃchia* beside *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, *vicchiya*=*viściha* (§ 50.118) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. *piṃcha*=*piccha*; *guṃcha*=*guccha*; *pumcha*=*puecha* (§ 74); *viṃcua* (§ 50) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of old *ccha* to *śca* (§ 233), in Mg. *śca* remains unaltered : *āścalia*=*āścarya* (§ 138); *niścaa*=*niścaya* (Mṛcch. 40,4; text. °*caa*°); *niścala* (Mṛcch. 135,2); *paścādo*=*paścāt* (Venīs. 35,10 in Hc. 4,299; Bengal recension *pacādo*)²; *paścā* (Mudrār. 174,8 [text *pacchā*; cf. v.l.]; Caṇḍak. 42,12 [text *pacchā*]); *paścima* (Mṛcch. 169,22; text *pacchima*; v.l. *paccima* and *pakjima*); *śiśaścālana*=*śiśaścālana* (Mṛcch. 126,7). — *ścha* becomes *ccha*: M. *nicchallia*=*niścallita* (G.); AMg. *nicchoḍḍjja*=*niścōḍḍeyam* (Uvās. § 200); JM. *nicchoḷḷiṇa*=*niścōḷḷya* (Erz. 59,13).

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 261,264. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,299.

§ 302. *śka* and *śkha* become *kkha* as a rule (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,4; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24). *nikkha*=*niśka* (Hc. 2,4), according to Mk. fol. 24 also *nikka*; Ś. *poḷkkhara*, AMg. JM. *pukkha*=*puškara*, AMg. Ś. *poḷkkhariṇi*, AMg. *pukkharini* (§ 125); *mukkha*=*muška* (Bh. 3,29); M. AMg. *vikkhambha*=*viškambha* (Ki. 2,88; R.; Ovav.). In many cases, however, the aspiration does not take place, even outside the compounds, while it sometimes appears in compounds against the rule: M.Ś. *kikkindha*=*kiṣkindha* (R.; Anarghar. 262,5); M. AMg. JM. *caṭṭikka*=*catuška* (Deśin. 3,2; G.; Āyār. 2,11,10; Anug. 388; Paṇṇav. 702; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1294; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *codukkiā*=*catuṣkikā* (Bālar. 136,16; Viddhaś. 52,4 [text *caṭṭ*]); AMg. JM. *turukka*=*tuṣka* (Paṇḥāv. 258; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 96,99,110; Vivāhap. 941; Rāyap. 28,36,60,190; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Āv. 40,17 [read so]); Ś. *dhāṇukka*

= *dhānuṣka* (Mk fol. 24; Bālar. 86,15 202,16), *ahānukkada* (Bālar. 261,1); *sakkaī=śvaṣkati* (Mk. fol. 55; WEBER op. H. 608), *osakka=*apaśvaṣka* (gone away; Deśin. 1,149; Pāṇ. 178), AMg. *osakkai* (Pannav. 541), M. *osakkanta* (R.), AMg. *avasakkejja* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), AMg. *paccosakkaī=*pratyapaśvaṣkati* (Nāyādh. 1463; Vivāhap. 1035.1217.1248), M. *parisakkaī* (H. R. [text falsely *paḍi*]), M. *parisakkaṇa* (G. R.); AMg. *sakkuli* beside *saṅkuli=śaṣkuli* (§ 74); AMg. JM. *sukka=śuṣka* (Hc. 2,5; Aputtar. 11.13; Nāyādh. 984; Vivāhap. 270; Uttar. 758 ff; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *sukkanti* (Deśin. 8,18,23), A. *sukkahū* (Hc. 4,427) = **śuṣkanti*, M. AMg. *parisukka=pariśuṣka* (G.; Uttar. 53); beside M. AMg. *ś. sukka* (Hc. 2,5; H. R.; Dasav. N. 660, 16; Mṛcch. 2,15; 44,4), *ś. sukkhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 18,4) M. *sukkhanta* (H.), *osukka, osukkhanta* (R.). Examples for compounds are : M. *nikkaīava=nikkaiṭava* (H.); M. *ś. nikkampa=niṣkampa* (G. R.; Śak. 126,14; Mahāv. 32,21); M. JM. *nikkāraṇa=niṣkāraṇa* (G. R.; Dvār.); AMg. *nikkaṇa=niṣkaṇa* (Vivāgas. 102), *nikkaṇkada=niṣkaṇkaṭa* (Pannav. 118; Ovav.); M. *ś. nikkiva=niṣkiva* (Pāṇ. 173; H.; Śak. 55,16; Candak. 87,2); M. AMg. *ś. dukkara=duṣkara* (Hc. 2,4; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 817; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 77,14; Hc. 4,414,4,441), AMg. *dukkada, JM. dukkaya* (§ 49). *kram+nis* forms in M. *nikkhamai*, in AMg. *nikkhamai* (§ 481), AMg. *nikkhamma=niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.), *nikkhami-santi, nikkhamiṃsu, nikkhamittae* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *nikkhamta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2; Erz.); AMg. *paḍinikkhamai* (§ 481); AMg. JM. *nikkhamāṇa* (Kappas.; Erz.). M. has also *nikkamai* (H.), *vinikkamai* (G.) beside *vinikkhamai* (G.), a point on which the manuscripts vary. *ś.* has only *nikkamadi* (§ 481), *nikkamidum* (Mudrār. 43,6), *nikkamanta-* (Mudrār. 186,2), *nikkanta* (Mṛcch. 51,5,8,12), *nikkāmaissāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,9); Dh. *nikkamia* (Mṛcch. 36,23); D. *nikkamantassa* (Mṛcch. 105,24). — In Mg. *ṣka* becomes *ska* and *ṣkha* becomes *skha* (Hc. 4,289): *ṣuska=śuṣka*; *dhaṇuṣkhaṇḍa=dhanuṣkhaṇḍa*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, *ṣka* and *skha* appear, and thus the Lalitav. has *tuluṣka=turuṣka* (565,14,17), *ṣuske=śuṣkaḥ* (566,12). The texts write *kha, kka*. So Mṛcch. 21,17 *śukke*, but MS. A. *śuske*; 132,24; 133,17; *śukha* without v. l.; 161,7 *śukhā*, v. l. *śuskā=śuṣkaḥ*; 133,15.16 *śukkhavāṭṭaṣaṃ* without v. l.; 112,11 *poṭṭhalinī*, 113,22 *pukkhaliṇī* without v. l.; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22 *nikkamadi, nikkama* with the v. l. *niṣkama, nikkhama* 133, 21; 173,9 *nikkide*, 134,13 *nikkidaṃ=niṣkritaḥ, niṣkritam* without v. l.; 43,4; 175,15 *dukkala=duṣkara* without v. l.; 125,14 *dukkida=duṣkṛta* with the v. l. *dukkhida, dukkhida, dukkida* etc. We should read *ṣuska, poṭṭhalinī, nikkamadi, nikkida, dukkala, dukkida* etc.

§ 303. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṭṭha* (Vr. 3,10,51; C. 3,8,11; Hc. 2,34,90; Ki. 2,86,49; Mk. fol. 21,19): PG. *aggiṭṭhoma=agniṣṭoma* (5,1; cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484), *aṭṭhārasa=aṣṭādaśa* (6,34), *veṭṭhi=viṣṭi* (6,32); M. *iṭṭha=iṣṭa* (H.), *diṭṭhi=drṣṭi* (G.H.R.), *muṭṭhi=muṣṭi* (G.H.R.) — PG. *kaṭṭha=kāṣṭha* (6,33); *goṭṭhi=goṣṭhi* (G.), *niṭṭhura=niṣṭhura* (G.H.R.), *suṭṭhu=suṣṭhu* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* (Hc. 4,289.290): *kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa*; *koṣṭāgāla=koṣṭhāgāra*; *suṣṭu=suṣṭhu*. Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 prescribes *ṣ* for *ṣ* in consonant groups (cf. § 302): *koṣṭhāgāla* (MSS. *koṣṭhā°, koṣṭa°*; ed. *kāṣya°*). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have *ṭṭha* mostly falsely, STENZLER in Mṛcch., mostly has *ṣṭa*. Thus in Mṛcch. *kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa* (29,18; 127,13); the MSS. have *kaṣṭa, kaṭṭha, kaṣṭa*; *duṣṭāna, pabbhaṣṭe=*drṣṭvāna, prabhraṣṭaḥ*; (29,21); the MSS. have *daṭṭhūna, pabbhaṭṭhe; duṣṭa=duṣṭa* (19,5; 20,17; 21,8; 40,9; 79,17,18; 112,14,21; 113,19; 133,19; 151,25); the MSS. have mostly *duṭṭha*, partly *duṣṭa, duṣṭha, dutṭha, duṭṭa, duha, duṣṭa, duha; paṇaṣṭā*

[^okā]; Āv. 16, 10, 13; 19, 4), AMg. *istayagāni* = *istakāgni* (Jiv. 293). — *uṣṭha* = *uṣṭra* (Sūyag. 253, 724 f.; 727; Vivāgas. 163; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 304; Paṇnav. 366, 367; Uvās.; Ovav.), *uṣṭīya* = *auṣṭrika* (Uvās.), *uṣṭīyā* = *uṣṭrikā* (Uvās.; Ovav.). According to Mk. fol. 21 there occurs also *uṣṭha* — M. *saṃdatta* = *saṃdoṣṭa* (Deśin. 8, 18; G.R. s. v. *daṃs*, *daś*). — *daṃṣṭrā* becomes M. AMg. *Ṣ. dāḍhā*, CP. *tāḥhā*; *daṃṣṭrin*, AMg. *Ṣ. dāḍhi*. (§ 76). — *veṣṭate*, with the long vowel retained according to § 87, forms *vedhāi* = Pāli *veṣṭati* (Vr. 8, 40; Hc. 4, 221; Kī. 4, 67). So M. *vedhia*, *āvedhia* (H.); AMg. *vedhemi* (Uvās. § 108), *vedhei* (Nāyādh. 621; Uvās. 110; Nirayāv. § 11; Vivāhap. 447), *vedheṇti* (Paṇhāv. 112), *uvvedhējja* vā *nivvedhējja* vā (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 2), *vedhittā* (Rāyap. 266), *vedhāvai* (Vivāgas. 170), *āvedhiya*, *parivedhiya* (Thāp. 568; Nāyādh. 1265; Paṇnav. 436; Vivāhap. 706 f. 1323); JM. *vedhēttā*, *vedhiya*, *vedhiuṃ*, *vedheum* (Kk.), *parivedhiya* (Rṣabhap. 20), *vedhiyaya* (Pāiyāl. 199), *vedhāvīya*, *parivedhāvīya* (T. 7, 15, 17); *Ṣ. vedhida* (Mṛcch. 44, 4; 79, 20 [to be so read; see v. l.]); M. AMg. *Ṣ. vedha* = *veṣṭa* (G.H.R.; Anug. 557; Jiv. 862; Nāyādh. 1323, 1370; Rāyap. 266; Bālar. 168, 6; 267, 1); M. *vedhaṇa* = *veṣṭana* (H.R.), M. *śavedhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 11, 22; 127, 12; so it should be read; see § 303) AMg. *vedhima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Anug. 29; Paṇhāv. 490, 519; Thāp. 339; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348, 605; Rāyap. 186; Nandī. 507; Dasav. N. 651, 10; Ovav.). M. AMg. *āvedha* (R.; Paṇhāv. 185); M. *āvedhuna* (G.). Like-wise formed are: AMg. *koḍha* from *kōṣṭha*, **kuṣṭha* = *kuṣṭha*, *koḍhi* from and beside *kōṣṭhi*, *kuṣṭhi*, *koḍhiya* = *kuṣṭika* (§ 66); AMg. *sedhi* from **seṣṭhi*, **siṣṭhi* = *siṣṭi*, *sedhiya*, *anusedhi*, *paredhi*, *visedhi* (§ 66); AMg. JṢ. *loḍha* = *loṣṭa* (Dasav. 620, 14; Pav. 389, 10), beside *Ṣ. loṣṭhaka* (Mṛcch. 79, 21), M. *loṣṭagudīā* (Mṛcch. 80, 5). Beside the regular AMg. *leṣṭhu* = *leṣṭu* (Paṇhāv. 502; Ovav.; Kappas.), JM. *leṣṭhuya* = *leṣṭuka* (Erz.); *Ṣ. leṣṭhūā* = *leṣṭukā* (Mṛcch. 78, 12) stands *leḍhukka* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāiyāl. 153) with duplication of *h* according to § 194, further with dropping of the aspiration *leḍu* (Pāiyāl. 153), *leḍua* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāiyāl. 153), *leḍukka* (Deśin. 7, 29) = Pāli *lēḍdu*, and the AMg. *leḍu*, written *lelu* (§ 226; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 10; 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 2; 2, 10, 8; Sūyag. 647, 692; Dasav. 616, 14; 630, 17), going back to *leḍu*. Instead of *ḍha* there occurs *ṭha* (written *ṭha*) in *kōṭhūā* = **kroṣṭuka*, *kuṭha* = *kroṣṭ*, *kōṭhāhala* = **kroṣṭāphala* (§ 242). The same soundchange, without lengthening of the vowels, has taken place in M. *maradhī* = *māhārāṣṭri*; AMg. *adha* = *aṣṭa*, *ūsadha* = *utsṣṭa*, *nisadha* = *niṣṣṭa*; M. *visadha* = *viṣṣṭa*; AMg. JM. *samosadha* = *samavasṣṭa* (§ 67). Cf. § 564.

§ 305. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 85, 51; Hc. 2, 53, 90; Kī. 2, 100, 49; Mk. fol. 25, 19); PG. *pupha* i.e. *puppha* = *puṣpa* (6, 34), M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. puppha* (H.R.; Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9; Uttar. 981; Kappas.; Erz.; Häs. 31, 21), *Ṣ. pupphaka* = *puṣpaka* (Mṛcch. 68, 9); *Ṣ. A. pupphakaraṇḍaā* = *puṣpakaraṇḍaka* (Mṛcch. 93, 9; 107, 2; 100, 24); *A. pupphavai* = *puṣpavai* (Hc. 4, 438, 3); *sappha* = *śaṣpa* (Bh. 3, 35; Hc. 2, 53). *bāṣpa* in the sense of "tear", according to § 87, 188, becomes *bāha* through **bāpha*, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes *bappha* (Vr. 3, 38; Hc. 2, 70; Mk. fol. 25). Thus M. JM. *Ṣ. A. bāha* (tear: G.H.R.; Acyutaś. 60; Vikr. 51, 8; 53, 6; 54, 10; Karp. 43, 12; 44, 6; Bālar. 156, 16; Erz. 8, 9 [vāha]; Dvār. 507, 16; Sagara. 8, 14; Rṣabhap. 12; Mṛcch. 325, 15; Śak. 82, 11; Mālatīm. 89, 7; Uttarar. 78, 5; Ratn. 298, 26; Bālar. 281, 3; Karp. 83, 2; Mallikām. 161, 11; 196, 18 [vā°]; Cait. 38, 10 [vā°]; Hc. 4, 395, 2; Vikr. 59, 6; 60, 17; 61, 5; 69, 21); *Ṣ. bappha* (steam; Jivān. 43, 10). Instead of *bappha* Mk. fol. 25 has *bappa*, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on *Ṣ. fol. 68*, that in *Ṣ.* in the meaning "tear" *bappa* also may be used. Whether *bappa* is not merely an error of MSS. for *bappha* cannot be said with certainty. In Venis. 62, 13; 63, 17; 76, 4, *bappha* is edited; the ed. Calc. has *bāppa*, *bāṣpa*; in Mudrār.

260,4, there stands in the text *vāha*; but the best MSS. have *bāpā*, P. *bāppha*, the ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1926 p. 214,6 has *bāppa*; at Rukmiṇīp. 30,1, there stands *bappha*, likewise in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [*vā*]. The vv. ll. *vaśpa*, *vāśpa*, *vāppa*, *vāppha* in Śak. 140;13 also point to *bappa* or *bappha*; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands *bappha*, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 *vappa*; in Cait. 44,8 stands *vāspa*; in Śak. 82,11 Z has *bāppha*. Consequently for *Ś. bappha* too, perhaps *bappa* also, beside *bāha* in the meaning "tear" will be correct. In Pāiyāl. 112 *bappha* and *bāha* are given in the meaning "tear". — The compounds oscillate between *ppa* and *ppha*, yet *ppa* preponderates: AMg. JM. *caūppaya*, AMg. *caūpaya*, A. *caūpaa*=*catuspada* (§ 439); *Ś. caduppoḍha*=*catuspatha* (Mṛcch. 25,14; text *caūppaha*); AMg. *duppadham-saga*=*duṣpradhara* (Uttar. 286); M. *duppariia*=*duṣparicita* (R.); M. JM. *duppēccha*, *Ś. duppēkkha*=*duṣprekṣya* (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11); M. *niṣpacchima*, *niṣpatta*, *niṣvivāsa*=*niṣpaścima*, *niṣpattira*, *niṣpāsa* (H.), *niṣpakkha*=*niṣpakṣa* (G.), *niṣpaampa*, *niṣpasara*, *niṣpaha*=*niṣprakampa*, *niṣprasara*, *niṣprabha* (R.); AMg. *niṣpaṇka*=*niṣpaṇka* (Paṇṇav. 118; Ovav.). Beside M. *niṣpaṇna*=*niṣpanna* (H.), one says more usually¹ M. *niṣphanna*, JM. AMg. *niṣphanna* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thāp. 525; Das. v. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *niṣphesa*=*niṣpeṣa* (Hc. 2,53); AMg. *niṣpāva*=*niṣpāva* (Thāp. 398), but more frequently *niṣphāva* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag. 747, Paṇṇav. 34; JM. *niṣphāiya*=*niṣpādita* (Erz.)). One always says M. *Ś. niṣphanda*, AMg. *niṣphanda*, which should be equated as=*niḥspanda* (H R.; At. tēg. 48; Nāyādh. 1383; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cait. 43,4). — *ṣpa*=*ppha*: M. *niṣphura*=*niṣphura* (G.), M. *Ś. niṣphala*, JM. *niṣphala*=*niṣphala* (H. R.; Dvār. 501,30; Rṣabhap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mṛcch. 120,7; Muḍrār. 266,2; Caṇḍak. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5). — In Mg. *ṣpa* becomes *spa* and *ṣpha* becomes *spha* (Hc. 4,289); *śaspaḥkavala*=*śaspaḥkavala*, *niṣphala*=*niṣphala*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 *ṣpa* and *ṣpha* should be written in such words. In Mṛcch. there stands *pupphakalaṇḍa*=*puṣpakaraṇḍa* (113,20), *pupphakalaṇḍa* (96,18; 99,4; 100,21; 158,22), *pupphakalaṇḍaka* (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly *puṣpa*, *puṣpha*. At 116,7, stands *duppēkkhe*=*duṣprekṣyaḥ*; the v.l. is *duppēcche*. One reads *puspa*^o and *duṣpēske*.

1. So correctly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho together with a translation 4,32; false PUSCHEL, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. *ska* and *skha* become *kkha* (Vr. 3,29 51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,4,90; Kī. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19); M. AMg. JM. *khandha*=*skandha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); PG. *khaṇḍakōṇḍisa*=*skandakūṇḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. A. khambha*=*skambha* (G. R.; Acvutaś. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jiv. 448,481; Paṇḍāv. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhap. 658. 660. 823; Rāyap. 58. 144; Nāyādh. § 21,122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 40,22; 68,18; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dhūras. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vr. 3,14; Bh. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hc. 1,187; 2,8,89; Kī. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive *khambha* from *stambha*, since they make classical Skt. their basis. It is naturally=*Vedic skambha*. *avakkhanda*=*avaskanda* (Hc. 2,4); AMg. *amaṇakkha*, *samaṇakkha*=*amanaska*, *samanaska* (Sūyag. 842); *makkhara*=*maskara* (Kī. 2,88). In *skanda*, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; *khanda* and *kanda*. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): *ēkkāra*=*ayaskāra* (Hc. 1,166); AMg. JM. *namōkkāra*=*namaskāra* (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside *ṇamōyāra*, *ṇavayāra* (C. 34 p. 51) and M. *ṇamakāra* (G.); cf. § 195; AMg. JM. *takkara*=*taskara* (Paṇḍāv. 120; Nāyādh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *tukkarattaṇa* (Paṇḍāv. 147); *Ś. tirakkāra*=

tiraskāra (Prab. 15,1); Ś. *tirakkariṇī* = *tiraskariṇī* (Śak. 119,3). So reads also the Kashmir recension 112,14, whilst the Devanāgarī recension 77,9, ed. BÖHTLINGK and the South Indian recension 256,17 read *tirakkhariṇī*, as also BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. 24,4; 42,19 against his best MSS., which have °*kkā*°; the ed. Bomb. 1888 has at 41,6; 72,1 rightly °*kkha*°; the South Indian MSs. of Śak. and Vikr. oscillate between °*kkha*° and °*kkā*°. M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada* = *saṁskṛta*, AMg. JM. *asakkaja* = *asaṁskṛta*, M. *sakkāra* = *saṁskāra*, JM. *sakkāriya* = *saṁskārita* (§ 76), AMg. *purakkada* = *puraskṛta* (Sūyag. 692), *purekda* (Sūyag. 284,540; Dasav. 627,7; 633,17; Ovav.), beside AMg. *saṁkhaja* (§ 49), *saṁkhadi* = *saṁskṛti* (Kappas.), *uvakkhada* = *upaskṛta* (Uttar. 355), *purēkkhada* (Paṇḍav. 796 ff.). Cf. § 49. 219. To it belongs also *nakkha* (thief; Deśin. 4,47) = **niskṛ*. AMg. *nakkha* (nose; Deśin. 4,46; Āyār. 2,3,2,5; Sūyag. 280,748) is = **nāska* from Vedic *nā* with a change of gender; so it belongs *nakkasirā* (nostril; Pāyāl. 114). — *skha* = *kkha*: M. JM. *khalai*, Ś. *khaladi* = *skhalati* (R.; Dvār 504, 34; Śak. 131, 6), Dh. *khalanta* (Mr̥cch. 30,8); M. *khalia*, JM. *khalīya*, Ś. *khalida* = *skhalita* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,9); M. S. *parikkhalanta* (H. R.; Mr̥cch. 72,3), M. *parikkhalia* (G. R.). In Mg. *śka* and *skha* are retained according to Hc. 4,289; *maskali* = *maskarin*; *paskhaladi* = *praskhalati*. According to Nāmīśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra *s* becomes *ś*. The texts have *kkha*: *khalanti* (Mr̥cch. 10,15), *pakkhalanti* (Mr̥cch. 9,23; 10,15), *khandaṇa* (Mr̥cch. 22,8), without any v. l. *hatthikkhandam* (Śak. 117,4), where R. has °*skandham*. One reads *skhalanti* = *paskhalanti*, *skandheṇa*, *hastiskandham*. So in all the cases.

§ 307. *sta* and *stha* become *ttha* (Vr. 3,12,51; Hc. 2,45,90; Ki. 2,85,49; Mk. fol. 21,19); M. *thapa* = *stana* (G. H. R.); *thui* = *stuti* (G. R.), *thoa* = *stoka* (G. H. R.), *attha* = *asta* (G. R.) and = *astra* (R.), *atthi* = *asti* (§ 498), *patthara* = *prastara* (H.), *hattha* = *hasta* (G. H. R.); PG. *vattthavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇam* (6,8), *sahattha* = *svahasta* (7,51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMg. JM. *duttara* = *dustara* (Āyār. 2,16,10; Sūyag. 213; Erz.), M. *duttāra* = *dustāra*, *duttāreṭṭhaṇa* = **dustāratvāṇa* (R.), AMg. *suduttāra* (Ovav.); AMg. *nittusa* = *nistusa* (Paṇḍav. 435). So also M. AMg. *samatta* = *samasta* (Hc. 2,45; R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. *ś. samattha* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 27,6; 28,1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59,4; 62,1 has *samatta*). *uraḍo*, which Ki. 2,110 equates as = *urastaṭa*, is explained, as already recognized by LASSEN¹, from the stem *ura-* (§ 407). Beside *theṇa* = *stena* (thief; Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29; Pāyāl. 72), *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32), *thūpa* (§ 129), AMg. and JM. exclusively have *teṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; 2,3,1,9,10; 2,4,1,8; Paṇḍav. 412 f.; Samav. 85; Uttar. 228,990; Dasav. 623,36,40; 624,10; 627,34; Uvās.; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *ateṇa* = *astena* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), *teṇa* (Ovav.), *teṇiya* (Jiyak 87; Kappas.) = *stainya*. *theṇa* is related to *teṇa*, as *stāyu* is to *tāyu*. *teṇa* (theft) has gone over also to Skt. of the Jainas.² According to Hc. 2,46; Mk. fol. 21 *tava* also may be used beside *thava* = *stava*; according to Vr. 3,13; Hc. 2,45; Mk. fol. 21 *stamba* becomes *tamba*. — *stha* = *ttha*: M. *thaūḍa* = *sthaṇa* (G.), *thala* = *sthala* (G. H.), *thira* = *sthira* (G. H.), *avattthā* = *avasthā* (H. R.); Ś. *kāatthaa* = *kāyasthaka* (Mr̥cch. 78,13).

¹ Inst. § 82 p. 273. — ² E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental *ttha*, sometimes the cerebral *ṭtha* too occurs for *sta* and *stha*. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the

other sounds must stand MAMg. JM. *Ś. aṭṭhi*=*asthi* (Vr.3,11; Hc. 2,32; Kī. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H.; Aṇṇatar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 594; Vivāhap. 89.112 168.183 280 926; Thāp. 54 f 186.431; Uvās.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Caṇḍak 87,9); M. *aṭṭhia*, AMg. *aṭṭhiya*=*asthika* (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *Ś. aṭṭhia*=*asthija* (Mṛcch. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.l.); AMg. *bahuaṭṭhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5,6). — *stambha* forms *thambha* and *ṭhambha*, when it means "immovability" and "stiffness" (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has *thambha* only, and so M. (R.); JM. *gaṭṭhambha*=*gaṭṭistambha* (Erz. 82,21), *muhathambha*=*mukhaṣṭambha* (Erz. 82,22), *Ś. ūrutthambha* (Śak. 27,1; Priyad. 17,12). In the meanings "pole" and "post" one says only *thambha* in M. AMg.Ś. (C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddh. 74,7). Beside *thambhijai*=*stabhyate*, Hc. 2,9 teaches also *ṭhambhijai*. Frequently there occurs in the text the dental *tha*, as M. *thambhia*, AMg. JM. *thambhiya* (G.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. *uttambhijai*, *uttambhijanti* (R. G.); M. *uttambhia* (H. R.), *Ś. uttambhida* (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral *ṭha* occurs in A. *uṭṭhabbhai* (Hc. 3,365,3)¹. On *khambha*, see § 306. — Beside *thera* there occurs more frequently *ṭhera*=*sthavira* (§ 166). — Beside AMg. *tattha*=*trasta* (Uvās.), M. *uttattha* (H.), *saṃtattha* (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136, also *taṭṭha*. The grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67; Pāṇīyāl. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. *hiṭtha* (H. R.) and *āhiṭtha* (R.) also to *trasta*. S. GOLDSCMIDT² refers *hiṭtha* to *bhīṣ*, WEBER³ refers it to *dhaṣta* or *adhastāt*, which in M. AMg. JM. forms *hēṭṭha*, *hiṭṭha* (§ 107) and HOFFER⁴ thought of aspiration of the initial of *trasta*. Dialectically there occur also *hiṭtha* (noun — shame; Pāṇīyāl. 167), *hiṭṭhā* (shame; Deśin. 8,67), *hiṭṭha* (ashamed; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikośa on H. 386), *āhiṭtha* (angry, confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāṇīyāl. 177), and with cerebralization *hiṭṭha*, *hiṭṭhahida* (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange of *ṭha* and *ṭṭha* points to *sta*, and hence I consider the derivation from *adhastāt* as correct. — *Ś. pallattha*, beside the dialectical *pallaṭṭha*, *pallaṭṭai* (§ 285)=*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭha* has lost its aspiration, as *saṃattha* beside *saṃmattha*=*saṃasta* (§ 307). M. Ś. A. *viṣaṃṭhula*=*viṣaṃsthula*, written in Skt. as *viṣaṃṣṭhula* as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f. l. 21; Pāṇīyāl. 264; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 41,10 v. l.; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab 39,8; Mallikāma. 13,3; Hc. 4,436).

1. FISCHER, BB. 15,122. — 2. Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *bhīṣ*. — 3. On Hāla 386. —

4. ZWS. 2,518.

§ 309. The oscillation between *ṭṭha* and *ṭha* is especially shown in the root *sthā* and its derivatives, without one being able, with OSRHOF¹, to explain *ṭha* by false analogy. One says: PG. *anuvatṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpyati* (7,45; cf 184.189); M. JM. *ṭhāi*=**sthāti*, M. *ṇiṭṭhāi*, *saṃṭhāi*, JM. *ṭhāha*, AMg. *abhuṭṭhanti*; JM. *ṭhāyanti*, but A. *ṭhanti*; A. *uṭṭhāi*, JM. *uṭṭhaha*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭheṭi*, JM.Ś. *uṭṭhehi*, but Ś. also *utthehi*, *utthedu*, (§ 483); M. *ṭhia*, AMg. JM. *ṭhiya*, Ś. *ṭhida*=*sthita* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 42,18; 52,2), but also *ṭhia*, Ś. *ṭhida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 83,20); Mg. AMg. JM. *ṭhavi*, A. *ṭhāvehu*, AMg. *ṭhāveṭi*, JM. *ṭhāveṭi*, A. *paṭṭhāviā*, Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, beside Ś. *saṃavattṭhāveṭi*, *paṭṭhāvatṭhāveṭi* (§ 551), M. *uṭṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiya* (Hc. 4,16; R.; Aṇṇog. 60; Vivāhap. 169; Āyār. 1,5,2,2; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also *utthia*, Ś. *utthida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 75,15; v.l. °ṭṭhi°); *paṭṭhia*=*prasthita* (Hc. 4,16), but M. *paṭṭhia* (H. R.), Ś. *paṭṭhida* (Śak. 136,16; Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālatīm. 102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3; Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. JM. *upaṭṭhiya*=*upasthita* (Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.), but also Ś. *uvattṭhida* (Śak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *ṭhāna*=*sthāna* (Hc. 4,16; Pāṇīyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 2,2,1,1 ff.; Sūyag. 688; Uttar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyādh.;

Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mṛcch. 70,25; 141,2; Śak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362), but also M. *thāṇa* (Hc. 4,16; R.); AMg. *thāṇijja* (respectable; Deśin. 4,5; Nirayāv. § 10), beside *thāṇijja* (Deśin. 4,5) = *sthāṇiya*; M. AMg. JM. *ṭhi*, Ś. *ṭhidi* = *sthiṭi* (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. *ṭhi*, Ś. *ṭhidi* (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Śak. 107,12), and so many others. At the end of compounds *ṭsṭha* always becomes *ṭtha*; M. *kamalattṭha*, *karattṭha* (H.), *dūratṭha* (R.); AMg. *āgāratṭha* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), *gāratṭhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); JM. *āsanattṭha*, *jōvvanattṭha*, *sahāvatṭha*, *hiyaya-tṭha* (Erz.), Ś. *ekattṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,3; Śak. 26,14), *vaattṭha* = *vayahstṭha* (Śak. 141,9), *paḍittṭha* = *prakṛittṭha* (Śak. 160,13); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhatṭha* = *madhyastṭha* (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. *ṭṭha*, *abvatṭha* becomes AMg. *amsoṭṭha*, *asoṭṭha*, *āsoṭṭha*, *āsattṭha* (§ 74); *kapittṭha* becomes AMg. Mg. *kavittṭha* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mṛcch. 21,22), but mostly AMg. *kavittṭha* (Nirayāv. 45; Paṇṇav. 31,482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — *sthāṇu*, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Kī. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes **thāṇu* in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes *khāṇu*. So M. *thāṇu* “Śiva” (Pāyāl. 21; G.); AMg. *khāṇu* “stump”, “flock” (Paṇḥāv. 509; Nāyādh. 335; Uttar. 439), but JM. also *thāṇu* “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), *khāṇu*, beside which *khāṇṇu* also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27) goes back to a side-form **skhāṇu*. *thāṇu* is related to *khāṇu* as *stubbh* to *ksubbh*, *stambh* to *skambh*, Pkt. *duṭṭha* to *dukkha* (§ 90.120.306.311). — *sthaḡ* has in M. a dental in the beginning: *thaei* (R.), *thaesu*, *thāissam*, *thāiṇm* (H.), *thāia* (H. R.), *utthaia*, *saṃutthaiaṇm* (H.), *ōṭṭhaia*, *saṃōṭṭhaia* (R.), in JM. a cerebral: *thaiya*, *thāiṇa* (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root **sthak* forms in Pāli *thaketi*, in M. JM. Ś. Mg. *ḍhakkai*, *ḍi* (§ 221). Yet there occurs also JM. *thakkissā* (T. 5,19).

1, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 18,8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mg. *sta* is retained (Hc. 4,289) and *stha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā. 2,12): *hasti* = *hastin*; *uvastida* = *upasthita*; *samuvastida* = *samupasthita*; *ṣustida* = *susthita*. According to Nāmisādhū *sta* becomes *ṣta*. The Lalitav. has : *tatthastekim* = *tatrasthaiḡ* (265,20); *uvastidāṇam* = *upasthitāṇam*; *kaḍastalāṇam* = *kaṣasthalāṇam*, *pāṣastide* = *pārṣvasthitaiḡ*, *niastāṇādo* = *nijasthānāt* (566,3.9.12.15); *stidā* = *stidāḡ*, *astāṇastide* = *asthānasthiḡ* (567,1.2). In the Mṛcch. STENZLER and GOPABOLE, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write *ṣta* for *sta*, but *ṭṭha* for *stha*. Thus *haṣṭa* = *hastā* (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but *hatṭha* (32,18; 39,20; 134,1.2.3; 135,1.2; 160,3; 171,3) and *hatṭhi* = *hastin* (40,9; 168,4); as also at Śak. 117,4; Venīś. 34,14 it stands. In the Mṛcch. the MSS. mostly have *ṭṭha*, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has *ṣta*, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also *haṣṭe*, and once *haṣṭe*, against this one of them has at 14,1 *hastādo*, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have *haste*, at 126,24 two of them have *haste*, so that *ṣta* is better warranted than *ṣta*. Further pro ex. *thūṇu* = *stuhī* (113,12; 115,9), the MSS. however *stūṇu*, *stūṇa* (or *ṣūṇu*, *ṣūṇu* and so on = *ṣṣūṇu*); *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* = *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but *matṭha* (161,7); the MSS. mostly have *ṣta*, rarely *ṭṭha* and only at 161,7 one of them has *ṣta*; A points to *ṣṭha* at 12,17; 149,25, as STENZLER writes in *iṣṭhiā* = *iṣṭhiā* = *striā* (12,3.5; 119,23; 136,13; 140,10; 145,3.4; 146,4; 164,20), against *iṭṭhiā* (112,6; 135,1.25). The MSS. again have mostly *ṭṭhi*, only at 112,6 B, 140,10 E and 145,4 D have *ṣṭi*, on the other hand 112,6 H. has *iṣṭhiā*, C *ṣṭri*, 136,13 DE, 140,10 D *ṣṭi*, to which also points *ṣṣni* 136,13 of B, to *ṣṭhi* at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads *iṣṭiā*. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands *iṭṭhiā* and so also in other

places here and always in Vepiś, Mudrār, in other words, and often in Mṛcch. °ttha° stands for °sta°. For *stha* stands *ttha* in Mṛcch. pro ex. in *thāvalaa*, °laka=sthāvaraka (96,17;116,4,118,10;119,11;121,9;122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECDf have *sthā°*; *thoam*=*stokam* (157,6); *avattide*=*avasthitā* (99,3); *uvattidā*=*upasthita* (118,23; 138,13;175,17), and *ttha*, pro ex. *paṭṭhāvia*=*prasthāpya* (21,12); *saṁsthā-vehi*=*saṁsthāpaya* (130,11); *saṁsthida* (v.l. °thi°)=saṁsthita (159,15); *āhalaṇaṭṭhāṇehim* (v.l. °tthā°)=ābharanasthānaih (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as °mastie=°mastike, *vastie*=**vastrike* beside °*hatthie*=°*hastike* (Caṇḍak. 68,16;69,1), *astam* (Caṇḍak. 70,14), beside *saṁuttidhe* (72,1); *pastide*=*prasthitā*, *niṣastide*=*niṣastitā* (Mallikām. 114,4.11). The vv. ll. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write *st*.

§ 311. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 3,36.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Kī. 2,100.49; Mk. fol. 25.19). *spa*=*ppha*; M. Ś. *phaṁsa*=*sparśa*, Ś. *pariphaṁsa* (§ 74), M. AMg. *pharisa*, AMg. *pharisaga* (§ 135), AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa* (§ 62); *phandaṇa*=*spandana* (Hc. 2,53); *paḍipphaddhi*=*pratispardhin* (§ 77). The aspiration does not take place in AMg. *puṭṭha*=*sprṣṭa* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6,7,4;1,6,2,3;1,8,3,6,4,1; Sūyag. 65.111.122.144.170.350; Uttar. 48.51.61.106.126; Vivāhap. 97 f. 116.145; Paṇṇav. 134; Ovav.), *apuṭṭha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,1; Vivāhap. 97 f.), *apuṭṭhaja* (Sūyag. 104), very often immediately beside *pharisa* or *phāsa* and *phusai*=*sprṣati* (§ 186). In Āyār. 1,6,5,1 there stands *phuṭṭho*. So also *phusai* and *pusai* (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§ 301): M.A. *avarōppara*=*aparaspāra* (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspara* (Hc. 1,62;2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10;101,1; Paṇhāv. 68; Paṇṇav. 646; Vivāhap. 1099; Āv. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bālar. 218,11; Mallikām. 124,8;158,19;160,8; 223,12), Ś. also, probably falsely, *parappara* (Mālatim. 119,6;358,1; Uttarar. 108,1; Mallikām. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — AMg. *dupparisa*=*duḥs-parśa* (Paṇhāv. 508). — *nippiha*=*niḥsprha* (Hc. 2,23). From *bṛhaspati* there occurs, beside *bihapphadi* and *bahapphadi* also AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai* (§ 53), and numerous other forms in the grammarians (§ 212). Likewise stands in AMg. beside *vaṇapphaṭ*=*vanaspati* (Hc. 2,69; Paṇhāv. 341; Paṇṇav. 35; Jiv. 213.316; Vivāhap. 93.144), JŚ. *vaṇapphadi* (Kattig. 401,336), also AMg. *vaṇassai* (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Āyār. 1,1,5,4;2,1,7,3,6;2,2,2,13; Sūyag. 792.857; Paṇhāv. 29; Jiv. 13.316 (beside °*ppha*°). 969f.; Paṇṇav. 44.742; Uttar. 1039.1048; Vivāhap. 30,430.465 f.; Ṭhāp. 25.26.52). The forms with *ssa* presuppose that *pati*, as after vowels, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become *vaṭ*, so that *ssa*=*sva*. Cf. § 195.407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in *sihāṭ*=**sprhati* (Hc. 4,34.192; Mk. fol. 25) for **svihāṭ*. AMg. has *pīhējjā*=*sprhayet* (Ṭhāp. 158). *chihā* is not=°*sprhā* (Hc. 1,128;2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like *chihāṭ* (touches; Hc. 4,182), to a root **kṣibh*, which is a parallel root to *kṣubh* (§ 66). — *spha*=*ppha*; M. AMg. Ś. *phaṭiṇa*=*sphaṭika* (§ 206), M. *phuda*=*sphuṭa* (G. H. R.); *phuliṅga*=*sphuliṅga* (G. R.); *apphodaṇa*=*āsphoṭana* (G.), *apphāṭia*=*āsphālita* (G. R.); *papphuraṭ*=*prasphurati* (G. H.). *khodaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka* (Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Kī. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and *khedaa* is not=°*sphoṭaka*, *khedā* is not=°*sphoṭika* (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial *skha*. Cf. § 90.120.306.309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *phodaa* alone is permitted; thus *vipphodaa*=*visphoṭaka* (Sak. 30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *spa* and *spha* are retained: *buhaspadi*=*bṛhaspati*; according to Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭ, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 they become *spa*, *spha*: *bihaṣpadi*. At Mṛcch. 133,24; Śak. 115,11 stands *phulanti*=*sphuranti*, Prab. 58,1, *phalasa*, 58,8 *phaṁsa*; ed. Bomb. P. have both times

phalasa, M. more correctly *phaliśa*. One reads *sphulanti*, *spaliśa* and so in all similar cases.

§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes *h* (§ 262—264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus *śna*, *ṣṇa* and *sna*, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become *ṇha*; *śma*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *mha* (Vr. 3,32,33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74,75; Kī. 2,90,94; Mk. fol. 25,26). — *śna*=*ṇha*: *aphāi*, AMg. *aphāi*=*afnāti* (§ 512); AMg. JŚ. *paṇha*=*praśna* (Sūyag. 523; Kattig. 399,311); *siṇha*=*śiśna* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 3,75). — *śma* becomes *mha*: *kamhāra*, Ś. *kamhāra*=*kāśmīra* (§ 120); *kumhāṇa*=*kuśmāṇa* (Hc. 2,74). *raśmi* always becomes *rassi* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; 2,74,78; Pāīyal. 47); AMg. Ś. *sahassarassi*=*sahasraraśmi* (Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Ratn. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15). In the anlaut *ś* is assimilated to *m*: AMg. *maṇsu*=*śmaśru*, *nimmaṇsu*=*niśmaśru*, JŚ. *maṇsuga*=*śmaśruka* (§ 74), also *massu* (Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kī 2,53) and *māsu* (Hc.2,86); M. Ś. *maśāṇa*, Mg. *maśāṇa*=*śmaśāṇa*, whilst in AMg. JM. *susāṇa* *m* has been assimilated to *s* (§ 104). — *ṣṇa*=*ṇha*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 29,5,6; 74,9; Vikr. 48,11); Ś. *anuṇhadā*=*anuṣṇatā* (Mālav. 30,6), *uṇhaa*=*uṣṇaka*, *uṇhattaṇa*=**uṣṇatvāna* (Hc. 4,343,1), AMg. *siuṇha*=*śitoṣṇa*, in AMg., however, usually *usiṇa* (§ 133). — *uṇhisa*=*uṣṇiṣa* (Hc. 2,75); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha*, AMg. *kīṇha*, beside M. Ś. *kaśaṇa*, AMg. JM. *kaśiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kaṇha*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); JM. D. *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (§ 72.119). — *śma*=*mha*: M. *umhā*=*ūśman* (Grr.; G.), *umhavia*, *umhāla* (G.); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīśma* (§ 83); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārisa*=*yuśmadṛśa* (§ 245); M. JM. Ś. A. *tumhe*=*yuśme* (§ 422). — *mahiśmati* becomes in Ś. *mahiśsadi* (Bālar. 67,14). — *bhīśma*, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes *bhippha*, *śleśman*, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes *sepha*- beside *silimha* and AMg. JM. A. *simbha*, AMg. *śēmbha*- (§ 267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation **bhīśva*, **bhīśpa*, *śleśman*, **śleśpan* (§ 251.277). On *kohaṇḍi*=*kūśmāṇḍi*, AMg. *kohaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*=*kūśmāṇḍa* see § 127, on A *gimbha*=*grīśma* § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. *-ṣmin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-i* and *-u*, *ṣ* is assimilated to *m*: M. *uahiṇmi*, JM. *uṇahiṇmi*=*udadhau*; AMg. *sahassarasiṇmi*=*sahasra-raśmau*; AMg. *uūṇmi*=*ṣtau*; M. *paḥummi*=*prabhau* (§ 366^a.379). In AMg. *-ṣmin* mostly becomes *-m̐si*: *kucchiṇsi*=*kukṣau*; *pāṇiṇsi*=*pāṇau*; *leḷuṇsi*=*leṣṭau* (§ 74.379), in A. it becomes *-h̐* from *-ssim̐* (§ 263.313): *akkhih̐*=*akṣṇi*; *kalih̐*=*kalau* (§ 379). — *kṣṇa*, *kṣma* too are treated like *ṣṇa*, *ṣma*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa* (§ 315); M. AMg. *paṇha*=*paṣṇan* (Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kī. 2,94; G.H.R.; Uvās.; Ovav.); M. AMg. Ś. *paṇhala*=*paṣṇala* (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālatim. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [text *vahmala*]; Caṇḍak. 87,8); Ś. *paṇhalida* (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside *tiṇha*=*tikṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kī. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *tikkha* (C. 2,3; 3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Sūyag. 280,289; Uttar. 338; Dasav. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P.]; Venis. 61,14; Mahāv. 101,16; Bālar. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsy. 32,4; Mg. Mṛech. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1); AMg. *sutikkha* (Vivāhap. 424); Ś. *tikkhattaṇa* (Viddhaś. 99,9); A. *tikkhei* (Hc. 3,344); *tikkhālia* (sharpened; Deśin. 5,13; Pāīyal. 200) only. According to Mk.fol.26 one says *tikkha* in literary sense, and *tiṇha* in a secondary sense, as *tiṇho raīaro* “the sharp sun”. In Karp., however, *tikkha* is used also in a secondary sense — *lakṣmī* always becomes, even as

a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *lacchi* (Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Mk. fol. 24; Pāṭya. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2,49,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11; 52,5; Mālav. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālatīm. 218,2; Karp. 22,5; 35,3; 110,8; Anarghar. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,25; A. Hc. 4,436); on the other hand, *lakṣmaṇa* always becomes M. JM. Ś. *lakṣhaṇa* (C. 3,6; Mk. fol. 24; R.; Ki. 2; Uttarar. 32,5; 127,5; 190,1; 204,11; Mahāv. 52,14; Anarghar. 115,12; 317,16; Unmattar. 6,2; Pras. 88,6).

§ 313. *sna=ṇha*, a'ways also in the anlaut in AMg. JM. JŚ., which otherwise mostly retain *n* (§ 224): *ṇhāi=snāti* (Hc. 4,14); JM. *ṇhāmo=snamah* (Āv. 17,7), *ṇhāittā* (Āv. 38,2), *ṇhaviṇṇa* (Erz.), *ṇhāvesu*, *ṇhāvinti* (T. 6,5); AMg. *ṇhāṇei*, *ṇhāṇittā* (Jiv. 610), *ṇhāṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265), *ṇhāvei* (Nirayāv. 17), *ṇhāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 822), *ṇhāveha* (Vivāhap. 1261); Ś. *ṇhāissam* (Mṛcch. 27,14), *ṇhādum* (Mallikām. 128,11), *ṇhāia* (Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13; 12,11); M. *ṇhāa*, AMg. JM. *ṇhā'a*, Ś. *ṇhāda=snāta* (Pāṭya. 238; H.; Sūyag. 730; Vivāhap. 187,790 f.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12); *ṇhāvaanto* [text *vayando*] = *snāpayan* (Mallikām. 239,3); AMg. JM. *ṇhāvija=snāpita* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *ṇhāpa=snāna* (Vr. 3,33; Ki. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399); AMg. *aṇhāṇa=asnāna* (Paṇhāv. 452), *aṇhāṇaja* (Thān. 531; Vivāhap. 135); JM. *ṇhavaṇa=snapanā* (T. 6,1,3,6 [text *nhā'*]; Kk.); Ś. *ṇhavaṇa=snapanaka* (Nāgān. 39,4,13); AMg. *ṇhāvijā=snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964). So also *ṇhāvīa=*snāpita*; however, Ś. Mg. *nāvida* (§ 210). Ś. *paṇhuda=prasnuta* (Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarar. 73,10). In *sneha* and *snigdha* in M. AMg. JM. A. *s* is assimilated to *n* as a rule (Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102,109; Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26). Thus M. Ś. *ṇeha* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,332,1,406,2,422,6,8,426,1; Piṅgala 2,118), AMg. JM. *ṇeha* (C. 2,27; Pāṭya. 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.), in verses *ṇeha* also in Mg. (Mṛcch. 157,6) and D. (Mṛcch. 105,16); M. *niddha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, *niddhai* (H. R.; Āyār 1,5,6,4; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Paṇhāv. 285; Uttar. 1022; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); *nehālu=snehavat* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [ṇe]); A. *ninṇeha*, JM. *ninneha=niṇsneha* (Hc. 4,367,5; Erz.). Beside these there occur *sapeha*, A. *sasanehi*, *saṇiddha*, M. JM. Ś. *siṇiddha*, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. (§ 140). In *susā=snuṣā* (Hc. 1,261) beside AMg. *ṇhusā*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suphā*, M. *so'ṇhā* (§ 148), P. *sunusā* (§ 139,148), *n* has been assimilated. — *sma=mha*: PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *amhe=asme* (§ 419); M. JM. Ś. *amhārisa=asmā-dṛṣa* (§ 245); M. Ś. A. *vimhaa*, JM. *vimhaya=vismaya* (G. R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4). — *bhasman*, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also *bhappa*, which points to the transition steps **bhasvan*, **bhaspan* (§ 251,277,312), in addition to AMg. JM. *bhāsa*, Ś. *bhasa* (§ 65), JM. *bhasama* (§ 132). The pronominal ending *-smin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-a*, becomes either *-ssim*, Mg. *ṣṣim*, as in Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taṣṣim=tasmin* (§ 425). *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, Mg. *edaṣṣim=etasmin* (§ 426); PG. *casi cāsmin*, AMg. Ś. *assim=asmin* (§ 429), or M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *-mmi*, as *tammi*, *eammi*, *ejammi* (§ 425,426), M. *jōvvaṇammi=yauvane*, AMg. *bambhāmmi kappammi=brāhṇe kalpe*, JM. *pāḍaliputtammi=pāḍaliputre* (§ 366^a), or AMg. mostly *-msi*, as *taṇsi*, *imaṇsi* (§ 425,430), *logaṇsi=loke*, *dāragamsi=dārake* (§ 366^a), as AMg. also *aṇsi=asmi* says (§ 74,498). *-ssim*, through **-sim*, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become *-him*, as in *tahim*, *jahim*, *kahim=tasmin*, *yasmin*, *kasmin*; Mg. *kuḷāhim=kule*; *gharahi=ghare* (§ 264,366^a, 425,427,428).

Instead of *-m̐mi* Hc. 1,23 permits also *-ñmi*: *vaṇammi* and *vaṇaṁmi*=*vane*. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — *s* has been assimilated with *m* in AMg. *mi*=**smi*=*asmi*, AMg. JM. *mo*=*smaḥ*, beside the usual *mhi*, *mha*, *mho* (§ 498), on the other hand *m* has been assimilated to *s* in JM. *sarāmi*, *sarai*, ĀMg. *sarai*, JM. *sarasu*=*smarāmi*, *smarati*, *smara*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JS. *visarida*=*vismṛta*, beside JM. *vissariya*, dialectical *vimharaḥ*=*vismarati*, common *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaredi*, *visumarāmi*, Mg. *śumaledi*, *visumaledi* (§478); *seram*=*smeram* (Hc. 2,78). M. *bharai* (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. *smṛ*; H. R. s. v. *smar*), JM. *bhariya*=*smṛta* (Pāiyā. 194; Erz.), also *bhalai* (Hc. 4,74), M. *sambharaṇa* (G.) will stand for **mharai*, **mbharai* (§267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also *marai*, *vibharai* (MS. *vimbharai*).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 *ṣṇa*, *sna* become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *sma*; only in *grīṣma*, *ṣma* becomes *mha*: *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu*; *usma*=*uṣman*; *vismā*=*vismaya*; but *gimha*=*grīṣma*. For *sma*, Śīlārka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text *akasmāt* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), *akasmāddanḍa* (Sūyag. 682) and *asmākam* (Sūyag. 983) he notes that these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadha, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Thāṇ. 372 *akasmāddanḍa*. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as *akamhābhaya* (Samav. 19; Thāṇ. 455); the forms with *sma* have been adopted from Skt. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 teaches *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ś* for *ṣ*, *s* in other sound groups. For *śna*, *ṣma* the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma* or *sna*, *sma* or *ṇha*, *mha*. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely *gimha* (Mṛcch. 10,4), but also *paṇha*=*praśna* (Mṛcch. 80,18; 81,5); *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 116,17; Venis. 33,12); *viṇku*=*viṣṇu* (Prab. 63,15); *tunḥia*=*tūṣṇika* (Mṛcch. 164,14); always *amhāṇam*, *amhe*, *tumha*, *tumhāṇam*, *tumhe* (pro ex. Mṛcch. 31,15; 158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛcch. 139,13; 16,19); *amhāliṣa*=*asmādyā* (Mṛcch. 164,5); *ṇhāmi*=*snāmi*, *ṇhāde*=*snātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 113,21; 136,11) etc. The ending *-smin* in the MSS. always becomes *-śśim*, and *-sma* always becomes *-mha*. So has also the Lalitav.: *edaśśim*=*etasmin* (565,6), *yāṇiśśama*=*jñāyāmah* (565,9), *amhadeśiya*, *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam* (565,12,14; 566,9), *payāśmha* [sic]=*prakāśyāma* (567,1).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated (§ 131-140), according to the principal rules (§ 279, 287, 296, 297). — *śya*=*ssa*; Mg. *śsa*: JM. Ś. *avassam*=*avaśyam* (Erz.; Lalitav. 555,5; Śak. 44,6; 128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. *ṇṣai*, AMg. *nassai*, JM. *nāṣai*. Ś. *ṇassadi*=*naśyati*; JM. *nassāmo*=*naśyāmah* Mg. *viṇaśṣadu* (§ 63); Ś. *rāṣāla*=*rājaśyāla* (Mṛcch. 23,19; 58,7; 151,16; 173,1); M. *veśā*=*veśyā* (H.), Ś. *veśājāṇa* (Mṛcch. 57,15) and *veśājāṇa* (Mṛcch. 53,20); AMg. *veśsa*, *vaśsa*=*vaiśya* (§ 61). — *śra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *miśa*. Ś. *miśa*, Mg. *miśa*=*miśra* (§ 64); M. JM. Ś. *viśamai*=*viśrāmyati*, Ś. *vissamīadu* (§ 64,489); Ś. *sussūsidapuruvoo* *sussūsidavoo*=*śuśrūṣitapūroah* *śuśrūṣitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuśśūside*=*śuśrūṣitah* (Mṛcch. 37,1); AMg. JM. Ś. *śeṭṭhi*=*śreṣṭhin* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Niraṭāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 28,20; 142,12; Śak. 139,5, Mudrār. 41,8; 43,1; 243,2; 248,7; 252,1; 254,4). On *aṁsu*=*aśru*, *maṁsu*=*śamśru* see § 74. — *śla* becomes *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*¹ (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118; 2,75, 79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H.R.; Vivāhap. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *parisaṇha*=*pariślakṣṇa* (R.); but also with assimilation of *s* M. *laṇha* (Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2; 96,2), *laṇhaa* (Karp. 49,11).

In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: *saṅha laṅha* (Savav. 211,214; Pannav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. *saggha*=*ślāghya* (Sūyag. 182); Ś. *sāhaṇia*=*ślāghaniya* (Mālav. 32,5), but also *lāha*=*ślāghate* (Hc. 1,187); AMg. *seṁbha*; AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, dialectical *sepha*=*ślesman* (§ 267,312), but also AMg. *lissanti*=*ślisyante* (Sūyag. 218). — AMg. *lesaṇayā* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(*saṁ*)*śleṣaṇatā*, but it is =*reṣaṇatā* (damage). Generally the group is separated either by *a* or *i*. — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. JM. *śsa*, AMg. JM. Ś. *assa*=*aśca* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa*=*pārśva* (§ 87), falsely Ś. *passa* (Priyad. 23,16); JŚ. *viṇassara*=*vināśvara* (Kattig. 401,339); Ś. *vissāvasu*=*viśvāvasu* (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. *viśśāvasu* (Mṛcch. 11,9); M. *sasaī*, *śsasaī*=*śvasiti*, *śśvasiti*; M. *ūssasaī*, AMg. *ussasaī*=*ucchvasiti*; M. *nisasaī*, AMg. *nissasaī*, Ś. *nisasadi*=*niśśvasiti*; Mg. *śasadi*, *ūśasadu*, *niśasadu*, *śamaśśasadu* (§496); M. *sāva*, JM. *sāvaya*, Ś. *ā*. *sāvada*=*svāpada* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak.32,7; Mṛcch.148,22). — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: Ś. *abhujiśśā*=*abhujiśyā* (Mṛcch. 59,25;60,11;65,1); AMg. *ārussa*=*ārūśya* (Sūyag. 293), beside *ārusiśyāṇam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); Ś. *pussarā*=*pusyarāga* (Mṛcch. 70,25; so we should read)*; AMg. JM. *maṇūsa*, M. AMg. Ś. *maṇussa*, Mg. *maṇūśsa*=*manuśya* (§ 63); AMg. JM. *śisa*, JM. Ś. *sisṣa*=*śiśya* (§63); in future, as A. *karisu*=*karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4). *phutṭṭisu*=*sphuṭṭisyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12), JM. *bhavissai*, Ś. *bhaviśśadi*, Mg. *bhaviśśadi*, M. *hośśam*, A. *hosai* (§ 521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this *ssa*, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become *ha* through *sa*, as *kāhimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*=**kāryāmi*=*karisyāmi*; *hohāmi*, *hohimi*=**bhoyāmi*; *kittaihimī*=*kirtayisyāmi*; A. *pekkhihimī*=**prekṣisyāmi* (§263.520 ff.). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: AMg. *osakkaī*, *paccosakkaī*=**apaśvaṣkati*, **pratyapaśvaṣkati*; M. *parisakkaī*=**pariśvaṣkati* (§302); Ś. *parissaadi*=*pariśvajate* (Mālatīm. 108,3; Mṛcch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), *parissaadha*=*pariśvajadhvam* (Śak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Utvarar. 204,5), *parissaia*=*pariśvaya* (Śak. 77,9; Mālatīm. 210,7). On AMg. *piusiyā*, M. *piussī*, AMg. *piussiyā*, M. AMg. *piucchā*=*piṭṭvasā*, AMg. *māusiyā*, M. *māussī*, *māuechā*=*māṭṭvasā*, dialectical *pupphā*, *pupphā* see §148. — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. JM. Ś. *rahasa*=*rahasya* (G.H.; Karp. 66,11; Erz.; Mṛcch. 60,7; Vikr. 15,3,12;16,1,11,18; 79,9; Karp.67,1); M.Ś. *vaassa*, M. *vaamśa*, JM. *vayaṁsa*=*vayasya* (§74); Ś. *hassa*=*hāsyā* (Mṛcch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in *-śya*, as M. Ś. *kāmassa*=*kāmasya* (H. 2,148.326.586; Śak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karp. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs *ha* from *sa* (§264), as Mg. *kāmāha* (Mṛcch. 10,24), A. *kāmaho* (Hc.4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *Dh.tassa*, Mg. *taśsa*, A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, M. *tāsa*, also Mg. *tāha*, A. *taho*=*tasya* (§425). Likewise in future as AMg. *dāhāmo* beside *dāsāmo*=*dāsyāmah* (§530); JM. *pāhāmi*, AMg. *pāham*=*pāsyāmi*, AMg. *pāhāmo*=*pāsyāmah* (§524). — *śya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. *ūsā*=*usā* (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. *tamissā*=*tamisrā* (Kk.); M. *visambha*, Ś. *vissambha*=*visambha* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sahassa*, Mg. *śahaśsa*=*sahasra* (§448). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: *bappasāmihi*=*bappasvāmibhiḥ* (6,11), *sakakāle*=*svakakāle* (7,44) *sahattha*=*svahastā* (7,51); JM. Ś. *tavassī*, Mg. *tavaśsi*=*tapasvin* (Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 22,7; 76,8), JM. Ś. *tavassīṇi*, Mg. *tavaśsiṇi*=*tapasvinī* (Kk.; Śak. 39,4;78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,6); M. JM. *sarassai*, Ś. *sarassadi*=*sarasvati* (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. *siṇṇa*=*soinna* (G. H.); Ś. *śādam*, Mg. *śādam*=*svāgatam* (§ 203). On M. *maṇaṁsi*=*manasvin*, AMg. *oyaṁsi*=*ojasvin* and similar other forms see § 74; on *haṁsa*=*hrasva*, beside *hassa*, *rahasa* see § 354.

1. Hc. and with him JACOBI, KZ. 23,398 wrongly derive *saṅha* from *sūkṣma* and Hc. at 2,75 expressly separates *saṅha*=*sūkṣma* and *sapha*=*ślakṣṇa*. Correctly WEBER,

ZDMG. 28,402; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 68; CHILDERS s. v. *saṃho*. — 2. Aup. S. s. v. — 3. FISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāraṭilaka p. 102 f.; Mahāvvyutpatti 235,28.

§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis+sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt. : *kṣīra* beside *kṣira*; *vathsa* beside *vatsa*; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*¹. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tṣa* and *pṣa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śṣa*². The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha* regularly became *cca*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. *ska*, *hka* (§ 324) points, and *ṣka* for *kṣa* became *kkha* (§ 302). The assumption of ASCOLI³ that *ṣa* become *kha* has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of JOHANSSON⁴ that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent⁵.

1. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,21 f.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 113. — 2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 116. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 236ff. — 4. Shāhbāzgarhi 2,22. — 5. Cf. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,3; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24), and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *ākṣtigāṇa akṣyādi* (Vr. 3,30; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Pkt. p. 60). Mk. fol. 24 groups the words that always have *cha* for *kṣa* in the *gāṇa kṣurādi*, and includes in it the words *kṣura*, *akṣi*, *makṣikā*, *kṣīra*, *sadykṣa*, *kṣetra*, *kukṣi*, *ikṣu*, *kṣudhā*, and *kṣudh*. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *ākṣtigāṇa kṣamādi*. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If Skt. *kṣa* goes back to *śṣa*, so in the Avestā it becomes *s̥a*, in Pkt., originally through **śsha*, **schā* (§ 316) it became *cca* : *chaa* = Av. *śata* in *husata* = *kṣata* from *kṣan* (Hc. 2,17); in addition to AMg. *chāṇa* (murder) = *kṣāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,4; 1,5,3,5); *chāṇe* = **kṣāṇet* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; 1,7,8,9), *chāṇāvae*, *chāṇantaṁ* = **kṣāṇāpayet*, **kṣāṇantaṁ* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); but M. *khaa* = *kṣata* (G. H. R.), *parikkhaa* (R.); AMg. *khaṇaha* = **kṣāṇata* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); AMg. *akkhaja*, JŚ. *da* (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 385,69); Ś. *parikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,25; 61,24; Śak. 27,9), *aparikkhada* (Vikr. 10,4), *avarikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,18,24). — M. AMg. JM. *chuhā* = Av. *s̥uḍa* = *kṣudhā* (Grr.; H.; Thāp. 328; Vivāhap. 40,647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyādh. 348; Ovav.; Dvār. 500,7; Erz.), *chuhāiṇya* (hungry; Pāiyal. 183); but also AMg. JM. Ś. *khuḥā* (Thāp. 572; Vivāhap. 162,493,816; Pañhāv. 200; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Dasav. 635,16 [*khuppiḍāsāe*]; Dasav. N. 662,1,2; Erz.; Karp. 76,9 ed. Bomb., whilst KONOW 75,6 reads *chuhā*); AMg. *khuhiya* = *kṣudhita* (Pañhāv. 340). — M. *chetta*, AMg. *chitta* = Av. *s̥oiθra* = *kṣetra*, but also AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khētta*, AMg. *khitta* (§ 84). M. AMg. JM. JM. Ś. *acchi* = Av. *aśi* = *akṣi* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; 1,8,1,19; 2,2,2,1,7; 2,3,2,5; Vivāgas. 11; Vivāhap. 1152; Āv. 8,20; 30,4; Śak. 30,5; 31,13; Vikr. 43,15; 48,15; Ratn. 319,18; Karp. 11,2; Nāgān. 11,9; Jivān. 89,3); but also AMg. JM. Ś. A. *akkhi* (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34,1; Anarghar. 305,13; Hc. 4,357,2). — AMg. *accha* (§ 57), M. AMg. Ś. *riccha* (§ 56) = Av. *arēśa* = *ṣkṣa*; but also M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (§ 56). — M. *kaccha* = Av. *kaśa* = *kakṣa* (H.); but also AMg. JM. *kakkha* (G. R.); Nāyādh. 434). — *tacchāi* (Hc. 4,194),

AMg. *taecchiya* (Uttar. 596 [text °tthi]) = Av. *taśa* = *takṣati*, **taṣkita*, but also *takkhaī* (Hc. 4,194); *takkhāṇa* = *takṣan* (§ 403).

§ 319. Original *kṣa* becomes *hṣa* in the Avestā, *kkha* in Pkt.: AMg. *khattiya*, Ś. *khattia* = *kṣatriya* (Sūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 506.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29, 22; 64, 21; Uttarar. 167, 10; Anarghar. 58, 8; 70, 1; 155 5; 157, 10; Hasy. 32, 1; Pras. 47, 7; 48, 4, 5); JM. *khattiā* (sic.; KI 3); AMg. *khattiyāṇi* = *kṣatriyāṇi* (Kappas.), *khatti* = *kṣatriṇ* (Sūyag. 317); Ś. *nikkhattikada* = *nikṣatrikṣta* (Mahāv. 27, 6), to Av. *hṣaθra*. — AMg. JM. *khira* = Av. *hṣīra* = *kṣīra* (Hc. 2, 17; Sūyag. 817, 822; Vivāhap. 660.942; Pannav. 522; Uttar. 895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Av. 28, 23; 42, 2); *khiri* = *kṣiri* (Pāiyāl. 240); M. *khiroa*, JM. *khīroja* = *kṣiroda* (G. H.; Erz.); AMg. *khīrodaṇa* (Ovav.); Ś. *khīrasamudda* = *kṣīrasamudra* (Prab. 4, 7); but also M. *chira* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 123; G. H.); AMg. *chirabirālī* = *kṣīrabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532; [text °vi]). For Ś. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes *khira*. — *khivai* = *kṣipati* to Av. *hṣīva* (Hc. 4, 143); M. *akkhivai* = *ākṣipati* (R.); *ukkhivai* = *utkṣipati* (H.); *samukkhivai* (G.); JM. *khivasi* (Erz. 83, 18), *khivai* (Erz.); AMg. *khivāhi* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16), *pakkhivaha* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 3), *pakkhivējjā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 3; Vivāhap. 270), *nikkhiyava* (Panhāv. 373); *pakkhippa* (Sūyag. 280.282.288.378); Ś. *khividum* = *kṣeptum* (Vikr. 25, 16), *khitta* = *kṣipta* (Mṛech. 41, 6, 22), *akkhitta* = *ākṣipta* (Vikr. 75, 12 so we should read); *uvakkhiva* = *upakṣipa* (Mṛech. 72, 14), *ukkhivā* = *utkṣipya* (Mṛech. 3, 17), *nikkhividum* = *nikṣeptum* (Mṛech. 24, 22), *nikkhitta* (Mṛech. 29, 13; 145, 11; Śak. 78, 13; Vikr. 84, 8), *nikkhiva* (Vikr. 75, 10), *parikkhivāmo* = *parikṣipyāmahe* (Caṇḍak. 28, 11) etc.; but also *ucchitta* = *utkṣipta* (Bh. 3, 30; Deśin. 1, 124; Pāiyāl. 84) and M. *chivai* (touches; Hc. 4, 182; G. H. R.); *chitta* (touched; Hc. 4, 258; Pāiyāl. 85; H.). — AMg. JM. *khudda* = *kṣudra*, *khuddaṇa*, AMg. *khuddaga* = *kṣudraka* (§ 294) = Av. *hṣūdra* (tremen). — M. *khunṇa* = *kṣunṇa* (Deśin. 2, 75; Pāiyāl. 222; H.) from Av. *hṣusta*; but also *ucchunṇa* = *utkṣunṇa* (Pāiyāl. 201). — M. *khubbhaī* = *kṣubhyati* (Hc. 1, 154; R.); *samkhuhia* (G.), AMg. *khobhaium* = *kṣobhayitum* (Uttar. 921), *khobhittae* (Uvās.), *khubhiya* (Ovav.), *kokhubbhamāna* (§ 556); Ś. *samkhohida* = *samkṣobhita* (Śak. 32, 8); A. *khuhia* (Vikr. 67, 11); M. *khoha* = *kṣobha* (R.); JM. *mohakkhoha* (Pav. 380, 7), but also PG. °*chobhān* °*kṣobham* (6, 32); *vicchuhire* = *vikṣubhyanti* (Hc. 3, 142); AMg. *chubhanti*, *ucchubhaī*, *nicchubhaī*, JM. *chubhaī*, *chuhai*, M. *vicchuhai* etc. (§ 66). — M. *sikkhai* = *śikṣati* (H.); M. A. *sikkhia*, JM. *sikkhiya*, Ś. *sikkhida* = *śikṣita* (G. H.; Erz.; Mṛech. 37, 5; Vikr. 62, 11), JM. Ś. *sikkhanta* (Erz.; Mṛech. 71, 21), Ś. *sikkhiadi*, *sikkhidukāma* (Mṛech. 39, 22; 51, 24), *sikkhāvemi* (Priyad. 40, 4) to Av. *asiḥṣanti*.

§ 320. Sometimes Pkt. and Av. go asunder. *uccha* = *ukṣan* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; 3, 56); *ucchāṇa* (Hc. 3, 65), but Av. *uḥṣān*. Mk. fol. 24 permits, however, also *ukkha*, beside *uccha*. — PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* = *dakṣiṇā* (Mṛech. 5, 1; Karp. 103, 6), but Av. *daśiṇa*. Yet AMg. has *daccha* (Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *dakkha* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. *macchiā* (Grr.; H.); AMg. JM. *macchiyā* (Vivāgas. 12; Uttar. 245.1036.1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503, 6), AMg. *macchigā* (Panhāv. 72) = *maḥṣi* = *makṣikā*; but also Ś. *nimmakkhiā* = *nirmakṣika* (Śak. 36, 16; 124, 7; Viddhaś. 62, 2). M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rakkhasa* = *rākṣasa* (R.; Sūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996.1084; Thāp. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛech. 68, 8; Śak. 43, 6; 45, 1; Mahāv. 96, 12; 97, 7, 15; 99, 2; Bālar. 221, 5), AMg. *rakkhasi* = *rākṣasi* (Uttar. 252) to Av. *rai*, *raiāh*. — M. JM. *vaccha* = *vṛkṣa* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 54; G.; Karp. 64, 2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645, 5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "tree") to Av. *urvāḥ* (to grow). Besides *vaccha*, according to Vr. 3, 31; Hc. 2, 127; Ki. 2, 83; Mk.

fol. 24 *vrkṣa* can form also *rukṣha*, and according to Rāmārkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 66 only *rukṣha* is used in Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMg. Ś. employ only *rukṣha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1; 1,8,2,3; 2,1,2,3; 2,3,2,15; 2,3,3,13; 2,4,2,11,12; Sūyag. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhap. 275.445; Samav. 233; Paṇṇav. 30; Rāyap. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 40,24; 72,8; 73,6,7; 77,16; 87,11,12; Śak. 9,10; 10,2; 12,2,6; Mālav. 72,3); AMg. Ś. *kapparukṣha*=*kalpa-vrkṣa* (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2); M. JM. have *rukṣha* (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff; Rṣabhap. 29; Erz.), JM. *kapparukṣha* (Erz.) beside *vaccha*. The word *rukṣha* has nothing to do with *vrkṣa*, but is=*rukṣa*, for which ROTH (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning "tree" in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between *kkha* and *ccha* is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M. AMg. JM. *ucchu* beside AMg. Ś. *ikkhu*=*ikṣu*, AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (§ 117.84). — M. AMg. JM. *kucchi*=*kukṣi* (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2,4,10,12; Paṇḥāv. 281; Vivāhap. 295.1035.1274; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); *kucchimai*=*kukṣimati* (pregnant; Deśin. 2,41), beside AMg. Ś. *kuṣkhi* (Nāyādh. 308; Paṇḥāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Deśin. 2,34 declares as provincial. — *chura*=*kṣura* (Grr.), *churamaḍḍi*-, *churahattha*=*kṣuramardī*, *kṣurahasta* (barber; Deśin. 3,31), beside M. AMg. *khura* (Karp. 94,4; Sūyag. 546; Vivāhap. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *khurapatta*=*kṣurapatta* (Thāp. 321). — AMg. A. *chāra*=*kṣāra* (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvās.; Hc. 4,365,3), *chāribhūya*=*kṣāribhūta* (Vivāhap. 237), *chārija*=*kṣārita* (Vivāhap. 322 f. 348), beside AMg. JM. *khāra* (Sūyag. 520.281; Ovav.; Kk.). — Cf. § 326. — M. AMg. JM. *peccai*, but Ś. *pekkhadi*=*prekṣate* (§ 84). — M. AMg. JM. *vaccha*=*vakṣas* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *vakkhatthala*=*vakṣasthala* (Mṛcch. 68,19; Dhanañjayav. 11,9; Hāsy. 40,22), against the dialect *vacchatthala* (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156,10 [text °iṭṭha°]; 201,13 [text °iṭṭa°]; Cait. 38,11; 44,9). — M. JM. JS. *sāriccha*, but AMg. Ś. A. *sārikha*=**sādykṣya* (§ 78.245). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of *kṣa*, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.¹ One says for example *akkhi* and *akṣi*, and their contaminations in Pkt. are *acchi* and *akkhi*.

1. Thus correctly ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 238 f.; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,20. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 322. With the different treatments of *kṣa* in *kṣaṇa* and *kṣamā* is connected the difference in meaning. *kṣaṇa* becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, *chaṇa* in the meaning "festival", on the other hand it becomes *chaṇa* in the meaning "moment". Thus M. AMg. JM. *chaṇa* "festival" (Pāyāl. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhap. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khāṇa* "moment" (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135.137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhaś. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 *cha* never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read *unatthidakkhaṇe*. KI. 2,83 teaches *khāṇa* and *chaṇa* with a difference of meaning. — *kṣamā* becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, *chamā* in the meaning "earth", but *khamā* in the meaning "patience". Vr. 3,31; KI. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place *khamā* and *chamā* beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only *khamā*. In AMg. *chamā*= "earth" (Dasav. 641,13), in M. AMg. JM. *khamā*= "patience" (H.; Vivāhap. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMg. *khamāsamaṇa*=*kṣmāśramaṇa* (Kappas.).

§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before *kṣa*. Then *kkha* becomes *hā* (§ 188) through *kha* (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root *ikṣ* and its derivatives : AMg. *ihā*=*ikṣā*¹ (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *anuppehanti*=*anuprekṣante* (Ovav. § 31), *anupehāe* (Āyār. 2,1,4,2), *anuppehā*=*anuprekṣā* (Thān. 211,213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), *uvehējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,9,2; 2,3,1,16,18; 2,3,2,1,3,8), *uvehamāṇa*=*upekṣamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,4,4,4; 2,16,4), *pehe*=*prekṣeta* (Uttar. 726), *peha*=*prekṣa-sva* (Sūyag. 139), *pehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; 1,8,4,7; 2,3,1,6), JM. *pehamāṇo* (Āv. 17,10); AMg. *pehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,8,1,20; 1,8,4,10; 2,1,1,3; 2,1,4,1,4 ff.; 2,1,9,2; 2,4,2,6; Uttar. 33), *pehiya* (Uttar. 919), *pehiyā* (Sūyag. 104), *pehiyam* (Dasav. 633,3), *pehā*=*prekṣā* (Dasav. 613,21), *pehi*=*prekṣin* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar. 30), *pehiṇi* (Uttar. 663), *samuppehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4), *samupehamāṇa* (Sūyag. 506), *samupehiyā* (Dasav. 629,39), *sampehei* (Vivāhap. 152,248,841,916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *sampehāi* (Dasav. 643,10), *sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,5,3,2; 1,6,1,3[*sā*°]; Sūyag. 669), *sāpehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,23), *sampehittā* (Vivāhap. 152,248). Futher AMg. *lūha*. beside *lukkha*=*rūkṣa*, *lūhei*, *lūhiya*=*rūkṣayati*, *rūkṣita*² (§ 87,257); AMg. JM. *seha*=Pāli *sekha*=Skt. *śaikṣa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyag. 165,511,520; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); AMg. *sehanti*=**śaikṣanti* (Sūyag. 115), *sehāvei*=**śaikṣā-payati*³ (Vivāhap. 797; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). *sehāviya* (Vivāhap. 1246). — The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. *suhuma*, *suhama*=*sūkṣma* (§ 82,131,140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JM. *dāhiṇa*=*dakṣiṇa*; AMg. *dāhiṇilla*, *āyāhiṇa*, *payāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa* (§ 65) and AMg. *dehāi*, *dehāe*=**ḍṛkṣati*, **ḍṛkṣate*, A. *drehi* (§ 66,554).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely equated as=*ihā* by JACOBI, Kalpas. s. v. and STEINTHAL, Specimen s. v. — 2. So rightly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely equated as=*lūpita* by JACOBI and STEINTHAL l. c. — 3. So rightly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.; falsely STEINTHAL l. c.=*sedhayati*.

§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 *kṣa* becomes *skā*: *laskāse*=*rākṣasah*; *daske*=*dakṣah*. Hc. 4,297 and Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for *prekṣ* (that is to say *ikṣ* with *pra*) and *ācakṣ* (i. e. *cakṣ* with *ā*): *pēskadi*=*prekṣate*; *ācakṣadi*=*ācaṣṭe*. In all other words, according to them (Hc. 4,296) *kṣa* becomes *hka*¹ in the anlaut; *yaḥke*=*yakṣah*; *laḥkase*=*rākṣasah*; *paḥka*=*pakṣa* (Hc. 4,302). In the anlaut *kṣa* is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: *khaṇyalahālā*=*kṣayajaladharāḥ*. Kṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report p. 344 teaches *śka*: *paśka*=*pakṣa*; *laśkā*=*lākṣā*; *paśkāladu*=*prakṣālayatu*, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have *pakkhāladu* in the same verse with *kṣa* treated as in the anlaut. Lalitav. has throughout *śka*: *alaskiyyamāṇa*=*alakṣyamāṇa* (565,7); *laśikidam*=*lakṣitam* (566,4); *bhiskam*=*bhikṣam* (566,8); *yujjhaśkamāṇam*=*yuddhaśkamāṇam* (566,11); *laśkam*, *laśkāim*=*lakṣam*, *lakṣāni* (566,11). Likewise also *pēśkiyyamādi*, *pēśkiyyasi* [so to be read], *pēśkidum*=*prekṣyante*, *prekṣyase*, *prekṣitum* (569,13,15,19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends *pac[e]kḥhikadam* — *pratyakṣikṛtam* (566,1). The MSS. of the dramas and the editions based on them treat *kṣa* in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as *khaṇa*=*kṣaṇa* (Mṛch. 136,15,16; 160,11; Prab. 50,9), but also throughout in the anlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS., like that of Mṛch. 13,6 *peṣa*, *peṭṭha*, 21,15, *pēścha*, 132,20, *laścide*, *laśchide*, 132, 21 *pēścāmi*, *peccāmi*, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For *jena attāṇo pakkham ujjhia parapakkho pamāṇikariadi* (Mudrār. 178,6)² Hc. 4,302 read *ye appaṇo pakkham ujjhia palaśsa pakkham pamāṇikaleśi*³ and for *amaccarakkhasam pekkhidum ido*

eva āacchadi (Mudrār. 154,3)² he read *amaccalaḥkaṣaṁ pēṣkiduṁ idō yyeva āacchadi*. Hence, for example in Mṛcch. 120,3 instead of *akkhīhim bhakkhiadi dantehim pēkkhiadi*=*akṣibhyām bhakṣyate dantaiḥ prekṣyate* we should read *ahkīhim bhaḥkiadi dantehim pēskīadi*. The MSS. give no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 14,2 they have printed *kṣasya iko 'nādaṁ yathā yaṣke laikase yakṣo rākṣasa iti*. The best MS. (KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads *hko, yahkē, lahkase* [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita: *jihvā-mūlīyaśca kvacichaurasmyādau vakṣyate* [takṣaḥ takḥ koṣakāraśca māgadhyām vakṣyate] [pakṣaḥ paṣko] [sic] [lāksā lālkā] [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported *takḥka* for *ś.*, at times the manuscript gives *o* in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that *takḥka* cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So TELANG. From the manuscripts it is not possible to ascertain whether *pala* or *palāśa*, and *kaliadi* or *kaleṣi* are to be inserted here rightly. — 4. Correctly there would be *uyyha* (§ 236). — 5. So TELANG. The MS. E. correctly has *yyeva*, elsewhere quite false *eva* or *jīveva* and *rakkhaṣaṁ*, as also the edd. Calc.

§ 325. As in Pāli, in AMg. JM. also *kṣulla*, with loss of the aspiration, becomes *culla* (Deśin. 3,22; Pāiyāl. 58); JM. *cullatāya*=*kṣullatāta* (uncle; Erz.); AMg. JM. *cullapiu*=*kṣullapitr* (uncle; Dasav. 628,5; Erz.); AMg. *cullamāyā* (aunt; Antag. 70; Nāyādh. §84-87.95 96; Nirayāv.); AMg. *cullasāyā*, *ga*=*kṣullaśataka* (Uvās.), *cullahimavanta*=*kṣulāhimavat* (Thān. 72.74.176.177); *culloḍa* (the eldest brother; Deśin. 3,17). *cullaka* has been taken also into Skt. of the Jainas (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v. *cullo*).

§ 326. If *kṣa* goes back to early *z'ṣa*, through *z'ṣha*, *z'jha*, it becomes *jjha*¹ in Pkt.: *jharai*=*kṣarati* (Hc. 4,173); JM. *jharei* (Erz.); *nijjharai*=*niḥkṣarati* (Hc. 4,20); M. *ōjjhara*=**avakṣara* (Hc. 1,98; Deśin. 1,160; Pāiyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as=*nirjhara*, which itself arises from Pkt.², and becomes M. Ś. *nijjhara* (G. H.; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text *ōjja*]), AMg. JM. *nijjhara* (Pāiyāl. 216). Beside one another stand *ōjjhara* and *nijjhara* in AMg. (Paṇṇav. 80.84 ff. 94 [text *ujjhara* and several times *nijjara*]). A. *pajjharai*=*prakṣarati* (Hc. 4,173; Piṅgala 1,102); *pajjharā* (Kī. 2,84); Ś. *pajjharāvedī* (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also *jharā* (goldsmith; Deśin. 3,54). — AMg. *jhiāi* for **jhāi*=**kṣāti*=*kṣāyati*³ (burns [intransitive]); Sūyag. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Thān. 478); *jhiāyanti* (Thān. 478); M. *vijjhāi* (Hc. 2,28; H.), *vijjhānta* (H.); M. *vijjhā* (G. H. R.), AMg. JM. *vijjhāya* (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Āv. 25,3); M. *vijjhavai* (G.), *vijjhavai* (H. R.), *vijjhavia* (H. R.); AMg. *vijjhavējja*, *vijjhaventu* (Āyār. 2,2,1,10), *vijjhaviya* (Uttar. 709). *samijjhāi* (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with *vindh*⁴. — AMg. *jhāma*=*kṣāma* (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,10,22), *jhāmei* (Sūyag. 722; Vivāhap. 1257), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 1251), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 321.1251; Āv. 25,1; 26,17); JM. *nijjhāmemo* (Dvār. 505,9), beside M. Ś. *khāma* (measure; G.; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMg. *jhiijai*=*kṣiyate* (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3; 4,20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. *jhiijae*, *jhiijāmo* [so to be read], *jhiijihisi* (H.), *jhiijanti* (G. H.); JM. *jhiijāmi* (Rṣabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bomb.]); A. *jhiijāu* (Hc. 4,425,1); M. JM. *jhiijanta* (G. H. R.; Kk. III, 68); Ś. *jhiijanti* (Viddhaś. 99,2); M. Ś. A. *jhīṇa*=*kṣīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; Kī. 2,84; Pāiyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 29,5; 69,23; 74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMg. Ś. *khīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; H.; Anug. 282 ff.; Sūyag. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas; Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has *jhīṇa*), and *chīṇa* (Hc. 2,3). — *jhodaṁ*=*kṣoṭayati* (throws; hurls; Dhātupāṭha 35,23) in *jhodia* (hunter; Deśin. 3,60); *nijjhodaṁ*=**niḥkṣoṭayati* (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in *jhōṇḍaliā* (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Deśin. 3,60). — Apparently *jhampai* (wanders about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from *kṣap* (to send off; Dhātupāṭha 35,84c), a root which occurs also in AMg.

jhampittā=*anistavacanāvakāśam kṛtvā* (having blamed; Samav. 83) and *jhampia*, JM. *jhampiṣa* (torn; shaken; Deśin. 3,61; Erz. 85,28) and *jhampaṇi* (eye-brow; Deśin. 3,54; Pāṇyā. 250)⁸. — *jharua* (midge; Deśin. 3,54), will be derived from the root *kṣar* with the suffix *-uka* (§ 118. 596), to which belongs *kṣāra* (sharp; pricking; biting) which forms AMg. A. *chāra*, AMg. JM. *khāra* in the meaning "saltpetre", "potash" (§ 321) — Hc. 4,181 mentions also *avaajjhāi* beside *avacchāi*=**avacakṣati* (§ 499).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie 3,54; Altind. Gr. § 209. — 2. JACOBI in ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 59. — 3. Not to be interchanged with AMg. *jhijāi*=*dhyaṭi* (§ 131. 280. 479). — 4. WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 376. 428; on H. 109. 333. 407; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 16 f. *vijjhāi* as *vidhyā* has entered also into Skt. of the JAINAS (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekārthasamgraha, Wied, 1893 p. 1 ff. — 5. BÜHLER, Pāṇyā., s. v. *jhampaṇi*.

§ 327. *tṣa* becomes *ccha* (Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25), Mg. *śca* (§ 233), through *tṣa*, *tṣha*, *tcha* (§ 316): AMg. *kucchaṇṇija*=*kutsaniya* (Paṇhāv. 218); *kucchia*=*kutsita* (Kī. 2,92); *ciiccha*=*cikitsati*, Ś. *cikicchidavva*, AMg. *tigicchaṭ*, *vitigicchāmi* (§ 215. 555); AMg. *ticchā*, *tigicchā*=*cikitsā*, *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (§ 215), Ś. *ciicchaa* (Mālav. 27,12; so to be read with the Pengl MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of BOLLESEN for *cikissaa*, *ciissaa* ed. PANDIT 52,2); AMg. JM. Ś. *bibhaccha* (Uvās. § 94; Äv. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kk. 264,26; Mālatim. 215,1), Ś. *bihaccha* (Prab. 45,11; so to be read), Mg. *bihaśca* (Mṛcch. 40,5; so to be read)=*bibhatsa*; M. JM. Ś. A. *macchāra*=*matsara* (C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5); JM. Ś. *vaccha*=*vatsa* (Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6.8.13; 87,17), Mg. *vaśca* (Hc. 4,302); AMg. JM. *śirivaccha*=*śrivatsa* (Paṇhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz.); M. JM. Ś. *vacchala*=*vatsala* (G. H.; Dvār. 501,3; 503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12), Mg. *vaścala* (Mṛcch. 37,13; so to be read). — Beside AMg. *charu*=*tsaru* (Pāṇyā. 121; Deśin. 5,24; Paṇhāv. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh), dialectically was used also *tharu*=**staru* (Deśin. 5,24). In Paṇhāv. 322, the text has *ccharu* and the commentary, *tharu* —.

§ 327^a. In compounds, in which *t* stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with *śa* or *sa*, the phonetic groups **tṣa*, *tṣa* become *ssa*, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before *t* they become *śa*. *t+śa*: AMg. *ūsavēha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrapayata*, *ūsaviṣa*=*ucchrāṣita*; AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta*, AMg. also *ussiya*, *samussiya*, *ussaviṣa*; Ś. *ussāvedī* (§ 64); M. *ussūṇa*=*ucchūṇa* (G.); AMg. *ussumka*=*ucchulka* (§ 74); M. *ūsarai*=*ucchrāṣiti*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūsasadu*; AMg. also *ussasai* (§ 64,496); AMg. *ussāsa*=*ucchrōśa* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.), M. A. *ūsāsa* (G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2); *ūsasira*=**ucchrāṣira* (Hc. 2, 145); M. *ūsasira*, JM. *ūsasiṣa*, Ś. *ūsasida*=*ucchrāṣita* (G. H. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. III, 513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12); *sūsāsa*=*socchrōśa* (Hc. 1,157); *ūsisa* (Pāṇyā. 118, JM. *ūsīsaa* (Äv. 16,8)=*ucchrāṣaka*; the synonymous *ūsaa* (Deśin. 1,140) is=**ucchaya* from *ud+śaya*; *ūsua*=**ucchuka* from *ud+śuka* (Hc. 1,114); AMg. *tassankiṇo*=*tacchankiṇah* from *tad+śankiṇah* (Sūyag. 936). — *t+sa*: AMg. *ussagga*=*utsarga* (Bhag.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ussappiṇi*=*utsarpiṇi* (Kappas.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *usseha*=*utsedha* (Pāṇyā. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *tassammi*=*tatsamjñin* (Äyār. 1,5, 4,2), *tassamdhicāri*=*tatsamdhicārin* (Äyār. 2,2,2,4); *ūsarai*=*utsarati* (Hc. 1, 114), *ūsāra*=*utsārīta* (Hc. 2,21), JM. *ussārītā* (Erz. 37,28; v. l. *ūsā°*); AMg. *ūsatta*=*utsakta* (Kappas.); *ūsitta*=*utsikta* (Hc. 1,114; Pāṇyā. 187), but also *ussikkai*=**utsiknati* (lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91.144). —

According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in *utsāha* and *utsanna* becomes *ccha* only: M.Ś. A. *ucchāha* (G. R.; Śak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be read with v. l.]); Piṅgala 1,96^a; *ucchanna* (Hc. 1,114); Dh. *ucchādida*=*utsādita* (Mṛcch. 38, 18; 39,1). In *utsuka* and *utsava*, according to Vr. 3,42; Kī. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *ccha* never appears: Hc. 2,22 per^o its it beside *s*. So M. *ucchua* (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. *ūsua* (Grr.; G. H. R.¹; Śak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2), Ś. also *ussua*, AMg JM. *ussuya* (Śak. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1; 37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *pajjussua*=*paryutsuka* (Śak. 19,6; 57,11) and *pajjūsua* (Vikr. 21,19); Ś. *samūsua*=*samutsuka* (Śak. 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. *ūsua*=*utsukita* (H.); AMg. *osuya*=*autsuka* (Ovav.). — M. Ś. *ūsava*=*utsava* (G. H. R.; Śak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AMg. *ussava* (Vivāhap. 822) and *ūsaa* (Nirāyāv.); M. *gāmūsava*=*grāmotsava* (G.); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava*=*mahotsava*; Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (§ 158), beside M. Ś. *ucchava*= (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18), Ś. *ñrucchava* (Śak. 118,13)². — *utsaṅga* always becomes M. AMg. JM. A. *ucchaṅga* (G. H. [read 422]. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. *ucchallaṭ* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), JM. *ucchalliṭa* (Erz.) beside *ūsalaṭ* (Hc. 4,202), *ūsalia* (Deśin. 1,141), *ūsaliṭa* (Pāṇīal 79) from *śal* with *ud* than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE³ from **śal* with *ud*. — *utthallaṭ* (Hc. 4,174; cf. Kī. 4,46), *utthalliṭa* (Pāṇīal. 179) *utthalia* (Deśin. 1,107) is with BÜHLER⁴ to be derived from *sthala*+*ud*. Like *t+śa* is treated *t+śa* too in AMg. *chassaṭa*=*śaṭṭata* (Kappas.).

1. The v. l. to H. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to *ūsua* than to *ussua*. — 2. Wrongly doubted by LASSEN, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 77,6. — 3. KZ. 3,344 ff. — 4. Pāṇīal s. v. *utthalliṭam*.

§ 328. *psa* through *psha*, *psha*, *pcha* becomes *ccha* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25)¹; *chāa*=Pāli *chāta*=*psāta* (hungry; Deśin. 3,33; Pāṇīal. 183). In the meaning "meagre" (Deśin. 3,33; Pāṇīal. 87), *chāa* is = **kṣāta*². — *accharā*, *accharasā* = Old Hindi *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*³=*apsarā*, *apsarāḥ* (§ 410), from *chara*=*psaras* (form) in M. *samaccharehiṃ*=*samarūpaiḥ* (R. 7,62) and AMg. *uttarakurumāṇusaccharāo*=*uttarakurumāṇusarūpāḥ* (Pañdhāv. 288)⁴. — *jugucchā*=*jugupsā*; M. *juucchāi*, AMg. *dugucchāi*, Ś. *jugucchēdi*=*jugupsati* (§ 215.515). — JM. *ghēcchāmo*=**ghṛpsyāmah* (Āv. 23,6). — *licchaṭ*=*lipsati* (Hc. 2,21); *licchā*=*lipsā* (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AMg. *licchu*=*lipsu* (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *ppa* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *ppha* by FISCHER, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāṇīal, s. v. *chāyam*, FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,96. As *chāta* (the word has entered into Skt. too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasamgraha, Wien 1893, p. 15 note 2). — 3. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,309. The form *abharā*, which LASSEN, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 262 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by FISCHER, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kha* (in compounds), *kkha*, *ppa* (in compounds), *ppha*: Ś. *antakkarāṇa*=*antaḥkarāṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. *nikkha-ttikada*=*nikkṣatirikṭa* (Mahāv. 27,6); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. D. A. *dukkha*=*duḥkha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6; 10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14, 20; 383,75; 385,67, 69; Mṛcch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mṛcch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. *niddukkha*=*nirduḥkha* (Śak. 76,8); Ś. *dukkhida*=*duḥkhita* (Vikr. 16,6; 34,1).

—In AMg. JM. JŚ. is found beside *dukkha* also *duha* (Sūyag. 126, 156, 259, 406; Uttar. 505, 574, 599, 626; Pañhāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646, 6, 14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401, 349). Likewise M. *duhia* (Hc. 1, 13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2, 113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. JM. *duhiya* (Uttar. 599; Vivāhap. 116; T. 6, 10; Dvār. 501, 10; Kk.), JŚ. *duhida* (Pav. 383, 75) = *duhkhita*; M. *duhāvia* (G.); AMg. *duhi* = *duhkhin* (Sūyag. 71; Uttar. 577). The forms with *h* are found almost exclusively in verses, and *duha* often stands directly beside or in parallel with *suka* = *sukha*, which has influenced its form¹. Conversely *sugga* (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8, 56) is formed according to *dugga* = *durga* (pain; Deśin. 5, 53; Triv. 1, 3, 105)². — *punapunnakaraṇa* = *punahpunahkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1, 32); *antappāa* = *antahpāta* (Hc. 2, 77). Whether in Mg. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342, 347. *ḥṣa*, *ḥṣa*, *ḥṣa* become *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel *sa*, Mg. *śa* (§ 64): Ś. *cadussāla catuḥśāla* (Mallikām. 209, 19; 215, 5; text *cau*^o), *cadussāla* = *catuḥśāla* (Mṛcch. 6, 6; 16, 11; 45, 25; 93, 16, 18; Dhūrtas. 6, 5); Ś. *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55, 16; 78, 3; 147, 17); Mg. *niśśalida* = *niḥśṛta* (Lalitav. 566, 15); M. *niśaṅka* = *niḥśaṅka*, JM. *nissāṅka* (§ 64); M. Ś. *niśaha* = *niḥśaha*, beside *nissaha* (§ 64); JM. *niśesa* = *niḥśesa* (KI. 1); Ś. *dussanta* = *duḥśanta* (Śak. 16, 12; 76, 10), Mg. *duśśanta* (Śak. 160, 10); *dussamcara* and *dūsamcara* = *duḥsamcara* (Ki. 2, 113); Ś. *dussiliṭṭha* = *duḥśliṣṭa* (Mahāv. 23, 19); M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha* beside Ś. *dussaha* = *duḥśaha* (§ 64); Ś. *suṇasseha* = *ṣuṇṣeṣṭha* (Anarghar. 58, 5; 59, 12); *dussila* = *duḥśila* (Deśin. 6, 67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOBI, KZ. 25, 498 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. FISCHEL, BB. 6, 95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations *hṇa*, *hna*, *hma*, *hla* become *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha* (Vr. 3, 8; Hc. 2, 74, 75, 76; Ki. 2, 95, 96, 99; Mk. fol. 21) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *avarāṇha* = *aparāṇha* (Bh. 3, 8; Hc. 2, 75; G.H.; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig. 402, 354; 403, 373; Vṛṣṭibh. 41, 2); AMg. JŚ. *puvvaṇha* = *pūvvaṇha* (Bh. 3, 8; Hc. 2, 75; Mk. fol. 21; Thāṇ. 244; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402, 354); AMg. *puvvaṇha* (Nāyādh. 332, 481; Thāṇ. 244; Kappas. § 212, 227; Nirayāv. 53, 55; Vivāgas. 124 [text *paccā*^o]); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhaṇha* = *madhyāṇha* (Hc. 2, 84; H. 494; Karp. 94, 6; 96, 2; Thāṇ. 243; Āv. 46, 6; Erz.; Kattig. 402, 354; Ratn. 321, 32; Dhūrtas. 7, 20; Karp. 59, 4; Viddhas. 40, 5; Cait. 92, 13; Jivān. 46, 10, 17). On *majjhaṇṇa* = *madhyamāna* see § 148, 214. — M. AMg. JM. A. *gēṇhai*, JŚ. *giṇhadi*, Ś. Mg. *gēṇhadi* = *grhṇāti* (§ 512). — M. Ś. Mg. A. *cinha* = *cīnha*, beside M. AMg. JM. *cindha* (§ 267). — *janhu* = *jahnū* (Bh. 3, 33; Hc. 2, 75). — *niṇhavaī* = *niḥnute*, AMg. *niṇhavaījja*, *niṇhave*, *aniṇhavamāna*, M. *niṇhuvijjanti*, Ś. *niṇhuvīadi*, *niṇhuvīda* (§ 473). — AMg. JM. Ś. *vaṇhi* = *vahni* (Bh. 3, 33; Hc. 2, 75; Ki. 2, 99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Mudrār. 253, 8). — M. D. *bamha* = *brahman* (Hc. 2, 74; H.; Mṛcch. 105, 21; PG. Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 287); Ś. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 282); *bamhacera* *brahmacarya* (§ 176); beside dialectical *bamha*, *bamhaṇa*, *bamhacera* (§ 250, 267). — *sumhā* = *suhmāh* (Hc. 2, 74). — *ahlāda* = *āhlāda* (Bh. 3, 8); AMg. *kalhāra* = *kahlāra* (Bh. 3, 8; Hc. 2, 76; Ki. 2, 95; Mk. fol. 21; Paṇṇav. 35; Sūyag. 813); *palhāa* = *prahlāda* (Hc. 2, 76); AMg. *palhāyaṇija* = *prahlādaniya* (Jiv. 821; Nāyādh. § 23), AMg. *palhāyaṇa* = *prahlādana* (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. *palhattha* = **prahlasta*, M. *palhatthai*, AMg. *palhatthiya* (§ 285); AMg. JM. *palhava* = *pahlava* (Pañhāv. 42 [text *hla*^o]; Dvār. 498, 17), AMg. *pahlavi* (Nāyādh. § 117), *palhaviyā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav. § 55); *lhasai*, *parilhasai* = *hlāsati*, *parihlāsati* (Hc. 4, 197), A. *lhasiā* (Hc. 4, 445, 3).

§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, *hya* may become *yha*: *guyha*=*guhya*; *sayha*=*sahya*. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person: *tuyha*, *uyha* (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been authenticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg. P. CP. in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write *jīha* in Mg.; yet in Mṛcch. 170,18=463,8 ed. GOÐBOLE, the MSS. have *sahya*, *sattha*, *śattha*, *ssattha* for *saijha* of the text, so that *sayha* will have to be written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, *ya* after its transposition has become *ja*, so that *hya* appears as *jha*, and in the inlaut, as *jīha* (Vr.3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Kī. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). *Ś. anugējjhā*=*anugrāhyā* (Mṛcch. 24,11); AMg. *abhirujjha*=*abhiruhya* (§ 590), *abhinigijjha*=*abhinigrhya*, *parigijjha*=*parigrhya* (§ 591); *najjhaī*=*nahyate* (Hc. 2,26), M. *saṃnājjhaī* (R.); JM. *gujjha*=*guhya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); *gujjhaa*=*guhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); *dujjha*=*dohya* (Desin. 1,7); *vajjha*=*vāhya* (C. 3,20; Kī. 2,87), *vajjhaa*=*vāhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); *Ś. sajjha*=*sahya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Śak. 51,15); M. *sajjha*=*sahya* (R.). On *hijjo*, *Ś. hio*=*hyas* see § 134.

§ 332. *hra* and *rha* are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140). *daśārha* becomes AMg. *daśāra* (Hc.2,85; Antag. 3; Thāṇ. 80.133; Nāyādh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirayāv. 78 ff.; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671). *hrada* becomes AMg. *haraya* (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. *draha*, AMg. *daha* (§268.354). — *hva*, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as *vha*, which becomes *bha*, in the inlaut — *bbha* — (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Kī. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). *gabbhara*=*gahvara* (Kī. 2,97). — AMg. JM. *jibbhā*=*jihvā* (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk. fol. 26; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. *jibbhindīya* (Vivāhap. 32.531; Thāṇ. 300; Pañhāv. 529), A. *jibhindiū* (Hc.4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. jihā*, Mg. *jihā* (§ 65). — *vibbhala*=*vihvala* (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Kī. 2,72), AMg. *vebbhala* (Bh. 3,47; Pañhāv. 165), beside M. JM. *vihala* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JM. *vihaliya*=*vihvalita* (Erz.). On *bhibbhala*, *bimbhala*, M. *bhēmbhala*, *Ś. bhēmbhaladā* see § 209.

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there cerebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — *tta*=*tṭa*: *Ś. maṭṭiā*, AMg. JM. *maṭṭiyā*=*myṭṭikā* (§49). — AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vyṭṭa* (round; §49); AMg. *oniyaṭṭa*=*avanivyṭṭa* (Kappas.), *viyaṭṭa*=*viyṭṭa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. *vatta* (Ovav.), *niyvatta* (Ovav.); JM. *jahāvatta*=*yathāvṭṭa* (Erz.), and throughout *tt* in the rest of the dialects — From both *pattana* and *paṭṭana*, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only *paṭṭana* (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thāṇ. 347; Pañhāv. 175.246.406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,407) — *ttha*=*tṭha*: AMg. JM. *utṭhei*, A. *utṭha* — **utṭhāti*, M. *utṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiyā*, beside *Ś. utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthida*; AMg. *kaviṭṭha* beside AMg. Mg. *kaviṭṭha*=*kapitṭha* (§309). — *ddha*=*ḍḍha*: AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi* beside usual *riddhi* (§57). — AMg. *vaḍḍhi*, *vuḍḍhi*=*vrddhi*, M. *parivaḍḍhi*=*parivṛddhi*; M. AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg. vuḍḍhi*=*vrddhi* (§ 53). — AMg. *saddhā*=*śraddhā* (Hc. 2,41; Sūyag. 603.611.620; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *jāyasa-ddha* (Vivāhap. 11.101.115.191), *uppannasaddha*, *saṃjāyasaddha* (Vivāhap. 11.12); AMg. JM. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,2,2,8.10; Erz.); AMg. *saddhi*=*śraddhin* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 71; Kappas.); AMg. *mahāsaddhi* — (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), *saddhiyā*=*śraddhika* (Thāṇ. 152), *saddhā*=*śraddhakin* (Ovav.), beside M. AMg. JM. *Ś. saddhā* (Hc. 1,12; 2,41; H;

Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 2; Uvās.; Erz.; Śak. 38, 5; Prab. 42, 2, 8; 44, 11; 46, 8; 48, 1, 2 etc.), Mg. *saddhā* (Prab. 47, 2; 63, 4), M. *saddhālua* (H.) and always AMg. *saddahā* (Vr. 8, 33; Hc. 4, 9; Ki. 4, 46; Mk. fol. 54; Vivāhap. 845, 1215; Uttar. 805), *saddahā* (Uttar. 804), JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399, 311); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134; Nāyādh. § 133); M. *saddahimo* (G. 990); AMg. *saddahanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), *saddahe* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 24; Uttar. 170), *saddahatu* (Sūyag. 151), *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *asaddahanta* (Āv. 35, 4); AMg. *saddahāna* (Hc. 4, 238; Sūyag. 322), *asaddahāna* (Sūyag. 504); AMg. JŚ. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4, 9; Sūyag. 596, 625; Pav. 388, 6); AMg. *asaddahamāna* (Vivāhap. 1215); M. *saddahia* (Bh. 8, 33; R. 1, 38); JŚ. *saddahana* (Pav. 388, 6). — *nta=ṇṭa*: AMg. *vinṭa*, *tālavinṭa*, M. *veṇṭa*, M. AMg. Ś. *tālavēṇṭa*, AMg. *tāliyanṭa=ṇṭa*, *tālavinṭa* (§ 53). — *ntha=ṇṭha*: *ganṭhā* = *granthāti* (Hc. 4, 120), beside *ganṭhā* (Mk. fol. 54); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. *ganṭhi=granthi* (Hc. 4, 120; G. H.; Karp. 10, 2; 76, 4; Sūyag. 719; Vivāhap. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 385, 69; Śak. 144, 12; Prab. 18, 1; Bālar. 36, 3; 130, 6; 148, 16; 297, 16; 299, 1; Viddhaś. 71, 1; 83, 1; Karp. 23, 2; 76, 10; 112, 5; Karpas. 11, 1; D. Mṛcch. 104, 7); AMg. *ganṭhilla* (Vivāhap. 1308); AMg. *ganṭhiga=granthika* (Sūyag. 869); AMg. *ganṭhibhaya* (Vivāgas. 100; Uttar. 289; Paṇḥāv. 151 [°da]); but *ganṭhibhaya* (Paṇḥāv. 121); *ganṭhicchea=granthiccheda* (Deśin. 2, 86; 3, 9); AMg. *ganṭhicchedaya* (Sūyag. 714), *ganṭhiccheda* (Sūyag. 719); Mg. *ganṭhiśceda* (Śak. 115, 4, 12; so to be read); Ś. *niggaṇṭhidagaṇṭhira* (Bālar. 131, 14); JŚ. *duggaṇṭhi* (Pav. 385, 68); AMg. *niyaṇṭha=nirgrantha* (Sūyag. 962, 986, 989, 992; Vivāhap. 149 ff.), *mahāniyaṇṭha* (Uttar. 635), but AMg. *ganṭhima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Paṇḥāv. 519; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561, 10; Aṇug. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [so to be read]), seldom *ganṭhima* (Nāyādh. 269); AMg. JŚ. *ganṭha=grantha* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 11; Paṇḥāv. 506; Kappas.; Kattig. 399, 317, 318; 404, 386, 387); AMg. *saṇṭhantha* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1); AMg. JŚ. *niggaṇṭha=nirgrantha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 1; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 15, 29; p. 132, 4 ff.; Sūyag. 938, 958, 964, 992; Vivāhap. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404, 386); AMg. *niggaṇṭhū* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 1). — *nda=ṇḍa*: *kaṇḍaliā=kandarikā* (Hc. 2, 38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. *kaṇḍali vva* as v.l. for *visalaa vva=viśalateva* at H. 410. — AMg. *bhiṇḍimāla* beside usual *bhiṇḍipāla* (§ 248). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group *gdha* in *thaḍḍha* (Pāiyāl. 75), M. *thaḍḍha* (Hc. 2, 39; H. 537) = **stagḍha* from **ṣtagḥ*, to which belong Pāli *ṭhahati* (stands), Pkt. *thāha* (ground; bottom), *thaha* (residence), *thaggha* (deep), *atthāha*, *atthaggha* (bottomless, deep; § 88), and *utthaṅghai* (throws up), M. *utthaṅghia* (§ 505), *utthaṅghana*, *utthaṅghi-* (G.). — *chūḍha* with its compounds = *kṣubdha*, is a formation of analogy (§ 66).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. *upṭāveṭi=utplāvayati* (Hc. 2, 106); M. *upṭua=utpluta* (H.); *utthola=utsthalā* (R.); M. *ucchevaṇa=utkṣepaṇa* (R.); AMg. *niṭṭhāna=nihsthāna* (Vivāgas. 102); AMg. *kayasāvatṭā=kṛtasāpatnyā* (Deśin. 1, 25); M. *māhappa=māhātmya* (G. R.); M. AMg. Ś. *maccha=matsya* (R.; Sūyag. 71, 166, 274; Uttar. 442, 595, 944; Vivāgas. 136; Vivāhap. 248, 483); Mg. *maśca* (§ 233); AMg. *macchattāe* (Vivāgas. 148); *macchabanda* (Erz.); M. *ujjoa=uddaya* (G. H. R.); M. Ś. *aggha=arghya* (H.; Śak. 18, 3; 72, 3); M. *sāmagga=sāmagryaka* (R.); M. AMg. *taṃsa=tryasra* (§ 74); JM. *vaṣṭā=varman* (path; Deśin. 7, 31; Erz.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṇṭi=paṇkti* (§ 269); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *viṃjha=vindhya* (§ 269); M. *attha=astra* (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-

prate places. *jyotsnā* forms M. AMg. JM. Ś. D. A. *jōṇhā* (Hc. 2,75; G. H. R.; Karp. 1,4; 2,5; 29,1; 88,2; Mallikām. 29,3; Jiv. 787; Kk.; Śak. 55,2; Mālav. 28,10; Bālar. 292,15; Anarghar. 277,3; Mallikām. 124, 7; 243,15; 252,3; Karpas. 16,8; D. Mṛch. 101,9; A. Hc. 4,376,1), *jōṇhāla* = **jyotsnāla* (Hc. 2,159), Ś. *jōṇhā* = *jyautsnikā* (Mallikām. 238,9), or AMg. *dosinā* (§ 215), Ś. *dosinī* = *jyautsnī* (§ 215). M. JM. *sāmattha* (Hc. 2,22; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); presupposes one **sāmartha* (§ 281); *sāmarthya* regularly becomes *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22). — Pāli *disvā* makes it apparent that in AMg. *dissā* (Sūyag. 728; Vivāhap. 1414), *padissā* = **pradiṣṭvā* (Vivāhap. 1415) too the long is original and the short is metrical. There-to points also AMg. *dissam āgayaṃ* = *dyṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695), where *dissam* stands, according to § 349 for *dissam*, and this again stands for *dissā* according to § 114. The regular form from *dyṣṭvā* would be **diṭṭhā*. On the loss of aspiration in conjunct consonants see § 213.

III. DROPPING OFF AND ENTRY OF CONSONANTS IN THE ANLAUT.

§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of enclitics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: *ūā* = Pāli *ūkā* = *yūkā* (Deśin. 1,139; Triv. 1,3,105) beside *jāā* (Deśin. 1,159), AMg. *jūyā* (Āyār. 2,13,18; Anug. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), *jūva* (§ 230)¹; *ōkkaṇi* = **yūkanī* (louse; Deśin. 1,159). — AMg. *ahā°* = *yathā°* (Hc. 1,245); pro ex. *ahāsuṃyam* = *yathāśrutam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); *ahāsuttam ahā-kappam ahāmaggam* = *yathāśrutam yathākalpam yathamārgam* (Āyār. p. 137,26 [**suṃyam*]); Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhap. 165; Uvās.; Kappas.); *ahārāṇijāe* = **yathārāṇikāya* (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thān. 355 f.); *ahāṇupuvvīe* = *yathānupūrvā* (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.; *ahāriham* = *yathārtham* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās.); *ahāsamthadam* = *yathāsamstṛtam* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); *ahāsuḥuma* = *yathāsūkṣma* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhap. 213); *ahattahiyam* = **yāthātathiyam* (Sūyag. 484.506) *āhākaḍam* = **yāthākṛtam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405.408); *āhāpariggahiyā* = **yāthāparigrhīta* (Ovav.). — AMg. *āva-* = *yāvat* in *āvakahā°* = **yāvatkathā°* (Sūyag 120); *āvakahāe* = **yāvatkathāyai* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thān. 274); *āvakaham* = **yāvatkathām* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); *āvakahiyā* = **yāvatkathika*, all in the meaning "continuously", "for life". — AMg. *āvantī* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial *t* or *y* occurs also in *uyha*, *ujjha*, *ubbha*, *umha* (§ 420 ff.). Cf. *yāim* § 427.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 3,241.

§ 336. *y*, as in Pāli, is put before *eva* in Mg. P. *yeva*, behind short or shortened vowels *yyeva*. Mg. *idō yyeva*, *mama yyeva* (Hc. 4,302), false *eva* (Lalitav. 567,1); P. *savvassa yyeva* = *sarvasyaiva*; *tūrātō yyeva* = *durād eva* (Hc. 4,316.323). As in the case of original *y* (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas do not authenticate the rule, but they write *jeva*, *jjeva*, *jōvva*, *jjevva*, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in Ś. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. *jēvva*, Hc. 4,280 *yyeva*, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts¹. In A. *jeva* with the dropping off of the syllable *va* (§ 150) and transition of *e* to *i* (§ 85) becomes *ji* (C. 2,27^b; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form *je* is found in M. (H.

524 v. l. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Āv. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,27^a p. 46; Ki. 4,83) as an expletive. The v. l. *cia* in H. 524 points to the correct reading. *ya* enters in A. before *iva* also, which becomes *jīva*, *jēva* = **yiva* (§261). A. *jīva* seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli *viya* from **yiva* through transposition². But Pāli *viya* cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, and these from AMg. JM. *viva*, *piva* and dialectical *miva*. Hence Pāli *viya*, M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya* are to be derived from *viva*, which is to be equated as = *v*+*iva* according to § 337. *via* is the single prevailing form in Ś. Mg. (Vr. 12,24; Mṛcch. 2,16.19.21.22.25; 3,17.20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 10,1: 133,12.24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. (Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kap. 1,4; 16,4; 64,8), yet more rarely *viya* in AMg. JM. (C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use *va*, *vva*, *iva* (§ 92.143). *viva* is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83; Paṇhāv. 505.6.7.10; Nāyāch. §35.92; p.349.1450; Uttar. 593.596.634; Vivāgas. 83.239; Vivāhap. 171; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. (H. R.). After anusvāra *viva* becomes in M. AMg. JM. *piva* (C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), where on the analogy of *vi*, *pi*=*api* might have had a hand. The derivation of *piva* from *pi*=*api*+*iva*³ makes the meaning improbable. So *piva* M. (G. s. v. *iva*; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Paṇhāv. 231.340.508; Nāyādh. § 23.122; p. 269.271.289.354.439.740.1045.1433; Vivāgas. 112; Rāyap. 255; Vivāhap. 794.807.823.943; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts *piva* to P. — *miva* (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,27i; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Ki. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH⁴ to be doubted⁵, will have originated either from *viva* or *piva*, through assimilation with the preceding *m*⁶, as we find also *mi* for *vi*, *pi*=*api*⁷. Cf. *heṃ meva*, *hevaṃ meva* in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART s. v.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,280. — 2. CHILDERS s. v. *iva*; E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; WINDISH, BKSGW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH Vr. and Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDISH, l. c. p. 234 f.; KONOW, GGA, 1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H. 1 p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 69; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDICH, l. c. p. 234. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read *piva* for *mniva*. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,459; WEBER, H. s. v. *mi*. Also inscriptionally in JM. (Ki. 10; beside *vi* and *pi*).

§ 337. *v* is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, AMg. JM. *viva*=*iva* (§ 336); AMg. *vuccaī*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi*=*ucyate* (§ 544); AMg. JM. *vutta*=*ukta* (Sūyag. 74. 844. 921. 974. 986. 993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; T. 4,19; 5,2; Āv. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. *vubbhaī*=*uhyate* (§ 266.541). *vuccaī*, *vutta*, *vubbhaī* may be derived also from the present stem¹=**vacyate*, **vakta*, **vabhyate* with transition of *a* to *u* according to § 104, as it is certain for M. *vuttha*=**vasta*=*uṣita*, from *vvas* (to live; § 303.564)², and for AMg. *parivusiya* from *vvas* (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2.3,1; 1,7,4,1.5,1). JŚ. Ś. Mg. have *utta* (Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleyak. 23,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. *paccutta*=*pratyukta* (H. 918); AMg. *nirutta*=*nirukta* (Paṇhāv. 406); M. Ś. *puṇarutta* (G. H.R.; Mṛcch. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3), AMg. *apūnarutta* (Jiv. 612; Kappas.). — A. *vuṭṭhae*=*uttiṣṭhanti* (Piṅgala 1,125a); M. JM. *vūḍha*=*ūḍha* (R.; Erz.), beside M. *ūḍha* (G.)³; JM. *vuppanta*=*upya-māna* (Āv. 25,29); *voṇṇattha* (inverted cohabitation; Deśin. 7,58)=

**uccastha* from *ucca*, as AMg. *vuccattha* (= *paryasta*; *bhraṣṭa*; Uttar. 245) points.

1. WINDISCH, BKS GW, 1893, 230, note 1. — 2. Cf E. KURN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not *vūḍha* in R., as otherwise often, is = *vyūḍha*. *vu*, *vo* often is = *vi* + *ud*.

§ 338. Prothesis of *h* is found in *hare* (Hc. 2,202; Kī. 4,83), *hire* (Vr. 9,15), beside *are*¹; *hira* (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. *ira* = *kira* (§ 184); AMg. *huṭṭha* = *oṣṭha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. *havaṇe*, dative from **arvāka* = *arvāṇe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575.578.601.616.623 f.). The adverb AMg. *havaṇi* "quickly", which the commentators explain with *ṣighram* or *arvāk* and with WARREN² and LEUMANN³ they trace back to *arvāk*, also supports this. JACOB⁴ doubtfully equates it as = *bhavyam*, WEBER⁵ earlier, likewise doubtfully = *savvaṇi* = *sarvaṇi*, later⁶ = *havyam* = "at call" (Thāp. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 f. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620.624 f. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyap. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Ānuog. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Niraṣāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. FISCHER, KB. 7,462; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 474. — 2. Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's p. 52 ff. — 3. Aup. S. s. v. — 4. Kalpas. s. v. — 5. Bhag. 1,416, note 1. — 6. Verzeichniss 2. 2, 423, note 3.

IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: *maṇā* = *maṇe* (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tāva* = *tāvat* (§ 185); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā* = *paścāt* (§ 301); AMg. *abhū* = *abhūt*; *akāsi* = *akārṣit* (§ 516); AMg. *akarimsu* = *akārṣuḥ* (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lengthened (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the *a*-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. *uamahihara* = *udak* + *mahādhara* (G. 631); *vasindhu* = *udak* + *sindhu* (395); M. *eaḡuṇā* = *etadḡuṇaḥ* (Hc. 1,11); *jaarakkhaṇa* = *jagadrakṣaṇa* (G. 50), and several times in *jagat* in G. R.; AMg. *taḡitadiya* = *taḡittadita* (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. *taḡidbhāva* = *taḡidbhāva* (G. 316); M. *viasia* = *viyat* + *ṣṛita* in rhyme with *viasia* = *vikaṣita* (R. 6,48); M. *vijjuvilasia* = *vidyudvilasita* (4,40), and more often in *vidyut* in G. R.; M. *sarisamkula* = *saritsamkula* in rhyme with *sarisam kulam* = *sadṛṣam kulam* (R. 2,46); M. *saṛisa* = *satpurusa* (G. 992), beside frequent *sappurisa*; *sabhikkhu* = *sabbhikkṣu* (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of *s* of *ḡus*, in dependence upon the compounds with *su*, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. JM. *dulaha* = *durlabha* (Kī. 2.114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with *sulaha* 14; Kk. 271,33). M. *dulahattana* = *durlabhatta* (G. 503); AMg. *duciṇṇa* = *duṣeṇṇa* (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to *suciṇṇa* = *suciṇṇa* standing before it; AMg. *dumuha* = *durmuḡha* (Paṇḡav. 244), beside *sumuḡha*; AMg. *durūva* = *dūrūpa* (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Thāp. 20), mostly beside *surūva* = *surūpa*; AMg. *duvanna* = *durvarṇa* (Sūyag. 628.669.738; Vivāhap. 480[ṇṇa]), beside *suvarṇa*; M. *ḡusaha*

=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1,115; G. 158,511; H. 486); *duhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115; cf. §231); M. *dohagga*=*daurbhāgya* (H.).

§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. *chac ca*=*ṣaṭ ca*, *chac ceva*=*ṣaḍ eva*, *chap pi*=*ṣaḍ api* (§ 441); AMg. *asiṇād i vā avahārād i vā*=*aśanād iti vā apahārād iti vā* (Āyār. 2,1,5, 1); AMg. *sucirād avi*=*sucirād api* (Uttar. 235); AMg. *tamhād avi ikkha*=*tasmād apikṣasva* (Sūyag. 117); AMg. *jad atthi*=*yad asti* (Thāp. 33); AMg. *aṇusaraṇād uvatthāṇa*=*anusmaraṇād upasthānāt* (Dasav. N. 656,1); Mg. *yad iscaṣe*=*yad icchase*; *mahad antalaṃ*=*mahad antaram* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 136,18). In compounds: AMg. *tadāvaraṇijja*=*tadāvaraṇiṇya* (Uvās. § 74); AMg. *tadajjhavasijjā*, *tadappijakkaraṇā*, *tadaṭṭhovatūṭṭā*=*tadadhyavasitūṭṭā*, *tadaripitakaraṇāḥ*, *tadarithopayuktāḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 50,31 ff.); AMg. *tadubhaṇya* (Ovav. § 117,122); JM. *taduikkhākārīṇa*=*taduḍḍhākārīṇaḥ* (Kk. 261,27), beside the cases like M. *eāvattāḥ*=*etadavasthā* (R. 11,132), AMg. *ejānurūva*=*etadanurūpa* (Kappas. § 91,107). In AMg. *tārūvattāḥ* *tāvannattāḥ* *tāphāsattāḥ*=*tadrūpatvāya* *tadarnatvāya* *talsparśatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 523 ff. 540), *tāgan-dhattāḥ* *tāvarattāḥ*=*tadgandhotvāya* *tadrasatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. *ejārūva*=*etadrūpa* (Āyār. 2,15,23,24; Sūyag. 992; Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *a* is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. *saḍaṅgavi*=*ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Ovav.; Kappas.). *r*, originating from *s* in *duś* and *niś*, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1,14; Ki. 2,124): *duravagāha* (Hc. 1,14); AMg. *duraikkama*=*duratikrama* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); M. *durāroha* (H.); JM. *durānucara*, *duranta*, *durappa*=*durātman* (Erz.); AMg. *durahijāsa*=*duradhiḍāsa* (Uvās.); Ś. *durāgada*=*durāgata* (Vikr. 32,11); M. JM. *durta*=*durita* (G.; Ki. 1,22); *duruttara* (Hc. 1,14); M. Ś. *nirantara*, JM. *nirantara* (Hc. 1,14; G. H.; Erz. Mṛcch. 68,19; 73,8; Prab. 4,4); M. *niravēkkha*=*nirapekṣa* (R.); M. *nirālamba* (H.); M. *nirikkhaṇa*=*nirikṣaṇa* (H.); A. *niruvama*, JM. *niruvama*=*nirupama* (Hc. 4,401,3; Erz.); *nirūsua*=*nirutsuka* (G.). The rule holds good also for *prāduś*: AMg. *pāduresae*=*prādureṣayāt* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *pādura-kāsi*=*prādurakāṣit* (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. *pāubbhūja*=*prādurbhūta* (Vivāgas. 4,38; Vivāhap. 190; Kappas.), *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201) and *pāukujjā*=*prāduḥkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474), *pāukarissāmi*=*prāduḥkarissāmi* (Uttar. 1), against *karissāmi pāum* (Sūyag. 484), *karēnti pāum* [text *pāu*], *karemi pāum* (Sūyag. 912,914). Cf. § 181. So also M. *bāhir uphātīm*=*bāhir uphāṇi* (H. 186). On original *r* see § 342 ff., on *m* § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects *aḥ*, arising from the original *ar*, mostly becomes *o*: M. AMg. *anto*=*antaḥ* from *antar* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 2,1,2,7,3; 10; 2,7,2,1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.); AMg. *aho*=*ahaḥ* from *ahar* (§ 386); AMg. *pāo*=*prātaḥ* from *prāter* (Kappas.). *puṇaḥ* from *punar* becomes M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. Dh. Ā. *puṇo* in the meaning "again", "afresh" (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,5,3; 1,2,1,1 2,2; 1,4,1,3,2,2; 1,6,4,2; Sūyag. 45,151.178.277.433. 468,497; Uttar. 202; Āv. 28,14; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 383,24; 384,49; 386,10; 388,8; Kattig. 403,375; Mṛcch. 29,11; 58,8,13); Mg. Mṛcch. 176,5,9; Prab. 58,8; Dh. Mṛcch. 39,17; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,3), especially in the compounds M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. *puṇo vi* (Ki. 2,126; G.H.; Āv. 8,34,52; 12,35; Erz. 27,6; 33,37; Kattig. 402,367; Mṛcch. 20,24; 21,7; 41,6; 45,16; 81,9; 94,19; Śak. 22,2; 68,2; Vikr. 11,2; 13,18; 28,1; 82,17; Mahāv. 65,2; Caṇḍak. 93,14; Mg. Mṛcch. 80,5; 115,9; 117,3; 132,22; 148,14; 162,9; D. Mṛcch. 103,17), for which AMg. prefers *punar avi* (Ki. 2,126; Āyār. 1,8,2,6; 2,1,7,3; Sūyag. 100,643.842; Vivāhap. 1038.1496; Jīv. 287.288.296; Paṇṇav. 848;

Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26; 498,14; Erz.); according to K1. 2,126 one says also *puṇa vi*. For *puṇo* M. has after vowels and anusvāra also *uṇo*, with dropping off of *p* according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning "but", "now" *puṇaḥ* becomes in AMg. JM. JŚ. *puṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhap. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,33; 652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50; 12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. too sometimes *puṇa* after anusvāra (G. H.), but mostly *uṇa*, as in Ś.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. *kiṃ puṇa* (Mṛcch. 169,4) we should read with GṌABOLE (458,9), *kiṃ uṇa*. In M. are found in the meaning "but", "now" also *puṇo*, *uṇo*. In A. *puṇaḥ*, in both the meanings, becomes *puṇu* (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Piṅgala 1,33.34.37.42 ff. 77. 84.90.95.100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final *r* the words sometimes go over to the *a*-stem and are inflected. So AMg. *antaṃ* (Āyār. 2,10,6), *anteṇa* in the combination *anto anteṇa* (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11), *antāo* (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. *pāyaṃ=prātar* (Sūyag. 337.341); *na uṇā=na *punāti* (Hc. 1,65); AMg. *puṇāim* (Pāphāv. 389; Uvās. § 119. 174), *puṇāi* (Hc. 1,65; Pāphāv. 414), *na uṇāi* (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From anto AMg. forms also *antohimto*, that is to say, an ablative="from within" (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāp. 408; Rāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343.365.

§ 343. Original *r*, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic initial of the second member in a compound: *antarappa=antarātman* (Hc. 1,14); M. *antaria*, AMg. JM. *antariya*, Ś. *antarida=antarita* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 67,2; 73,10; Vikr. 31,1; 41,17; 43,7); M. Ś. *puṇarutta=puṇarukta*, AMg. *apuṇarutta* (§ 337); AMg. *apuṇarāvatti=apuṇarācartin* (Uttar. 859; Kappas.), *apuṇarāvattaga* (Ovav.). So also AMg. JM. *puṇar avi* (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. *puṇar ei*, *puṇar e'nti=puṇareti*, *puṇar yanti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3,2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. *antomuḥa=antarmukha* (G. 94); *antovisambha=antarvisrambha* (Hc. 1,60); M. *antohutta* (Deśin. 1,21; H. 373), *antosindūria* (H. 300); AMg. *antojala* (Nāyādh. 764), *antōjjhusira=antaḥsusira* (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), *antoduttha=antarduttha* (Thāp. 314), *antomāsa* (Thāp. 364); AMg. JM. *antomuhutta* (Vivāhap. 180.273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49,322; Uttar. 977 f. 997.1003.1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rṣabhap. 43); AMg. *antomuhuttiya* (Vivāhap. 30), *antomuhuttiṇa* (Samav. 215), *antosālā=antaḥśālā* (Uvās.), *antosalla=antaḥśālya* (Sūyag. 695; Thāp. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhap. 159; Ovav.); JM. *antonikkhanta=antarniṣkrānta* (Rṣabhap. 45); AMg. *pāosināna=prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. *antouparim=antarupari* (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands *antovarim*, which with P (cf. J) is to be read as *anto avarim ca pariḥiṇa*; AMg. *antoanteura* (§ 344). In M. *antovāsa=antaravakāśa* we should add *anta* (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. *antabhamara=antarbhramara* (Kappas.), *antarāyalekhā=*antarrājalekhā* (Kappas.); *puṇapūṇakkaṇa=puṇaḥpuṇakkaṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); AMg. *puṇapāsanaṇāje=*puṇaḥpāsyanatāyai* (Vivāhap. 1128). Before consonants there takes place also assimilation: Ś. *antakkaṇa=antaḥkkaṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); *antagga=antargata* (Hc. 2,60); *antappāa=antahpāta* (Hc. 2,77); JM. Ś. *puṇaṇṇava=puṇarṇava* (Dvār. 504, 5; Karp. 83,3); JŚ. *apuṇabbhava=apunarbhava* (Pav. 386,5); *puṇapūṇakkaṇa* (Deśin. 1,32). The ablative *puṇā=*punāti* (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. *apuṇāgamaṇāa* (G. 1183); AMg. *apuṇāgama* (Dasav. 640,22); likewise *antā* should be viewed in *antāvei=antarvedi* (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in *ā* can be explained also according to § 70.

§ 344. In *antaḥpura* and its derivatives *aḥ* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. *Ś. anteura* (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūyag. 771; Paṇḥāv. 262; Nāyādh. § 19,102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327. 1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Sak. 38,5;57,11;70,7;137,8;138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3;74,7;84,16;85,6; Bālar. 243,12; Viddhaś. 83,7; Karp. 35,3;45,10;99,4; Pras. 45,4.13; Jivān. 42,16; Kārisav. 55,11; Kārṇas. 18,22;37,16 etc.); M. *anteuraa* (at H. 980); AMg. JM. *anteuriyā*, *Ś. anteuriā*=*antaḥpurikā* (Nāyādh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaś. 11,1). Against it there appears *anto* in AMg. *antoanteura* (Nāyādh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), *antoante-puriya* (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 *antapuriyaṃsi* is edited. *e* appears for *aḥ* also in *anteāri*=*antaścārin* (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the *a*-stems in AMg. Mg. and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes *e*, *aḥ* arising from *as* becomes *o*: AMg. JM. *aggao*, *Ś. Mg. aggado*=*agrataḥ* (§69); AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*prṣṭhāt*, AMg. JM. *piṭṭhao*, *Ś. D. piṭṭhado*=*prṣṭhataḥ* (§69); in the nom. sing. PG. *patibhāgo*=*pratibhāgaḥ* (§ 363); M. *rāo*=*rāgaḥ* (H. 12); JM. *putto*=*putraḥ* (Erz. 1,2). JŚ. *dhammo*=*dharmaḥ* (Pav. 380,7); *Ś. nioo*=*niyogaḥ* (Mṛcch. 3,7); Dh. *puliso*=*puṣaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,12); A. D. *govāladārao*=*govāladāraḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16;102,15); P. *tāmotaṛo*=*dāmodaraḥ* (Hc. 4, 307); CP. *mekho*=*meghaḥ* (Hc. 4,325); A. *kāmo*=*kāmaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,4); but AMg. *purise*, Mg. *pulise*=*puṣaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6; Mṛcch. 113,21). Likewise *maṇo*=*manah*, *saro*=*sarah*, *jaso*=*yaśaḥ* (§ 356). In AMg. there is found *-o* also, instead of *-e*, for *-aḥ* of the nominative in verses (§ 17), and before *iva* in prose: *khuro iva*=*kṣura iva*, *vāluṇākavalo iva*=*vālukākabala iva*=*vālukākabala iva*, *mahāsamuddo iva*=*mahāsamudra iva* (Nāyādh. § 144); *kummo iva*=*kūrma iva*, *kuñjaro iva*=*kuñjara iva*, *vaśabho iva*=*vṛṣabha iva*, *siho iva*=*sinha iva*, *mandaro iva*, *sāgaro iva*, *cando iva*, *sūro iva* (Sūyag. 758=Kappas. § 118). Beside Kappas. *saṅkho iva* at the place cited, Sūyag. has *saṅkha* [sic] *iva*; Kappas. has *jive* [sic] *iva*, Sūyag. *jīva* [sic] *iva*; both of them have *vihaga* [sic] *iva*, and the adjectives always end in *-e* beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that *-e* has to be written throughout and that perhaps *va* is to be written for *iva*, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§ 143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. *-aḥ* goes back to *as*, as in the ablative singular in *-tas*: M. *koḍarāo*, JM. *kōḷḷarāo* = **koṭarataḥ* = **koṭarāt* (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. *āgārāo*=*āgārāt* (Uvās. §12); JŚ. *carittādo*=*caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6); *Ś. mūlādo*=*mūlāt* (Sak. 14,6); Mg. *haḍakkādo*=*hrīdakāt* (Mṛcch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in *-maḥ*=*mas*: M. *lajjāmo*; AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo*; JM. *iāḷemo*; *Ś. pavissāmo* (§ 455); AMg. *bhavissāmo*; JM. *pēcchissāmo*; AMg. *Ś. jāṇissāmo* (§ 521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says *bahave*=*bahavaḥ* and *bahūn* (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. *ne*=*naḥ* (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts. *adhaḥ* becomes M. JM. *aho* (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rṣabhap. 30). AMg., however, mostly *ahe* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2;1,6,4,2;1,8,4,14;2,1,1,2,3,2,10,6;2,15,8; Sūyag. 52.215.222. 271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410. 753; Uvās.: Ovav.; Kappas.), *ahedisāo*=*adhodisaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); *ahabhāga* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4), *ahabhāgi*=*adhobhāgin* (Sūyag. 829), *ahacara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), *ahagāmiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), *ahavāya*=*adhovāta* (Sūyag. 829), *ahesiraṃ*=*adhaśśiraḥ* (Sūyag. 288), but *ahosiraṃ* (Sūyag. 268; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), *aheloga* beside *adhologa* (Thāp. 61 f.) and *ahe ahologe* (Thāp. 189), also independent standing, probably falsely, *aho* (Sūyag. 476; Uttar. 513); *pure*=*paraḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), *purekamma*=**puraskarman* (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,

6,4,5; Paṇhāv. 492); *purekaḍa*, *purekkhada* and *purakkada*=*puraskṛta* (§49. 306), *porekacca*=**paurahkṛtya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *porevacca*=**pourovṛtya* Paṇṇav. 98.100 103; Vivāgas. 28.57; Samav.134; Ovav.; Kappas.), every-where beside *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (§ 77); *rahe*=*rahaḥ* (Uttar. 331.333), but *rahokamma*- (Ovav.); Ś. *suvo*=*śvaḥ*, but AMg. *suve*, *sue* (§ 139), beside AMg. *suṇarāe*=*śvorātre* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 10). As in *suṇarāe* so in AMg. *adhaṇ*=*adhaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *ahaṇ* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4; 1,7,1,5) and *puram*=*paraḥ* (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the *a*-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read *ahe°*, *rahe°*. On AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. *o* from *aḥ* mostly becomes *u* (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); *janu*=*janah* (Hc. 4,336); *lou*=*lokaḥ* (Hc. 4,366.420,4), *sihu*=*simhaḥ* (Hc. 4, 418,3); *bhamaru*=*bhramarah*, *makkaḍu*=*markaḥ*, *vāṇaru*=*vānarah* (Piṅgala 1,67); *nisiaru*=**niściraḥ*, *dhārādharu*=*dhārādharah* beside *sāmalo*=*śyāmalaḥ* (Vikr. 55,1,2); *tavu*=*tapah*, *sīru*=*śirah* (Hc. 4,441,2.445,3); *aṅguliū jajjariāu aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4,333); *vilāsiṇiū*=*vilāsiṇiḥ* (Hc. 4,348); *sallāiū*=*sallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dh.: *luddhu jūḍialu papalīnu*=*ruddho dyūtakarah* *prapalāyitah* (Mṛcch. 30,1); *vipḍaḍiū pādu*=*vipratipah* *pādaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,11); *esu vihavu*=*esa vibhavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,17) beside nominatives in *o* (§25 345). Further in the abl.sing. in P. *tūrātu*, *tumātu*, *mamātu*, beside *tūrāto*, *tumāto*, *mamāto*=*dūrāt*, *tvāt*, *mat* (Hc. 4,321); M. *ṇaḥalāu*=*nabhaṣṭalāt*, *raṇṇāu*=*aranyāt* (§365); JŚ *udayādu* (Pav.383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. *icchāmu*, *accemu*, *dāhāmu*, *vucchāmu*, A. *lahimu* (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound *o* may enter for Skt. *as*, *aḥ* before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M.AMg.JM. in the stem in *-a* (§407): M. *jasavamma*=*jaśovarman* (G.), JM. *jasavaddhana*=*jaśovardhana* (Ki.4), beside *jasoā*=*jaśodā* (G.H.); AMg.JM. *namōkkāra*, beside *namoṇjāra*, *navaṇjāra* M. *ṇamakkāra* (§ 306); *ṇaḥaara*=*nabhaścara* (§ 301); M. *ṇaḥaala*=*nabhaṣṭala* (G. H. R.); *ṇaḥavōṭṭha*=*nabhaḥprṣṭha* (G.), *tamaraṇṇāra*=*tamoroṇṇikara* (R. 3,34); AMg. *tavalova*=*tapolopa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. JM. *tavokamma*=*tapahkarman* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *tavovana*=*tapovana* (Śak. 16,13; 18,10; 19,7; 90,14; Vikr.84,20); JM.Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*tapascharaṇa* (§301); M. A. *avarōppara*=*oparaṣpara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraṣpara* (§195. 311); M. AMg. JM. *maṇahara*=*maṇohara* (Hc. 1,156; G. H.; Rāy.p. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMg. JM. A. *maṇohara* (Hc. 1,156; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 66,15); M. *maṇaharaṇa* (Karp. 51,6; 55,4); AMg. *maṇapaoga*=*maṇahprayoga*, *maṇakarāṇa* (Thāp. 114) beside *maṇojoga* (Thāp.113); *uraāda*=*urastāṣa* (Ki. 2,110); AMg. *uraparisaṇṇa*=*urahparisaṇṇa* (Thāp.121); AMg. *mihokahā*=*mithahkathā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMg. *maṇosilā* (Hc. 1,26; Ki. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūyag. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṇṇav. 25; Uttar. 1041), beside *maṇasilā* (Hc. 1,26; 4,286; Ki. 2,153), *maṇāsilā* (Hc. 1,26.43; cf. § 64) and *maṇamasilā* (Hc. 1,26; cf. § 74); M. *sirovihatta*=*śirovibhakta* (G. 51), beside *śiracchea*=*śiraścheda* (G. 322), *śirakamala*=*śirahkamala* (G. 342), *śiralagga*=*śirolagna* (H. 529); but Ś. *sirodhara* (Śak. 144, 12), Mg. *śiloluha*=*śiroruha* (Mṛcch. 17,2). The stem *accharā* (§ 97.410) is from *apsaras* (§97 410). On AMg. *ahe°*, *pure°* see §345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the *a*-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sandhi (§ 156 ff.): M. *mahiraantaria*=*mahirajantarita* (R. 13,52), *mahiraūṣṭhāṇa*=*mahirajaūṣṭhāṇa*, *mahiraūḍghāṇa*=*mahirajaūḍghāṇa* (R. 13,37.49), *asuroraṣṭhi*=*asurorosthi*=*asura*+*uras*+*asthi* (G. 7), *ṇaḥaṇṇaṇa*=*nabhoṇṇaṇa* (G. 139.231).

235 etc.), *nahāhṛa*=*nabhaābhoga* (G.416), *nahuddeso*=*nabhaūddeśa* (G.558), *tamānubandha*=*tamonubandha* (G. 506), *tamugghāa*=*tamaūdgāta* (G. 1179) etc.

§ 348. Final *n* and *m* become anusvāra (Vr. 4,12; C. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34); *Ś. tassim*, Mg. *taśsim*=*tasmin*; *eassim*, *Ś. edassim*, =*etasmin*; *Ś. jassim*, Mg. *yaśsim* = *yasmin*; *Ś. kassim*, Mg. *kaśsim*=*kasmin*; AMg. *Ś. assim*=*asmin*; *Ś. imassim*, Mg. *imaśsim*=**imasmin* (§ 425 ff.); AMg. P. *bhagavam*, *Ś. Mg. bhagavam*=*bhagavān*; *Ś. Mg. bhavam*=*bhavān*; AMg. *āyavam*=*ātmavān*, *nāpavam* = *jñānavān*, *bambhavam*=*brahmavān*; AMg. *cittam* = *tiṣṭhan*, *paṇam* = *pacan*, *kuvaṇam*=*kurvan*, *haṇam*=*ghnan* (§ 396); AMg. *rājāṇam*, *Ś. rāam*, P. *rājām*, Mg. *lāam*=*rājan* (§ 399); A. *vāem*=*vātena*, *koheṇ*=*krodhena*, *daiveṇ*=*daivena*, after dropping off of the final *a* (§ 146). — *akam*=*aham*; *tumam*=*tvam*; M. *Ś. aam*, AMg. JM. *ajam*=*ayam*; *Ś. iam*=*iyam* (§ 417 ff.); AMg. JM. JŚ. *iyānim*, *idānim*, *Ś. Mg. dānim*=*idānim* (§144); *Ś. sādam*, Mg. *śādam*=*svāgatam* (§203); M. *jalam*, *jalahim*, *vahum*=*jalam*, *jaladhim*, *vadhūm* (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); *Ś. aṅgāṇam*=*aṅgānām*, *deviṇam*=*devinām*, *vadhūṇam*=*vadhūnām* (Śak.32,8;43,11; 89,6); Mg. *devadāṇam* *bamhaṇāṇam* *ca*=*devatānām brāhmaṇānām ca* (Mṛcch. 121,10); M. AMg. JM. *kām*, *Ś. Mg. kādum*=*kartum* (§ 574). Cf. also §75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§ 179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old *m* remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34)¹: M. *surahim iha gandham āsīrabālāmauluggamāṇa jambūṇa maarandam āravindam ca*=*surabhim iha gandham āsīrabālāmukulodgamānām jambūnām makarandam āravindam ca* (§ G. 516); M. *tam aṅgam eṇhiṇ*=*tad aṅgam idānim* (H.67); AMg. *aṇiccam āvāsam uvēnti jantuno*=*anityam āvāsam upayanti jantavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *cittamantam acittam vā* (Suṃyag.1); JM. *kāraviam acalam imam bhavaṇam*(KI.22); *appiam eam bhavaṇam* (KI. 23); *vissariyam tuham egam akkharam*=*vismṛtaṇ tuṇyaikam akṣaram* (Āv. 7,33); JM. *tavassinim eṇam*=*tapasvinim etām* (Kk. 262,19); JŚ *adisaṇyam ādasamuttham viṣayādidam ānovamam aṇantam*=*atiṣayam ālmasamuttham viṣayālitam anupamam anantam* (Pav. 380,13); Mg. *maṇam aṇaṇigam*=*madanam anaṇgam, saṇkalam iṣalam vā*=*saṇkaram iṣaram vā* (Mṛcch. 10,13;17,4)².

1. WEBER, H¹, p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the nasal instead of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (KI. 10 11,12; PG. 7,45,49). False is also *vanso* (KI. 2), *rohinsakūa* (KI. 20,21). Cf. § 10.

§ 349. In AMg. JM. JŚ. *m* remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in *m* is to be strongly emphasized, especially before *eva*, before which in this case a small vowel is often lengthened, and against §83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMg. *evam eṇam bhante eṇam eṇam bhante avitaham eṇam bhante icchīyam eṇam padicchiyam eṇam bhante icchīyapadicchiyam eṇam bhante* (Uvās. § 12; Cf. Vivāhap. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. §13.83, and above § 114); AMg. *evam akkhāyam*=*evam akhyātam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMg. *evam egesim no nāyam bhavā*=*evam ekeṣām no jñātam bhavati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMg. *jam eṇam bhagavatā pavēiyam tam eva abhisamēccā*=*yad etad bhagavatā praveditam tad evābhisametya* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMg. *ayaṇ teṇe ayaṇ uvacarae ayaṇ hantā ayaṇ eṭṭham akāsī*=*ayaṇ steno 'yam upacarako 'yam hantāyam iṭṭham akāṣit* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMg. *aham avi*=*aham api* (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JM. *amhāṇam eva kule samuppannā paramabandhavā*=*asmākam eva kule samutpannāḥ paramabāndavāḥ* (Dvār. 500,1); JM. *evam imam kajjam*=*evam idam kāryam* (Erz. 5,35); JM. *evam avi bhaṇie*=*evam api bhaṇite* (Āv. 16,24); JŚ. *pattegam eva pattegam*=*pratyekam eva praty-*

kaṃ (Pav. 379,3); *saṃyam evāḍā=svayam evātmā* (Pav.381,15). Sometimes even secondary anusvāra (§181) is transformed into *m* under this condition: AMg. *ihaṃ egesim āhiyaṃ=ihaikēṣām āhitam* (Sūyag. 18); *sōccam idam=śrutevām* (Āyār. 2,16,1; cf. §587), *dissam āgayaṃ=dyṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695; cf. §334), under the pressure of metre; AMg. *ihaṃ āgae=iḥāgataḥ* (Ovav. §38), *ihaṃ āgacchējjā=iḥāgacchet* (Ovav. §21), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on *iha*. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write *m* instead of *ṃ*, which is considered as correct by JACOBI, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt., very often write *m* for *ṃ*, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. (Karp. 6,4) writes *dhuāgīdam ālavīadi*, KONOW 3,3, however, correctly has *dhuvāgīdam ālavīadi*; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has *cāruttanṃ avalambēdi*, but KONOW 17,7 *caṅgattanaṃ avalambēdi*; ed. Bomb. 25,2 *āṣanaṃ āṣanaṃ*, but KONOW 23,9 *āṣanaṃ āṣanaṃ* etc. As here, so in AMg. JM. too, we should review the writing *m* for *ṃ*, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether *m* is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous words as admitted by JACOBI. The MSS. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in *uparilikhitaṃ ajātāye=uparilikhitaṃ *adyatvāya* (PG.7,45) and in *sayam ānataṃ=svayam ājñaptam* (PG.7,49), whilst *evamāḍikehi=evamāḍikaiḥ* (PG. 6,34) may be interpreted as a compound. On *m* for *ṃ* HOFER's² opinion is more correct than that of LASSEN³.

1. ZDMG. 35,677; Erz. §24, xxx. Among the examples quoted by JACOBI, good many are from verses, hence incapable of verification, as *muhuttam aṣi* (Āyār. 1, 2,1,3); *īṇam eva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4); *attāṇam eva* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), where *eva* should be deleted, as also after *saccam*, so that the verse reads: *saccam samabhiyānāhi mahāeī mīraṇi tarāḥ*; *sattḥāram evaṃ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1) etc. A thoroughly doubtless Sanskritism is *teṇam iti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4). The same holds goods for *m* as for *t* (§203).—2. De Prakrita dialecto §66.—3. Inst. §53.

§ 350. An anusvāra, that originated from original *n*, *m*, disappears often before vowels and consonants. M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *tammi*, *jammi*, *kammi*, AMg. *taṃsi*, *jaṃsi*, *kaṃsi*=*tasmin*, *yasmin*, *kasmin* (§425 ff.); M. *jōvvaṇammi*=**yauvanasmin*=*yauvane*; AMg. *logaṃsi*=*loke*; JM. *tihuyaṇammi*=*tribhuvane*; JŚ. *ñāṇammi*=*jñāne* (§366^a): in the first person singular optative: M. *kuppejja=kupyeyam*, in AMg. with lengthening of the final *haṇējjā=hanyām*; even Ś. *kuppe*, from **kupyem=kupyeyam*, has the dropping off, (§460); in the absolute in **tvānam*: AMg. *cittḥittāṇa* (§583), *kāuāṇa* (§584); M. AMg. JM. *gantūṇa* (§586); JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§21.584); likewise for AMg. *-ccāṇa*, *-jāṇa* beside *-ccāṇam*, *-jāṇam* (§587.592). In the genitive plural the forms without anusvāra are dominant in M. (§370). They are found also in AMg. (§370), especially before enclitics, as *duhāṇa ya suhāṇa ya=duhkhānām ca sukhānām ca* (Uttar. 626); *subhaddappamuhāṇa ya devīṇam=subhadrāpramukhāṇām ca devīṇām* (Ovav. §40.47.56) against *subhaddappamuhāṇam devīṇam* (Ovav. §43); *dasāṇa vi vaṭṭamānāṇam=daśānām api vartamānānām* (Uvās. §275). Further in JM., as **purisāṇa aṭṭhārasapagaṭṭbhantarāṇa=°puruṣāṇām aṣṭādaśaparakṛtyabhyantarāṇām* (Āv. 12,44.45); *doṇha °viruddhāṇa naravarindāṇa=°dvaṇor °viruddhāṇor naravarendrayoḥ* (Āv. 26,7); *savaṇāṇa=śravāṇayoḥ* (Erz. 2,13); *puttāṇa=putrāṇām* (Erz. 29,8), and in JŚ., as *saṅgāsattāṇa tadha* [text *taha*] *asaṅgāṇam=sāṅgāsaktānām tathāsāṅgānām* (Kattig. 398,304), *raḍaṇāṇa* [text *raja*], *savaṇajoyāṇa riddhīṇa=ratnānām, sarvadyotānām, riddhīnām* (Kattig. 400,325); *disāṇa savaṇa suppasiddhāṇam=disām sarvāsām suprasiddhānām* (Kattig. 401,342). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anusvāra stand beside one another (§370), as in

other analogous cases (§ 180), the forms will have to be written with ardhacandra in place of denasalization. To me it appears necessary, especially in places where in the texts at present there stands a denasalized form in the nominative and accusative singular on account of metre. Thus M. *ṇisasia varāsa*=*ṇiḥśvoṣitaṃ varākyā* (H. 141) which is to be read as *ṇisasiā varāṣā*, since the ardhacandra does not make position; AMg. *tajā saṃ ca jahāi*; *serajam*=*tvacāṃ svām ca jahāti svairakam* (Sūyag. 118); *pāṇehi naṃ pāvā vijojayanti*=*prāṇair nūnaṃ pāpaṃ vijojayanti* (Sūyag. 278); *appege vāi juṇjanti*=**apyeḥ *vāciṃ [=vācam] juṇjanti* (Sūyag. 169); *vāsaṃ vayaṃ vittī pakoppayāmo*=*varsaṃ vayaṃ vittiṃ prakalpayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 948); *taṃ iṣi tāḷajanti*=*taṃ ṛṣiṃ tāḷajanti* (Uttar. 360); *taṃ jaṇā tāḷajanti* (Uttar. 365); *aṇṇaṃ vā pupphā saccitṭaṃ*=*anyad vā puṣpaṃ sacitṭaṃ* (Dasav. 622, 39); *tilapiṭṭhā pūṇipinnāgaṃ*=*tilapiṭṭhaṃ pūṇipinyākam* (Dasav. 623, 7); Mg. *gaṇā gacante*=*gagonaṃ gacchan* (Mṛcch. 113, 11); *khaṇā yūḷake*=*kṣaṇaṃ yūḷakāḥ* (Mṛcch. 136, 15); *khaṇā uddhaḥḍe*=*kṣaṇaṃ ūrdhvacūḍaḥ* (Mṛcch. 136, 16); A. *māi jāṇā mīla-aṇi*=*mayā jñātāṃ mīgalocaṇiṃ*; *navataḷi*=*navataḍitaṃ*; *puhavi*, *piā*=*prthiviṃ, priyāṃ* (Vikr. 55, 1.2.18). Likewise in all cases, where at present *m* is printed, but the metre requires a short syllable, as AMg. *abhirujjha kāyā viharisū ārusiyāṇā tattha himṣisū*=*abhirujya kāyaṃ vyahārsur āruṣya tatṛāhiṃ-sisūḥ* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 2); AMg. *samvaccharā sāhiyaṃ māsaṃ*=*samvatsaraṃ sādhiḥkaṃ māsaṃ* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 3); AMg. *na vijjai bandhanaṃ jassa kimci vi*=*na vidyate bandhanaṃ yosya kiñcid api* (Āyār. 2, 16, 12). The same rules hold good also for the nasal vowel marked with bindu. So are found in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. in the instrumental plural (the *m* in *-hiṃ, -hi, -hi* beside one another (§ 180.368), and in AMg. Mf. the denasalized form is used before enclitics. So AMg. *kāmehi* [text **hiṃ*] *ja samthavehi ja*=*kāmaṣ ca samstavaiṣ ca* (Sūyag. 105); AMg. *hatthehiṃ pāehi ja*=*hastābhyāṃ pādābhyāṃ ca* (Sūyag. 292); AMg. *bahūhiṃ ḍimbhaehi ja ḍimbhiyāhi ja dāraehi ja dāriyāhi ja kumārehi ja kumāriyāhi ja saddhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 431.1407); AMg. *pariyaṇaṇajaramahiliyāhiṃ saddhiṃ*=*parijananagaramahilikābhiḥ sadhrim* (Nāyādh. 449), but *pariyaṇamahilāhi ja saddhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 426); AMe. *bahūhiṃ āghavanāhi ja paṇṇavanāhi ja viṇṇavanāhi ja saṇṇav aṇāhi ja*=*bahūbhir ākhyāpanābhiḥ ca prajñāpanābhiḥ ca vijñāpanābhiḥ ca samjñāpanābhiḥ ca* (Nāyādh. 539; cf. Nāyādh. § 143; Uvās. § 222).

§ 351. A final *-am*=Pkt. *-am* becomes *u* in A. So in the accusative singular of the masculine and the nominative, accusative singular of the neuter of *a*-stems, in the genitive singular of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first person singular of the future of Parasmaipada, in the absolutive in original *toṇam* and in isolated adverbs: *vaasu*=*vāyasam* (Hc. 4, 352); *bharu*=*bharam* (Hc. 4, 340, 2); *hatthu*=*hastam* (Hc. 4, 422, 9); *vaṇavaṣu*=*vanavāsam* (Erz. 3, 22); *aṅgu*=*aṅgam* (Hc. 4, 332, 2); *dhaṇu*=*dhanam* (Kk. 272, 35); *phalu*=*phalam* (Hc. 4, 341, 2); *mahu*, *majjhu*=*mahyam* (Hc. s. v. *ma*; *mahu* pro ex. also Vikr. 58, 9; 59, 13.14). *tujjhu*=**tuhyam* (Hc. s. v. *tu*); *pāvīsu*, *karīsu*, *pāīsisu*=Pkt. *pāvissaṃ karissaṃ pavississaṃ*=*prāpsyāmi, karisyāmi, praveksyāmi* (Hc. 4, 396, 4); *gampiṇu*, *gamēppīṇu*=**gantvīnam, gamitvīnam*; *karēppīṇu*=**karitvīnam*; *brōppīṇu*=**brūtvīnam* (§ 588); *ṇiccu*=*nityam* (Erz. 3, 23); *ṇisaṅku*=*niḥsaṅkam* (Hc. 4, 396, 1) *paramatthu*=*paramārtham* (Hc. 4, 422, 9); *samāṇu*=*samānam* (Hc. 4, 418, 3). So also *viṇu* (Hc. 426 and s. v.; Vikr. 71, 7) from **viṇam*=*vinā* (§ 114). Also in Dh. *-am* becomes *u*: *paḍimāṣuṇṇu deṣu*=*pratimāṣuṇṇaṃ devakulam*; *ganthu*=*grantham*; *daṣasuvannu kallavattu*=*daṣasuvannaṃ kalyavatam* (Mṛcch. 30, 11; 31, 16; 34, 17); but very often beside it stands the accusative in *-am*: *samavisaṃam*=*samaviṣamam*; *kulam*; *deulam*; *jūdam*; *savvaṃ suvaṇṇam*; *daṣasuvannaṃ kallavattaṃ* etc. (Mṛcch.

30,8.9.12.18;32,8;34,12). Also in A. of Piṅgala and Kālidāsa the form in -am and -ā is dominant.

§ 352. Final -kam of Skt. becomes -um, -ū in A. So in the nom. acc. sing. neuter of the a-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres. and in certain adverbs: *hiḍḍaū=hrdayakam* (Hc.4,350.2 and s. v); *rūḍḍaū=rūpakam*; *kuḍḍambaū=kuṭumbakam* (Hc.4,419,1.422,14); *haḷ=ʼaḥakam* (Hc.4,375 and s. v.); *tuhū=tvakam* (§ 206); *jāṇaū=ʼjānakam=jānāmi*; *jivaū=jivāmi*; *cajaū=tyajāmi* (§ 454); *maṇāū=JM. maṇāgam* (§ 114)=Skt. *manākam=manāk* Hc. 4,418.426); *sahuū=sākhm* (§ 206). Further in the infinitively used nouns in original -kam, as *akkhaṇaū=ākhyānakam* (§ 579) and in *chaū=ʼeṣakam* in the meaning of *etad* (Hc. 4,362).

V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§353. The consonants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pālī¹, whereby the cases mentioned in §341. 343.348.349 spring forth. Especially frequently *m* is so employed: AMg. *anna-m-anna*^o, *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa*^o=*anyonya*^o (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhap. 105 106), *anna-m-anno* (Āyār. 2,14,1), *anna-m-annam* (Āyār. 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 630; Paṇḥāv. 231; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇanam* (Vivāhap. 123; Kappas. § 72; Nirayāv. § 11), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇā* (Vivāhap. 931), *anna-m-annassa* (Āyār. 2,5,2,2.3.5;2,8,6,2; Vivāhap. 187.508.928; Uvās § 79; Thān. 287; Nirayāv. §18; Ovav. §38.89), *anna-m-annehim* (Sūyag. 633.635; Nirayāv. § 27), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇānam* (Vivāgas. 74); JŚ. *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇehim* (Pav. 384,47). Whilst in Vedic *anyānya*, M. *aṇṇaṇṇa*, JM. *annanna* (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member, in Skt. *anyonya*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *aṇṇōṇṇa* (§ 84) the nominative is benumbed, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that *m* is here originally authorized. The same holds good for M. AMg. A. *ēkka-m-ēkka*, AMg. *ega-m-ega*=*ekaika*, M. *ēkka-m-ēkka*^o (R. 5,85.87;13,87); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkaṇ* (Hc. 3,1; R.5,48;8,32); AMg. *ega-m-egam* (Sūyag. 948.950; Nāyādh. § 125); A. *ēkka-m-ēkkoū* (Hc. 4,422,6); *ēkka-m-ēkkeṇa* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *ega-m-egā* (Vivāhap. 224; Nāyādh. § 125); M. AMg. *ēkka-m-ēkkassa* (H.416.517; Śak. 101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. *ega-m-egassa* (Thān. 456; Vivāhap. 215.222); M. *ēkka-m-ēkke* (R.3,56); AMg. *ega-m-egaṇsi* (Vivāgas.50; Vivāhap.1043ff. 1191); AMg. *ega-m-ege* (Vivāhap. 214); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkā* (R 7,59; 10,41).—Sandhi-consonant is *m* in: *aṅga-m-aṅgammi*=*aṅge* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *virāiyaṅga-m-aṅge*=*virājitāṅgāṅgāḥ, ujjōiyaṅga-m-aṅge*=*uddiyotitāṅgāṅgāḥ* (Ovav. § 11.16), *haṭṭhaluttḥocitta-m-aṇandiya*=*hr̥ṣṭatustacittānandita* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. §17; Kappas. §5.15; Bhag. 2,260), beside *°citta aṇandiye* (Kappas. 50). Often before *ādi*: AMg. *haya-m-āi goṇa-m-āi gāya-m-āi siha-m-āi*=*hayādayo gavādayo gajādayaḥ siṃhādayaḥ* (Uttar. 1075); AMg. *sugandhatēlla-m-āiehim*=*sugandhatailādikāḥ* (Kappas. § 60); AMg. *candāṇa-m-āiehim* (Uvās. §29); AMg. *°rayaṇa-m-āieṇam*=*°ratnādikena* (Kappas. § 90; cf. § 112; Ovav. § 23); AMg. *dhāra-m-āiṇi* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *paṇḍulasuṇa-m-āiḥim* (Āv. 40,18); JM. *kāmadheṇu-m-āiṇa*, *logopāla-m-āiṇam* (Kk 270,29;275,37); JŚ. *rūva-m-āiṇi*=*rūpādini* (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. *ārīya-m-aṇāriyānam* (Samav.98; Ovav. § 56); AMg. *sārassaja m-āiccā*=*sārassatādityau* (Thān.516); AMg. *esa-m-aṭṭhe*=*°ṣoṛiṭhaḥ* (Vivāhap.193; Nāyādh. § 29; Ovav. § 90; Kappas. § 13), *esa-m-aḥḥāo*=*°ṣa aḥḥātāḥ* (Dasav. 625,39), *esa-m-aggi*=*°ṣo ḥṇiḥ* (Uttar. 282), *eya-m-aṭṭhassa* (Nirayāv. § 8), *āyāre-m-aṭṭhā*=*ācārārthāt* (Dasav.636,9),

lābha-m-aṭṭhio = *lā* *hārthikaḥ* (Dasav. 641,42); AMg. *savajjina-m-aṇuṇṇa* = *saravajjinānuṇṇā* (Paṇhāv. 469,539); AMg. *vatthagandha-m-alamkāraṃ* (Sūyag. 183; Thāp. 450; Dasav. 613,17); AMg. *tiyāṇṇa-m-aṇāga-jāṇi* = *atito-ṭṭannānāgatāni* (Sūyag. 470; cf. Vivāhap. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. *diha-m-addha* = *dirghādhvan* (Thāp. 41,129,370 570; Sūyag. 787, 789; Vivāhap. 38,39,848,1128,1225 f. 1290; Paṇhāv. 302,326; Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 464, 1137); AMg. *atthāha-m-atāra-m-aporisīyaṃsi udayaṃsi* = **aṭṭhāhātārāpauruṣīya udaya* (Nāyādh. 1113); AMg. *āukkhemassa-m-appaṇo* = *āyukkhemasyātmanah* (Āyār. 1,7,8,6); JM. *aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu* = *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhārgalesu* (Kī. 19), *ūru-m-antare* (Āv. 15,18); AMg. *purao-m-aggao ja* = *purato 'grataś ca* (Vivāhap. 830). *y* and *r* are employed more rarely as saṃdhi-consonants. In AMg. *egāheṇa vā dūyāheṇa vā tiyāheṇa vā caūyāheṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,5,2,3,4) — cf. *egāhaṃ vā dūyāhaṃ vā tiyāhaṃ vā* (Jiv. 261,286,295). — *caūyāheṇa* = *caturāheṇa* might have been influenced by *dūyāheṇa* = *dūyāheṇa* and *tiyāheṇa* = *tryāheṇa*, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after *egāheṇa*, *egāhaṃ*. AMg. *kiṃ aṇeṇa bho-y-aṇeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3); AMg. *su-j-akkhāja* = *svākhyāta* (Sūyag. 590,594), beside *suakkhāja* (Sūyag. 603, 620); AMg. *vejavi-j-āyarakkhi* = *vedavid ātmaraḥṣitah* (Uttar. 453); *bahu-j-atthijā* = *bahuvasthika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting *j*); AMg. *mahu-j-āsava* = *madhuāsava* (Ovav. § 24); JM. *rāyā-j-u* = *rājā + u* (Āv. 8,1); JM. *du-j-aṅgula* = *dūyaṅgula* (Erz. 59,13). *r* is established etymologically in AMg. *vāhi-r-ivosakehiṃ* = *vyādhir ivosaḍhaiḥ* (Uttar. 918), *sihi-r-iva* (Dasav. 633, 34), *vāyu-r-iva* (Sūyag. 758; Kappas. § 118), where *r* is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, *vahir ivo*¹, *sihir iva* (so LEUMANN), *vājur iva* (so JACOBI may be written. *r* is the saṃdhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. *aṇu-r-āga-jāṇi* = *anvāgatam* (Vivāhap. 154)²; AMg. *du-r-aṅgula* = *dūyaṅgula* (Uttar. 767; commentary *duaṅgula*; cf. above JM. *dūyaṅgula*); AMg. JM. *dhi-r-atthu* = *dhig astu* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105; Nāyādh. 1152,1170 ff.; Uttar. 672,677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21). AMg. *su-r-aṇucara* = *svanucara* (Thāp. 350) is built according to *duraṇucara*, already cited above⁴, and reversely *duāikkhaṃ* (Thāp. 349) would have been formed according to *suāikkhaṃ*, if the reading is correct.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 63; WINDSCH, BKS.GW. 1893, 228, ff.—2. The texts oscillate also in the following examples from AMg. between *nna*, and *ṇṇa*. — 3. Abhayadeva says : *rephasyāgamikatoṣāṇāṃ anvāgatam anurūpam āgamanam he skandaka tapeti dīryam*. — 4. Ayyha adeva : *rephaḥ prākṛtatoṣi*. Cf. BEZZENBERGER, BB. 4,340, note 2.

VI. TRANSPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground : *airāhā* = *acirābhā* and *aiharā* (lightning; Deśin. 1,34). — *alacapura* = *acalapura* (Hc. 2,118). — *āṇāla* = *ālāna* (Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kī. 2,117), *āṇālakhambha*, *āṇālakkhambha* = *ālānastambha* (Hc. 2,97). — *kaṇeru* = *kareṇu* (Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Kī. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli¹. In AMg. *kareṇu* is used in the feminine (Nāyādh. 327,328,337,338; Uttar. 337,954), and in Ś. in the masculine (Pāyāl. 9; Mālatim. 203,4). So also JM. *kareṇujā* = *kareṇukā* (Pāyāl. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. *ṇāḍāla*, M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* = *lalāḍa*, beside *ṇalāḍa*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*, Ś. *lalāḍa* (§ 260). — JM. A. *draha* = *krada* (Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1), AMg. *daha* (Hc. 2,80,120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,2; Aṇuog. 386; Paṇnav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vivāhap. 119,361,659; Thāp. 94), frequently also in compounds, as

kesariddaha, *tigicchaddaha* (Thāṇ. 75.76), *paṭmaddaha*, *puṇḍarijaddaha* (Thāṇ. 75 ff.; Jiv. 582 f.); M. AMg. *mahaddaha* (H. 186; Thāṇ. 75.382); AMg. *A. mahādaha* (Thāṇ. 176; Hc. 4,444,3), beside AMg. *haraya* with a separation vowel (§ 132). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *dihara* for **diraha* (§ 132)² = *dirgha* (Hc. 2,171; G. H. R.; Karp. 43,11; Nandis. 377; Erz.; Uttarar. 125,6; Bālar. 235,15; Mallikām. 81,9; 123,15; 161,8; 198,17; 223,9; Hc. 4, 414,4). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo* = *upānahau*, *aṇovāhaṇaga*, *ja*, AMg. *chatovāhaṇa*, beside Ś. *uvāṇaha* (§ 141). — JM. Ś. A. *marahaṭṭha* = *mahārāṣṭra* (Hc. 1,69; 2,119; Kk. 44; Bālar. 72,19; Piṅg. 1,91.116^a.140^a), M. *marahaṭṭhi* (Viddhaś. 25,2), beside *maradhī* (§ 67). — AMg. *rahassa* for **harassa* = *hrasva* (Thāṇ. 20.40.445.452), beside *hassa* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,4,2,10; Vivāhap. 38.39), *hassikarēnti* (Vivāhap. 126). The MSS. and texts more often have *hrassa* (Thāṇ. 119; Nandis. 377; WEBER, Bhag. 1,415). According to Bh. 4,15 one says *hamśa* as well (§ 74). — AMg. JM. A. *vāṇārasī* = *vārāṇasī* (Hc. 2,116; Antag. 63; Nāyādh. 508.787.791.1516.1528 [text *vārāṇasī*]; Nirayāv. 43 ff.; Pannav. 60; Thāṇ. 544; Uttar. 742; Vivāgas. 136.148 f.; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Erz.; Piṅgala 1.73 [*vaṇarasi*; GOLDSCHMIDT *varapasi*]; Hc. 4,442,1). In Ś. stands *vārāṇasī* (Bālar. 307,13; Mallikām. 156,24; 161,17; 224,10), likewise in Mg. (Prab. 32,9), for which the ed. Bomb. 78,11 rightly reads *vālāṇasī*, which is to be corrected as *vālānāsī*. — *haliāra* beside *hariāla* = *haritāla* (Hc. 2,121). — *halua* beside *lahua* = *laghuka* (Hc. 2,122). — *hulāi* beside *luhāi* (wipes off; Hc. 4,105). For *luhāi* Vr. 8,67; Kī. 4,53 have *lubhāi*. Through this it becomes probable that *hulāi* may be equated as = **bhulāi*, and that it is identical with *hulāi* (throws; Hc. 4,143), to which might be connected *bhulāi* (falls down; Hc. 4,177), the passive, and JM. Ś. *bhulla* (forgotten; forgetfully; bewildered; Āv. 46,5; Karp. 113,1) the past passive participle³. — It is phonetically impossible to equate M. *iharā* (Pāṭh. 241; G.), with the grammarians (Hc. 2,212; Mk. fol. 38) as = *itarathā*, and to explain it through transposition from **iarahā* with Mk. and WEBER⁴. Since in M. the MSS. mostly have *iarā* (H. 711; R. 11,26), *iharā*, as stated in § 212, will have originated from **itharatā*. According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *idaradhā*.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,116. — 2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,177. — 4. On Hāla 711.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

A. THE NOUN.

§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in *t*, *n*, *ś*, *s*, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. *vivaā* = *vipadā* (Śukas. 33,7); AMg. *dhammavio* = *dharmavidaḥ* (nom. plur.; Sūyag. 43); AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* (Dasav. 630.32; Uttar. 28); AMg. *veṇavido* = *vedavidaḥ* (nom. plur. Uttar. 425). *āo* (water) = *āpaḥ* (Triv. in BB. 3,239) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter *āpas*, which is quoted by Ujvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be traced back to the nom. plural². In AMg. *āo* has become one masculine *āu* (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 1,61), likewise *teo* = *tejah* has become *teu*, however, in the formula combination *āu teū vāu* = *āpas tejo vāyuḥ* the vowel has been arranged according to *u* of *vāu* = *vāyu*. Likewise *kājasā* is said for *kājeṇa*, beside *maṇasā vajasā*, and *balasā* for *baṇa* beside *sahasā* (§ 364) and others in details (§ 358, 364, 367, 375, 379, 386). So *āu teū vāu*

(Sūyag. 606; Samav. 228 [text *teo*]; Dasav. 614,40 [text **u*] Āyār. 2,2,13 [text *āo teo vāu*]); also *vāu teū dū* (Vivāgas. 50); *āu teū vā vāu* (Sūyag. 19); *āu teū ya tahā vāu ya* (Sūyag. 37); *āu agaṇi ya vāu* (Sūyag. 325); *puḍhavi āu gaṇi vāu* (Sūyag. 378); *āutevūvaṇassaisarira* (Sūyag. 803); *āutevūvaṇassaiṇāṇavihāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); *āusarira teusarira vāusarira* (Sūyag. 792); *āutevaṇassai*^o (Vivāhap. 430); *tevūvaṇassai* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,11; Samav. 17); *āukāya* (Vivāhap. 1439); *āukāiya teukāiya vāukāiya* (Vivāhap. 1438 f. [text mostly **ā*]; Apuog. 260; Dasav. 614,38), *āukkāiya* (Jiv. 41); *āulēsse* (Vivāhap. 10); *āubahula* (Jiv. 226); *āujivā tahāgaṇi vāujivā* (Sūyag. 425; cf. Uttar. 1045, 1047); *teuphāsa=tejahsparśa* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 1,8,3,1); *teujiva* (Uttar. 1053); *teū vāu ya* (Uttar. 1052). The two words are used as wholly independent *u*-stems as well: nom. sing. *āū* (Sūyag. 332; Paṇṇav. 369^a); nom. plur. *āū* (Ṭhāp. 82); gen. plur. *āūṇam* (Uttar. 1047), *teūṇam* (Uttar. 1055). In a non-technical sense *tejas* is treated in AMg. as the remnant of a neuter noun in *-as*.—From the nom. plur. *sarao=śaradaḥ* of *śarad* (autumn), in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A., a masc. sing. *sarao*, AMg. JM. *saraya=*Pāli *sarada*⁴ has been inferred (Vr. 4,10, 18; Hc. 1,18,31; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 34; G.H.R.; Ṭhāp. 238,527; Nāyādh. 916; Kk. 264,6; Bālar. 127,14; Hc. 4,357,2); likewise *diso* from *disaḥ* (Ki. 2,131; in case the word is not to be read as *disā*). In other respects the treatment of the consonantal stem is a twofold one. In a small number of cases the word, after loss of the final consonant, is made end in the vowel preceding it and crosses over the vocalic declension corresponding to the gender, and in majority of words the stem is augmented by insertion of *-a* in the masculine and neuter, and of *-ā* or *-ī* in the feminine. See § 395 ff.

1. STENZLER, BB. 6,84. — 2. So with WEBER, Bhag. 1,397, note 2 and E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 67, more correctly than BB. 3,240. — 3. Malayagiri on Paṇṇav. 369 remarks: *āū iti puṁliṅgātā prākṛtalakṣaṇavastu saṁskṛte tu strītoam eva*. — 4. So with CHILDERS, Dictionary s. v. more correctly than BB. 3,240.

§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been partly produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. JM. the neuter in *-as*, in pursuance of the nomin. in *-o* (§ 345), is used in the masculine (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35): M. *tuṅgo ecia hoi maṇo=tuṅgam eva bhavati maṇaḥ* (Hc. 284); *esa saro=etat saraḥ* (G. 513); *khudho mahēndassa jaso=*kjuditaṁ mahandrasya jataḥ* (R. 1,4); *aṇṇo aṇṇassa maṇo=anyad anyasya maṇaḥ* (R. 3,44); *māruleddhalihāmo mahirao=māruleddhasthāma mahirajaḥ* (R. 4,25); *tamālakasaṇo tato=tamālakṛṣṇam tamaḥ* (R. 10,25); *tāriso a uro=tādyāṇam coraḥ* (Subhadrāh. 8,3); JM. *bārasāiccodayāhio teo=dvādaśādityodayāhitaṁ tejaḥ* (Erz. 26,33); *tano kao=tapaḥ kṛtam* (Erz. 26,35). *nabhas* and *śiras*, according to the grammarians (Vr. 4,19; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,134; Mk. fol. 35), only as neuter, are used according to the *a*-declension: M. *ṇaṇam* (G. 451.495.1036; R. 4, 54; 5,2.6.35.43.74 etc.); M. *siraṁ* (R. 4,56; 11,36.56.132 etc.). In AMg. too the neuter nouns in *-as*, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in *-e* (§ 345): M. *māvoṇe=mātvojaḥ* (Ṭhāp. 159); *tame=tamaḥ* (Ṭhāp. 248); *tave=tapaḥ* (Samav. 26); *maṇe=maṇaḥ* (Vivāhap. 1135 f.); *pējje=prejaḥ* (Ovav. § 56); *vacche=vakṣaḥ* (Uvās. § 94); *ee soyā=etāni srotāṁsi* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2). AMg. *ayaṁ=ayas* (Sūyag. 286); AMg. *seyaṁ=śreyaḥ* (Hc. 1,32; § 409); *vayaṁ=vayas* (Hc. 1,32), beside AMg. *vao* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3 in the verse); *sumaṇam=sumanaḥ* (Hc. 1,32). Ś. Mg. so form

almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. *manu* (Hc. 4,350.422,9) and *siru* (Hc. 4,445.3), phonetically rather=*manah*, *śirah* (§ 346), may be equated as =**nanam*, **śiram* (§ 351). The voc. *ceu*=*etaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; text *ceja*; v. l. *ceḍa*; cf. BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of -*aḥ*.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in -*as*, many neuter nouns in -*a* have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings -*āṇi*, -*āṇm*, as in the Veda, have also the ending -*ā*, which is like that of the masculine (§367). So one says AMg. *tao thāṇāṇi* (Thāp. 143), *tao thāṇāṇm* (Thāp. 158) and *tao thāṇā* (Thāp. 163.165)=*trīpi sthāṇāṇi*. The nomin. sing. *thāṇe* may be inferred from the last form: AMg. *esa thāṇe anārie*=*etat sthānam anāryam* (Sūyag. 736). Examples in AMg. are numerous beyond measure: *esa udagarāṇe*=*etat udakaratnam* (Nāyādh. 1011); *uṭṭhāṇe kamme bale virie*=*uṭṭhānam karma balaṁ vīryam* (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); *duvihe dāmsaṇe pannatte*=*dvividhaṁ darśanaṁ prajñaptam* (Thāp. 44); *marāṇe*=*marāṇam* (Samav. 51.52); *mattae*=*mātrakam*, beside the plural *mattagāṇm* (Kappas. S. § 56), and many others¹. In Āyār. 1,2,1,3 stand in the verse beside one another: *vao accei jōvvaṇam ca jivie*=*vayo 'tyeti yauvanam ca jivitam*. In AMg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMg. *eyāvanti savāvanti logaṁsi kammamārambhā*=*etāvantaḥ sarve karmasamārambhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7); *āvanti ke jāvanti logaṁsi samapā ja māhaṇā ja*=*yāvantaḥ ke ca yāvanto loka śramaṇās ca brāhmaṇās ca* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1.4); *yāim tumāim yāim te janagā*=*yas tvam yau te janakau* (Āyār. 2,4,1.8); *yāim* [§ 335.353] *bhikkhū*=*ye bhikṣavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); *jāvanti 'vijjāpurisā sarve te dukkhasambhavā*=*yāvanto 'vidyā puruṣāḥ sarve te dukkhasambhavāḥ* (Uttar. 215); *je garahiṇā saṇiyāṇappaogā* *ṇa tāṇi sevanti sudhāradhammā*=*ye garhitāḥ sanidānaproyogā na tān sevante sudhāradharmāḥ* (Sūyag. 504). So is explained *ṇo in' aṭṭhe*, *ṇo iṇam aṭṭhe* (§ 173) too; cf. also *se*, Mg. *se*=*tad* § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders: *tao sāgaracando kamalāmela ja*.....*gahiyāpuvvaṇāṇi sāvagāṇi saṁvuttāṇi*=*tataḥ sāgaracandrah kamalāpīdā ca*.....*grhitānurvataḥ śrāvakau saṁvṛttau* (Āv. 31,22), and previously (31,21) it is said about the same: *pacchā imāṇi bhoge bhuñjamāṇāṇi viharanti*=*pacchād imau bhogān bhuñjānau viharataḥ*; *tāṇi* is used (Āv. 38,1) with reference to *māyāpiṇam*=*mātāpitroḥ*; *tāṇi ammaṇipīyaro pucchiyāṇi*=*tau ambāpitarau prṣṭau* (Erz. 37,29); *tāhe rājā sā ja jāyathatthimmi ārūdhāim*=*tadā rājā sā ca jāyasthity ārūdhau* (Erz. 34,29); [*mayamañjariyā kumaro ca*] *niyaja-bhavane gayāṇi sānandahiyyāim*=*[madanamañjarikā kumārā ca] nijakabhavane gatau sānandahṛdayau* (Erz. 84,6). More examples in JACOBI, Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter *a*-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. *ese se daṣaṇāmake māi kaḥ*=*etat tad daṣaṇāmakam mayā kṛtam* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *āmalanantike vele*=*āmaraṇāntikam vairam* (Mṛcch. 21,14); *duālae*=*dvārakam* (Mṛcch. 79,17); *pavahaṇe*=*pravahānam* (Mṛcch. 96,22; 97,19,20; 99,2; 100,20 etc.); *ese cīvale*=*etat cīvaram* (Mṛcch. 112,10); *sohide*=*sauhṛdam* (Sak. 118,6); *bhoṇe saṁcīde*=*bhojanam saṁcītam* (Venis. 33,3); *uṣṇe lukhile*=*uṣṇam rudhiram* (Venis. 33,12); *bhatte*=*bhaktam*, *ese se suvaṇṇake*=*etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 163, 19; 165,7). In Ś. D. we find the following used in the masculine: *pavahaṇo* (Mṛcch. 97,7; D. 100,15) beside the more frequent *pavahānam*; in Ś. *pabhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,7) beside *pabhādam*=*prabhātam* (Mṛcch. 93.5.6); more often Ś. *hīao*=*hṛdayam*, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]; 23,10; cf. 46,17.19; Ratn. 298,11.12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read; Viddhaś. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,

13.15)². The dialect is not determined in *catto*=*cāttram* (spindel; Deśin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.

1. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 55. — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5.

§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc.1.32; K1. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in *-an* becomes masculine in *-a*: *kammo*=*karma*; *janmo*=*janma*; *nammo*=*nama*; *mammo*=*mama*; *vammo*=*varma*. Thus we have found PG *sammo*=*śarma*(7,46); AMg. *kamne*=*karma*(Sūyag.838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 51.73.166); Mg. *camme*=*carma* (Mṛcch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *a*-stems¹, what is commanded by Mk. for *preman* and by Hc. for *dāman*. So M. *kammañ* (R. 14,46); M. Ś. *nāmañ* (H. 452.905; Vikr. 30,9); M. *dāmañ* (H. 172); M. *peṇmañ* (R. 11,88; Ratn. 299,18); M. *romañ* (R. 9,87); *cammañ sammāñ* (Hc. 1,32). The masculine in *-iman* may become neuter of *i*-stems², to which the nomin. in *-ā* gave rise: *eśa garimā*, *mahimā*, *nillajjimā*, *dhuttimā* (Hc. 1,35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. *candimā*=**candriman* (§103); AMg. *mahimāsu* (Thāp. 288). In the same way AMg. *addhā*=*adhvā* from *adhvan* (Ovav.); M. *umhā*=*ūsmā* from *ūzman* (Bh. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; G. R.); JM. *vaṭṭā*=*vaṭmā* from *vartman* (Deśin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34,35; cf. § 334); *śēmbhā*=*śeṣmā* from *śeṣman*(Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine. AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthīni* (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem *sakthan* with a separation-vowel according to § 132, therefore, from **sakathan*, nomin. sing. **sakahā*. The Jains divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons *grīṣma*, *varṣāḥ* and *hemantā*². As in other cases (§ 355.364.367.375.379.386), the gender and the number of *grīṣma* and *hemantā* have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural *varṣāḥ*, as a sequence to the formular combination. One says: *gimhāhi*=**grīṣmābhiḥ* (Sūyag. 166); *gimhāsu*=**grīṣmāsu* (Vivāhap. 465); *hemantagimhāsu*...*vāsāsu* (Kappas. S. § 55); *gimhāṇaṁ* (Āyār. 2,15.2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2.96.120.150.159 etc.); *hemantāṇaṁ*(Āyār.2,15,22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neutral forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well(cf. § 357), by the similarity of the ending *-ā*, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin. accus. plur. from the masculine in-*a*. So M. AMg. Ś. *guṇāim*=*guṇān* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Sūyag. 157; Vivāhap. 508; Mṛcch. 37,14); M. *kaṇṇāim*=*kaṇṇau* (H. 805); M. *pavaḍi*, *gaḍiṁ*, *turaḍi*, *rakkhasāi*=*plavagān*, *gaḍān*, *turagān*, *rākṣasān* (R. 15,17)³; AMg. *paṣiṇāṇi*=*praśnān* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *paṣiṇāim* (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāhap. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvās. § 58.121.176), as already in Skt. *praśna* is neuter (Maitryupaniṣad 1,2); AMg. *māsāim*=*māsān* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *pāṇāim* (Āyār 1,6 5,4; 1,7,2,1 ff.; 2,1,1,11; p. 132,6.22), *pāṇāni* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132,28) beside usual *pāṇe* (e. g. Āyār. 1,1,6 3; 1,3,1,3; 1,6,1,4)=*prāṇān*; AMg. *phāsāim* (Āyār. 1,4.3,2; 1,8,2,10.3,1; Sūyag. 297) beside *phāse* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3.3,2.5,1; 1,7,8,18) = *sparsān*. AMg. *rukkhāim* (Hc. 1,34), AMg. *rukkhāṇi*=*rukṣān* (trees; Āyār. 2 3,2,15; cf. § 320); *devāim* (Hc. 1,34), *devāṇi* (C. 1,4)=*devāḥ*; JŚ. *nibandhāni*=*nibandhān* (Pav. 387,12); Mg. *dantāim*=*dantān* (Śak. 154,6), *goṇāim*=*gāḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual mascul. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too *khaggaṁ* beside *khaggo*=*khadgaḥ*; *maṇḍalaggaṁ* beside *maṇḍalaggo*=*maṇḍalāgraḥ*; *kararuhaṁ* beside *kararuho*=*kararukaḥ*, as reversely Mk. fol. 35 has *vaṇṇo* beside *vaṇṇam*=*vadanam*; *naṇṇo* beside *naṇṇam*=*nayanam*. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from *i*- and *u*-stems too: AMg. *sālīṇi vā vīhīṇi vā* = *sālīn vā vīhīn vā* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682), in dependence upon the following neuter: AMg. *uūim*=*ṛtūn*

(Kappas. § 114); *bindām* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *heūm*=*hetūm* beside *paṣiṇām* (Vivāhap. 151). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldomer. So AMg. *taṣṇi* (Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhap. 908) from the singular *taṣṇā* (Paṇṇav. 32; Vivāhap. 1308. 1529); cf. *taṣṇā-pāṇae* (Vivāhap. 1255) and *taṣṇasuhāe* (Kappas. § 60)=**taṣṇā=taṣṇā*; AMg. *pāyāim*=*pādukāh* (Nāyādh. 1484); Ś. *ricām* from **ricā=ṛk* (Ratn. 302,11); AMg. *paṇṭiyāni* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5) beside *paṇṭiyāo* (Vivāhap. 361; Anuog. 386)=**paṇṭikāh*; AMg. *bhamuhām* (Āyār. 2,13,17) beside *bhamuhāu* (Jiv. 553)=**bhruvuke* (§ 124. 206); even AMg. *itthiṇi vā purisāṇi vā=striyo vā puruṣā vā* (Āyār. 2,11,18), probably to be comprehended in the meaning "something womanish", "something manly". *akṣi* may be used as feminine (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33. 35; Kt. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine nouns *aṣṇali*, *kukṣi*, *granthi*, *nidhi*, *raṣṇi*, *vali*, *vidhi*, which have been included by him in the *gaṇa aṇāyādi*, may become feminine. So is explained AMg. *ayaṇ aṣṇi*, *ayaṇ dahi*=*idam aṣṇi*, *idam dahi* (Sūyag. 594), the dative *aṣṇi* (§ 361), and so the nomin. *sappi=sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291) and the nomin. *hapī=hanī* (Dasav. N. 648,9) too must be comprehended, in which the *s*-stems, after dropping off of *s*, have gone over to the *i*-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside *paṇho=praśnaḥ* Pkt. has *paṇhā* too (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Kt. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14), which occurs in AMg. *paṇhāoḡaraṇām* (Nandis. 471; Samav), the name of the 10. aṅga. In the v.1. to C. 3,6 *paṇham* too occurs; the plural AMg. *paṣiṇām*, *paṣiṇāni* have been mentioned above. In the sense of *arśāṇi* AMg. has *aṇsiyāo*=**arśikāh* (Vivāhap. 1306). Beside *paṭṭha*, *piṭṭha*, *puṭṭha*=*prṣṭha* frequent are *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (§ 53). The feminine *āsaṃsā* becomes M.Ś. *āsaṃgho* (§ 267); *prāṇs* becomes in M. AMg. JM. Ś. a masculine *pāusa*=*Pāli pāvusa* (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,31; Kt. 2,131; Mk. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81.638 f. 644.192; Vivāhap. 798; Erz.; Vikr. 33,14); *tarāṇi*, according to Hc. 1,31,2 used only as masculine⁴. On *diso=dik*, *sarao=sarad* see § 355, on the numerals 2-4 see § 436. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 131, note 2.—2. JACOBSON on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 13,16. 17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT R. p. 318, note 9.—4. Cf. in general already Pischel, De gr. Pr. p. 5 f.

§ 359. In A. the gender is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: *jō pāhasi so lehi*=*yat prārthayase tat labhasva* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. Vikr. p. 530 f.); *mattām*=*mātrāḥ* (P. 1,51. 60. 83.127); *rekām*=*rekhāḥ* (P. 1,52); *vikkamaṇ*=*vikramaḥ* (P. 1,56); *bhuṇṇe*=*bhuvanāni* (accus.; P. 1,62^b); *gāhassa*=*gāthāyāḥ* (P. 1,128); *sagaṇāi*=*sagaṇān* (P. 1,152); *kumbhaḥ*=*kumbhān* (Hc. 4,345); *antrādī*=*antram* (Hc. 4,445,3); *ḍālāi* (Hc. 4,445,4), plural of *ḍālā* (branch; Pāyāl. 136; Deśin. 4,9, where *ḍālā*); however, AMg. too has *ḍālā* in *egaṇṇi rukkhadālayaṇṇi thiccā* (Nāyādh. 492), and *ḍālaga* (Āyār. 2,7,2,5); *khalām*=*khalān* in rhyme with *raaṇām* (Hc. 4,334); *viguttām*=**viguttāḥ*=*vigopitāḥ* (Hc. 4,421,1); *niścintāi* *hariṇāi*=*niścintā hariṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,20); *amhām* beside *amhe*=*asme* (Hc. 4,376).

§ 360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals *do*=*doau* and *duve*, *be*=*doe*, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb (Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Kt. 3,5; Āv. 6,12), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 (§ 436.437). M. *balakeṣa-vāṇam*=*balakeṣavayoh* (G. 26), *hatthā tharatharanti*=*hastau tharatharāyete* (H. 165), *kaṇṇesu*=*karṇayoh* (R. 5,65), *achaṇṇim*=*akṣiṇi* (G. 44); AMg. *janagā*=*janakau* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *pāhaṇḍo*=*upānahau* (Thāṇ. 359), *bhumagāo* *acchīṇi*, *kaṇṇā*, *uṭṭhā*, *aggahatthā*, *hatthesu*, *thaṇayā*, *jāṇūm*, *jaṅghāo*,

pāyā, *pāesu* = *bhruvau*, *akṣiṇī*, *karpau*, *oṣṭhau*, *agrahastau*, *hastayoh*, *stanakau*, *jānuni*, *jaṅghe*, *pāḍau*, *pāḍayoh* (Uvās § 94); JM. *hatthā*, *pāyā* = *hastau*, *pāḍau* (Āv. 6,14), *taṇhāchuhāo* = *taṇhāksudhau* (Dvār. 500,7), *do vi puttā jamalagā* = *dvāv api putrau yamalakau* (Erz. 1,8) *cittasambhūehim* = *cittasambhūtābhyām* (Erz. 1, 26); Ś. *māhavamārandā āacchanti* = *māhavamakarandāv āgacchataḥ* (Mālatīm. 293,4), *rāmarāvapaṇāṇam* = *rāmarāvapaṇayoh* (Bālar. 260, 21), *sīdārāmehim* = *sītārāmābhyām* (Pras. 64,5), *sīrisarassadīṇam* = *sīrisarasvatyoh* (Viddhaś. 108,5); Mg. *lāmakaṇhāṇam* = *rāmakaṣṇayoh* (Kaṁsav. 48,20), *amhe vi . . . luhilam pīvamha* = *āvām api rudhiram pibāva* (Venis. 35, 21), *kalē mha* = *karavāva* (Caṇḍak. 68, 15; 71,10); D. *candaṇaavīraehim* = *candanakavīrakābhyām* (Mṛcch. 105,8), *sumbhaṇiṣumbhe* = *sumbhaṇiṣumbhau* (Mṛcch. 105,22); A. *rāvaṇarāmāhā*, *paṭṭa-nagāmāhā* = *rāvaṇarāmāyoh*, *paṭṭanagrāmāyoh* (Hc. 4,407). In cases like Ś. *dve rukkhasecānake* = *dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1) there is no dual, but the accus. plur. (§ 367^a) with a change of gender according to § 357¹.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto. p. 136 f.; LASSEN, Indst. p. 309; BOLLENSEN OD Vikr. 347; WEBER, IS. 14,280 f.

§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Kī. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Āv. 6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found almost only in PG. M. AMg. JM., mostly in the case of the *a*-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. *ajātāe* = **adyatvāya* (7,45); *vāsasatasahas-sāya* = *varṣasatasahasrāya* (7,48); M. *nivāraṇāa* = *nivāraṇāya*, *āśāa* = *āyāsāya*, *marāṇāa* = *marāṇāya*, *harārāhaṇāa* = *harārādhanāya*, *hāsāa* = *hāsāya*, *gāravāa* = *gauravāya*, *mohāa* = *mohāya*, *apunarāgamaṇāa* = *apunarāgamanāya* (G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183); M. *vaṇāa* = *vanāya* (Bālar. 156,14), *tāvaparikkha-ṇāa* = *tāvaparikkṣāya* (Karp. 52,3). H. and R. do not have the dative. AMg. *ahiyāya* = *ahitāya* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *gaḥbhāya* = *garbhāya* (Sūyag. 108); *āivāyāya* = *atipātāya* (Sūyag. 356); *tāṇāya* = *trāṇāya* (Sūyag. 377); *kūḍāya* = *kūṭāya* (Uttar. 201), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AMg. JM. in *-āe* (§ 364) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AMg.: *parivandana-māṇapaṇapūyaṇāe jāimaraṇamojaṇāe* = *parivandanamāṇapaṇapūyanāya jāimaraṇamocanāya* (Āyār. 1,1,1,7); beside *tāṇāya* in verse, there stands in prose *tāṇāe* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2.3.4), and likewise in verse (Uttar. 217); *mūlatāe kandattāe kandhattāe tayattāe sālattāe pavālattāe pattattāe pupphattāe phalattāe bijattāe viṭṭanti* = *mūlatvāya kandatvāya skandhatvāya tvaktvāya sālātāya pravālatvāya puṣpatvāya phalatvāya bijatvāya vivartante* (Sūyag. 806); *eyam ne peccabhava ihabhava ja hijāe suhāe khamāe nisseyāsāe ānugāmiyattāe bhavissāi=etan naḥ pretyabhava ihabhava ca hitāya sukhāya kṣamāyai niḥsreyasāyānugāmikātāya bhaviṣyati* (Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162) etc.; AMg. JM. *vahāe* = *vadhāya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vivāhap. 1254; Āv. 14,16; so to be read); *vahatthayāe* = *vadhārthakāya* (Erz. 1,21); *hiyāṭṭhāe* = *hitārthāya* (Āv. 25,26); *mam' atthāe* = *mamārthāya* (Erz. 63,12). The dative is correct in Ś. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the *a*-stems: Mg. *cārudattavināśāa* = *cārudattavināśāya* (Mṛcch. 133,4). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgarī, Dravidian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Śak. 115,7; *sāmipaśādāa* = *svāmiprasādāya*, where the Bengal recension has *sāmipapaśadattham*. In Ś. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the parapsasing with *attham* = *artham* and *nimittam* = *nimittam*¹. The dative stands in Ś. in prose falsely: *nivuddilāhāa* = *nivṛtilābhāya* (Mālav. 33,14); *āsisāa* (l) = *āśiṣe* (Mālav. 70,13); *suhāa* = *sukhāya* (Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1); *asusamrakha-*

nāa = *asusamrakṣaṇāya* (Vṛṣabh. 51,11); *vibudhaviṣṇāa* = *vibudhaviṣṇāya* (Vikr. 6,20); *tilodaadānāa* = *tilodakadānāya* (Mṛch. 327,4) *ceḍiāaccanāa* [text *āya* = *ceṭikārcanāya* (Mukund. 17,12)]. Other examples from bad texts have been collected by BÖHTLINGK² and BOLLENSSEN². In Rājasekhara the scribe is not responsible for this (§ 22). Datives of even stems other than *a-* are found. So AMg. *appege accāe haṇanti appege ajiṇāe vahanti appege mānsāe vahanti appege soṇijāe vahanti evaṇ hidaṇāe pittāe vasāe picchāe pucchāe vālāe siṅgāe viṣāṇāe dantiāe dādhāe nahāe ṇhāruṇīe aṭṭhīe aṭṭhiminṇjāe aṭṭhāe aṇaṭṭhāe* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where *accāe* from *accā* (body; bulk; commentary = *śarīram*), *vasāe* = *vasāyai*, *dādhāe* = *damṣṭrāyai*, *aṭṭhiminṇjāe* = *asthimajjāyai* are dative from the feminine in *-ā*, *ṇhāruṇīe* is from a feminine **snāyuni* (§ 255), and *aṭṭhīe* is from the neuter *asthi*, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: *se na haṣṣāe na kiddāe na raṇīe na vibhūṣāe* = *sa na hāṣyāya na krīḍāyai na ratyai na vibhūṣāyai* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JM. *kittividdhīe* = *kirtividdhaye* (Kl. 20). So also falsely in Ś. *kajjasiddhīe* = *kāryasiddhaye* (Mālav. 56,13; Jivān. 21,7); *jadhāsamiḥidasiddhīe* = *yathāsāmīhtasiddhaye* (Viddhaś. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative *bhavade* in the "solemn greeting formula" *sōṭṭhi bhavade* = *svasti bhavate* (Mṛch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as *bhavado*, as CAPPELER, Ratn. 319,17 has done; cf. *sōṭṭhi savvāṇam* (Vikr. 83,8) and the v. l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in *-ttae*, *-ittae* (§ 578) too are old dative.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 299; FISCHER, BB. 1,111 ff.; on Hc. 3,132. Falsely HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 126 f.; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 168 and Mālav. p. 233; WEBER, IS. 14, 290 ff.; BB. 1, 343 f.—2. On Śak. 40, 18, p. 203.—3. On Mālav. p. 233.—4. WEBER, BB. 1,343.

§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further KIELHORN, EI., 3, 313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg. *saṁdhivāṇasaddhim saṁparivude* (Ovav. § 48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with *saddhim*, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyād. 574. 724. 1068. 1074. 1273. 1290. 1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like Ā. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) STEMS IN *-a*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 363. Mascul. *putta* = *putra*.

Singular.

- N. *putto*; AMg. Mg. *putte*; AMg. in verses also *putto*; A. mostly *puttu*.
 Acc. *puttam*; A. *puttu*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. *putteṇa*, *putteṇam*; JŚ. Ś. Mg. P. CP. *putteṇa*; A. *putteṇa*, *puttiṇa*, *puttem*, *puttē*.
 Dat. M. *puttāa*; AMg. *puttāya* in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. *puttāe*; Mg. *puttāa* in verses.
 Abl. M. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*, *puttāhi*, *puttāhimto*, [*puttatto*]; AMg. JM. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*; JŚ. *puttādo*, *puttādu*, *puttā*; Ś. Mg. *puttādo*; P. CP. *puttāto*, *puttāhu*; A. *puttahē*, *puttahu*.

- G. *puttassa*; Mg. *puttaśśa*, *puttāha*; A. *puttassu*, [*puttasu*], *puttahō*, °*ho*, *puttaha*.
 L. M. JM. JŚ. *puttammi*, *putte*; AMg. *puttamsi*, *puttammi*, *puttammi*, *putte*; Ś. P. CP. *putte*; Mg. *putte*, *puttāhim*; A. *putte*, *puttē*, *putti*, *puttahi*.
 V. *putta*; M. also *puttā*; AMg. *putta*, *puttā*, *putto*; Mg. *putta*, *putte*.

Plural.

- N. *puttā*; AMg. also *puttāo*; A. also *putta*.
 Acc. *putte*; M. AMg. A. also *puttā*; A. also *putta*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttehi*, °*him*, °*hī*; Ś. Mg. *puttehim*; A. *puttahi*, °*hi*, °*hi*, *puttehim*, °*hi*, °*hi*.
 Abl. [*puttāsumto*, *puttesumto*, *puttāhimto*, *puttāhi*, *puttehi*, *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttatto*]; AMg. *puttehimto*, *puttehim*; JM. *puttehim*; A. *puttahi*.
 G. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttāna*, °*nam*, °*nā*; Ś. Mg. *puttānam*; Mg. also [*puttāhā*]; A. *puttāha*, *puttāhā*, *puttānam*.
 L. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttesu*, °*sum*, °*sū*; Ś. Mg. *puttesum*, (*puttesu*); A. *puttahi* (*puttehi*, *puttihi*).
 V. *puttā*; Mg. also *puttāho*; A. *puttāhō*, °*ho*.

The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as *phala*, only nom. acc. sing. *phalaṃ*, A. *phalu*;

- Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. *phalāṃ*, °*ī*, °*i*; AMg. JM. also *phalāṇi*, *phalā*; JŚ. *phalāṇi*; Ś. Mg. *phalāṃ*; A. as M., however, also *phala*?

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

Singular.

- N. *mahārājādhiraṇḍo* 5,1; *bhāradāyo* 5,2; *patibhāgo* 6,12; and so still nom. in -o; 6,14. 19-26. 29: 40; 7,44. 47.
 Acc. *parihāraṃ* 5,7; *vāṭaka[m]* *puvāḍattam* 6,12. 28. 30—34. 36. 37 [may be also neuter].
 I. *maḍeṇa* 6,40; *likhiteṇa* 7,51.
 D. *ajāṭāye* 7,45; *vāsasatasahassāya* 7,48.
 Abl. *kāmcipurā* 5,1.
 G. *kulagōṭṭosa* 6,9; *sāsaṇassa* 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -ssa; 6,12—26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [*devakulassa*]. 8.
 L. *visaye* 5,3; *cillarekakodumke* 6,12; and so also: 7,42. 44.
 Neuter: Acc. *niṇṇatanaṃ* 6,38; *vāraṇa[m]* 7,41; *uparilikhitaṃ* 7,44; *āṇataṃ* 7,49.

Plural

- N. *patibhāgā* 6,13-18. 20-22; *addhikā*, *kolikā* 6,39; *gāmeyikā* *āyuttā* VG. 101,10.
 Acc. °*desādhikatādike*, *bhojake* 5,4; *vallave* *govallave* *amacce* *ārakhādhikate* *gumike* *tūthike* 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.
 I. *evamādikeyi* 6,34; *parihārehi* 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently °*him* is meant.
 G. *pallavāṇaṃ* VG. 101,2; *pallavāṇa* 5,2; *maṇusāṇa* 5,7; *vatthavāṇa* °*bamhaṇāṇaṃ* 6,8; *bhātukāṇa* 6,18; *bamhaṇāṇaṃ* 6,27. 30. 38; *paṃukkhāṇaṃ* 6,27. 38 (where °*ṇa*). Perhaps everywhere °*nam* is meant.

§ 364. On the declension of *a*-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3. 5. 7. 8. 13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Ki. 3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28—34. 78; Mk. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69; 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A. the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur. and in others too as *a*-stems (Hc. 4,344. 345; Ki. 5,21). Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and

rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So *phāṇihārā*, *visā*, *kandā*, *candā*, *kantā*=*phāṇihārāḥ*, *viṣaḥ*, *kandaḥ*, *candraḥ*, *kāntaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,81^a); *śālā*=*śālaḥ*, *dadḍhā*=*dagdhaḥ* in relation with *gharu*=*grahaḥ* (Hc.4,343); *gaa*=*gajāḥ*, *gajān*, *gajānām* (Hc. 4,335. 418,3. 345); *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ* (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So AMg. *buddhaputta*=*buddhaputra* for *buddhaputto* (Uttar. 13); *pāṇajāi*=*prāṇajātayaḥ* for *pāṇajāto* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *pāvaya*=*pāvaka* for *pāvao* (Dasav. 634,5); Mg. *pañcayyaṇa*=*pañcajanāḥ*, *gāma*=*grāmaḥ*; *caṇḍāla*=*caṇḍālāḥ*; *ṇala*=*naṛaḥ*; *śīla*=*śīraḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6—9). Instead of *śīla* Mk. fol. 75 reads *śīli* and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in *-e* and *-i*. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. *śīli* stands for *śīle* according to § 85; likewise *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyaḥ* (Mṛcch. 43,6—9). On the ending *-o*, *-e*=*-aḥ* see § 345, on *-u*=*-aḥ* § 346, on A. *-u*=*-am* § 351. According to Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, in Cāṇḍālī, the nom. sing. may end in *-o* too, beside in *-e*, *-i*: *eso puliso* (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpabhraṁśa he teaches nom. sing. in *-o* too, beside that in *-u* (Mk fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in AMg. several forms in *-sā* are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the *s*-stems. Thus particularly *kāyasā* from *kāya* in the combination *manasā vayasā kāyasā*=*manasā vacasā kāyena* (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūyag. 358. 428. 546; Vivāhap. 603 ff.; Thāp. 118. 119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvās. § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), *kāyasā vayasā* (Uttar. 204); rarer is *manasā vayasā kaeṇa* (Sūyag. 257) and *manasā kāyavakkeṇam* (Sūyag. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Futher *sahasā balasā*=*sahasā balena* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Thāp. 368); *pargasā*=*prayogena*, parallel with *visrasā* from *visras* (Vivāhap. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: *niyamasā*=*niyamena* (Ovav. § 177); *jogasā*=*yogena* (Dasav. 631,1; Sūriyapannatti in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); *bhayasā*=*bhoyena* (Dasav. 629,37), except that a *s*-stem stands beside it. Cf. § 355. 358 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. AMg. JM. *putteṇam* see § 182, on A. *putteṇa* § 128, *putteṇ* § 146. The dative in *-āe* in PG. AMg. JM. (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. *-āya*, which remains in PG. and becomes *āya* in AMg. and *-āa* in M. (§ 361). AMg. *sāgapāgāe* (Sūyag. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one **śākapākāyai*, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In AMg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in *-tta*=*-tva*, as *itthittāe purisattāe napumsagattāe* (Sūyag. 817); *devattāe*=*devatvāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; S. nav. 8. 10. 16; Uvās.; Ovav.); *rukkhattāe*=*rukṣatvāya* (Sūyag. 792. 803); *goṇattāe*=*gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51); *haṁsattāe*=*haṁsatvāya* (Vivāgas. 241); *neraiyattāe*, *dāriyattāe*, *mayūrattāe*=*nairayikatvāya*, *dārikātvāya*, *mayūratvāya* (Vivāgas.244); *aṭṭhacammaccchirattāe*=*aṭṭhacarmasirātvāya* (Aṇu. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the datives of abstract feminine in *-tā*, like *paḍibūhaṇajāyāe*=*pratibūhṇatāyai*, *poṣaṇajāyāe*=*poṣaṇatāyai* (Sūyag. 676); *karaṇajāyāe*=*karaṇatāyai* (Vivāhap. 817. 1254; Uvās. § 113); *savaṇajāyāe*=*śravaṇatāyai* (Nāyādh. § 77. 137; Ovav. § 18.38). *punaḥpasaṇajāyāe*=**punaḥpasāyantāyai* (Vivāhap. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the datives from fem. nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the AMg. *devattāe* may have its *tt* of the neuter *devatva* and the ending of the feminine *devatā* wrongly used with it. But the datives in *-āe*, even otherwise, from mascul. and neut. are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically *-āi* too could be used as the ending of the mascul. and neut. *vahāi*=*vadhāya* (Hc. 3,132) should either be traced back to AMg. JM. *vahāe* (§ 361) according to § 85 in

case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā *yasnāi*, Greek Ἰππῶι=Ἰππῶ-.

§ 365. Hc. 3,8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in *-ādo*, *-ādu*, like *vacchādo*, *vacchādu*, which Ki 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5,6. The author of R. who at R. 8,87 writes *rāmādo*, openly follows Bhāmaha, as in *udu*=*rdū* (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in *-ādo*=**ātaḥ* (§ 69. 345). Beside it is found metri causa *-āu* too: M. *sisāu*=*śiṣāt* (G. 37); *ṇahaalāu*=*nabhastalāt* (H. 75); *raṇṇāu*=*araṇyāt* (H. 287); AMg. *pāvāu*=*pāpāt* (Sūyag. 415) beside *pāvāo* (Sūyag. 110. 117); *dukkhāu*=*duḥkhāt* (Uttar. 218). The abl. in *-du*, taught by Hc. 4,276 for Ś., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where *udajādū*=*udayāt* (Pav. 383,27), beside *anajādajādo* (Kattig. 399,309) and forms like *carittādo*=*caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6), *ñāṇādo*=*jñānāt* (Pav. 382,5), *viṣajādo*=*viṣayāt* (Pav. 382,6), *vasādo*=*vaśāt* (Kattig. 399, 311) are found. In Ś. Mg. the abl. always ends in *-do* (Ki. 5,79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69. 345). On forms with short *a*, as AMg. *thāṇao* see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMg. JM. is also the abl. in *-ā*=Skt. *-āt*. So M.: *vaśā*=*vaśāt*, *bhaḍā*=*bhayāt*, *guṇā*=*guṇāt*, *veḍā*=*vegāt*, *bhavaṇā*=*bhavanāt*, *dehantaṇā*=**dehavanāt*, *bhāruvahaṇādarā*=*bhārodvahanādorāt* (G. 24. 42. 84. 125. 242. 390. 716. 848. 854. 924.); *gharā*=*grhāt*, *balā*=*balāt* (H. 497. 498); *airā*=*acirāt* (R. 3,15); *ṇacirā* (Bāl.r. 179,2); *misā*=*miṣāt*, *ṇivesā*=*niveśāt* (Karp. 12,8; 75,2); AMg. *marañā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3 2,1); *dukkhā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Uttar. 220); *kohā*, *māṇā*, *lobhā*=*krodhāt*, *mānāt*, *lobhāt* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1); *balā* (Sūyag. 287. 293; Uttar. 593); *ārambhā* (Sūyag. 104); *nāyaputtā* (Sūyag. 318); *bhajā*=*bhayāt*, *lābhā*, *moḥā*, *paṃajā*=*pramādāt* (Uttar. 207. 251. 434. 627); *kohā*, *hāsā*, *lobhā*, *bhajā* (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615,28), mostly in verses; JM. *niyamā* (Kk. 259,6,18); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Dasav. 620,20; Erz.); JŚ. *niyamā* (Kattig. 400,328; 401,341). I have noted only *balā* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,22), only *kālaṇā* in Mg (Mṛcch. 152,7; cf. 145,17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have *kālaṇāe* for *kālaṇā*, the ed. Cal. Śak. 1792 p. 324, 11 and Goḍbole, 413,1 correctly *kālaṇado*, as STENZLER too elsewhere reads (133,1; 140,14; 158.21; 165,7). Mk. fol. 69 permits *-ā* too in Ś., in addition, and quotes *kāraṇā* as an example. Frequent in M. is the abl. sing. in *-hi*: *mūlāhi*, *kusumāhi*, *gaṇāhi*, *varāhi*, *biāhi*=*bijāt* (G. 13 69. 193. 426. 722; cf. yet 1094. 1131. 1164); *dūrāhi*, *hiāhi*=*hrdayāt*, *aṇṇāhi*, *nikkammāhi* *vi cēttāhi*=*niṣkarmaṇo* *pi kṣetrāt* (H. 50. 95. 120 169; cf. yet 179. 429. 594. 665. 877. 934. 998); *rovāhi*, *dhīrāhi*=*dhairyāt*, *dantujjāhi*=*dantoddyotāt*, *paccokkhāhi*=*pratyakṣāt*, *ghaḍiāhi*=*ghaṭitāt*, *aṇuhūāhi*=*anubhūtāt* (R. 3,2; 4,27; cf. still 4,45. 56; 6,14. 77; 7,57; 8,18; 11, 88; 12, 8. 11; 14, 20. 29; 15,50); *hiāhi* (Karp. 79, 12; v. 1 *hiāu*); *daṇḍāhi*=*daṇḍāt* (Bāl.r. 178, 20; text against the metre *°hiṃ*). In AMg. is found *piṭṭhāhi*=*prsthāt* (Nāyadh. 958f), beside *piṭṭhāo* (938.964). Seldom is the abl. in *-hiṃto*: *kandalāhiṃto*=*kandalāt* (G. 5); *chēppāhiṃto*=*sepāt* *hiāhiṃto*=*hrdayāt*, *raihaṇāhiṃto*=*ratigṛhāt* (H. 240. 451. 553); *mūlāhiṃto*=*mūlāt* (Karp. 38, 3); *rūāhiṃto*=*rūpāt* (Mudrār. 37,4). Rājaśekhara employs the abl. in *-hi* and *-hiṃto* falsely in Ś. too: *candasharāhi*=*candraśekharaṭ* (Bāl.r. 289,1; text *°hiṃ*); *pāmarāhiṃto*=*pāmarāt*, *candāhiṃto*=*candrāt*, *jalāhiṃto*=*jalāt*, *tumhārisāhiṃto*=*yuṣmādyāt* (Karp. 20,6; 53,6; 72,2; 93,9); *pādāhiṃto*=*pādāt*, *gamāgāmāhiṃto*=*gamāgamāt*, *thaṇaharāhiṃto*=*stonabharāt* (Viddhaś. 79,2; 82,4; 117,4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending *-hi* is present in adverbs M. AMg. JM. in *alāhi*=*alam*¹ (Vr. 9,11; Hc. 2, 189; Ki. 4, 83 [text *anāhi*]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813.965. 1229. 1254; T. 5,6 [text *°hiṃ*]), *-hiṃto* in AMg. *antohiṃto*=*antarāt* (§ 342) and *bāhiṃhiṃto*=*bāhiṣāt* (Thāp. 408). *uttarāhi* and *ḍakṣiṇāhi* (Whitney § 1100 c), the forms in *-hi* serve,

as noted by E. MÜLLER³, as adverbs. Hence one may in *-hi*, neither with LASSEN⁴, search for on old ending *-bhi*, nor with WEBER⁵, a plural ending, above all *-him* is never found beside it. The ending *-hinto* is, with LASSEN⁶, to be considered as having originated from *-bhis*, or more correctly from *-bhyas*, the ending of the abl. plur. + *tas*, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, *-hinto*, (Sr. fol 7) not *hinto* is to be written. The *a* of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. *vacchatto* (Hc. 3,8; Sr. fol.7), *rukhatto* corresponding to the form [*puttatto*] are double formations = *vrkṣāt + tas*, *rukṣāt + tas*. — For A. the forms found in the text are *vacchahē*, *vacchahu* = *vrkṣāt* (Hc. 4,336); *jalahu* = *jalāt* (Hc.4,415). Kī.5,30 has beside *rucchahē* also *rucchādu* [text *ādū*] = *vrkṣkāt*. With LASSEN⁷ it is to be read as *vacchahē*, *vacchādu*. The origin of the forms in *-hē*, *-hu* is obscure.

1. So rightly WEBER. H¹. p. 49, note 1. — 2. Beiträge p. 22. — 3. Inst. p. 303. — 4. H¹. p. 49. — 5. At Bālar. 178,20 *him*, as mentioned, is against the metre, 289,1 has also a false reading. — 6. Inst. p. 310. — 7. Inst. p. 451.

§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians (Vr. 11,12; Hc. 4,299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside *-ssa* = *-sya*, also *-ha* from *-sa* with lengthening of *a* of the stem (§ 63.264). In the examples with *-āha* quoted by Hc. from Śak. and Veṇiś, the printed editions and manuscripts have *-assa* or variant readings¹. The genitive forms in *-aha* are : *kāmāha* = *kāmasya* (Mṛch. 10,24); *cālundattāha* = *cārudattasya* (Mṛch. 13,25; 100,20; 154,10; 164,2 4), beside *cālundattaśśa* (Mṛch. 79,15; 100,22); *ṇiyyādamāṇāha*, *aṇiyyādamāṇāha* = *niryāṭayamānasya*, *a^o*; *ēkkāha* = *ekasya*; *avalāha* = *aparasya*; *ayyamittāha* = *āryamaitreyasya*; *śālākāha* = *śyālakasya*, *śālilāha* = *śarirasya*; *cālittāha* = *cāritrasya* etc. (Mṛch. 21,13.14; 24,3; 32,4.5; 45,1; 112,10; 124,21). To it corresponds the genitive in *-ha* in A., as *kaṇaaha* = *kanakasya*; *caṇḍālaha* = *caṇḍālasya*; *kavaha* = *kāvyasya*; *phaṇindaha* = *phaṇindrasya*; *kaṇṣhaha* = *kaṇṣhasya*; *paaha* = *padasya* (Piṅgala 1,62.70.88b.104.109.117). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in *-ho*, mostly in *-hō* (Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5,31); *dullahaho* = *durlabhasya*; *sāmiaho* = *svāmikasya*, *kṛdantaho* = *kṛtāntasya*; *kantaho* = *kāntasya*; *sāarahō* = *sāgarasya*; *tahō virahahō* *nāsantaahō* = *tasya virahasya nasyatah* (Hc. 4,338. 340. 370. 379. 395,7. 419,6. 432). One *kantahō* phonetically corresponds to one **kāntasyah*, that is to say a mixture of *a-* and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in *āo* (§ 367). Beside the genitive in *-ssu* from *-ssa* = *-sya* (§ 106), as *parassu* = *parasya*; *suṇassu* = *sujanasya*; *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*; *tuttassu* = *tattvasya*; *kantassu* = *kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.440. 445,3), according to Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5,31 even the genitive in *-su* is used, as *rukhasu* (Kī. 3,31); in LASSEN, Inst. p. 451 *vacchasu* in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. FISCHEL OR Hc. 4,299.

§ 366^a. In the locative singular the forms in *-e* and those in *-mmi* = *-smin* (§ 313.350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313.350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. *mukke vi paramaindattanammī* = *mukte 'pi naramgendratve* (G.10); *disṭhe sarisammī guṇe* = *drṣṭe sadṛṣe guṇe* (H. 44); *ṇaipūrasacchahe jōvaṇammī* = *nāḍipūrasadrṣe yauvane* (H. 45); *suṇaha paūrammī gāme* = *śunakapracure grāme* (H.138); *devāntammī phale* = *daivāyatte phale* (H. 279); *hantavammī dahamuhe* = *hantavye daśamukhe* (R. 3,3); *apūramāṇammī bhare* = *apūryamāṇe bhare* (R. 6,67); *gaammī paose* = *gate pradoṣe* (R. 11,1); *ṇihaammī pahatthe* = *nihathe prahaste* (R. 15,1); J.M. *pāḍaliputtammī puravare* (Āv. 8,1) and *pāḍaliputte nagarammī* (Āv. 12,40); *dullahalambhammī māṇuse jamme* = *durlabhalambhe māṇuṣe janmani* (Āv. 12,13); *kae 'kae vā vi kajjammī* = *kṛte 'kṛte vāpi kārye* (Āv. 12,18); *ceṭṭammī paḍkhatte vihuhatthe* = *caitre nakṣatre vidhuhaste* (Kī. 19); J.S. *tivihe pattammī* = *trividhe*

prāpte (Kattig. 402, 360; text °mhi; *accudammi sagge* = *acyute svarge* (Kattig. 404, 391; text °mhi). All the examples stand in verses. In prose in JM. the locative mostly is used, as *giringare nagaer* (Āv. 9,12); *matthae* = *mastake* (Āv. 11,1); *puratthime disibhāe āramamajjhe* = **purastime digbhāga āramamadhye* (Āv. 13, 24), more seldom that in -mmi, -mimi as *raigharammi* = *ratigrhe* (Āv. 11, 13); *komuṁmahū-savaṁmi* = *kaumudimahotsave* (Erz. 2, 7); *majjhammi* (Erz. 9,1); forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as *vijjānimmiyaṁmi siyarattapaḍāyābhūsie pāsāe* = *vidyānirmite śitaraktapatākābhūsite prāsāde* (Erz. 8,24). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as *bharahammi* = *bharate*, *tihuyāṇammi* = *tribhuvane*, *śisammi* = *śirṣe* (Āv. 7,22; 8,17; 12,24), and *guṇasilūjjāṇe* = *guṇasilodyāṇe*, *avasāṇe*, *sihare* = *śikhore* (Āv. 7,24. 26. 36). In JŚ too both the locatives are current. In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -mhi instead of -mmi: *kālamhi* (399,321) against *kālammi* (400,322); *pattamhi* (402,350); *accudamhi* (404, 391); also in pronouns: *tamhi* = *tasmin* (400,322) beside *tammi* in the same line and *jammi* (399,322). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav. has only -mmi: *dāṇammi* (383, 69); *suhammi*, *asuhammi* (385, 61); *kāyacēṭṭhammi* (386,10; 387,18); *jīṇamadammī* (386,11) etc. The same error occurs in Kattig. in *savvaṇhū* for the correct *savvaṇṇū* (Pav. 381,16i) = *sarvajñah* (398. 302. 303). Cf. § 436. — In AMg. the most usual form is that in -misi = -smin (§ 74.313); *logamsi* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,3,1,1,2,1; 1,4, 2,3; 1,5,4,4; 1,6,2,3; 1,7,3,1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc.); *susāṇamsi vā sunnāgāraṁsi vā giriguhamsi vā rukkhamaṁsi vā kumbhārājyaṇamsi vā* = *śmaśāṇe vā śūnyāgāre vā giriguhāyām vā rukṣamūle vā kumbhokārāyatane vā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1); *imaṁsi dāragamsi jāyaṁsi samāṇamsi* = *asmin dārake jāte sati* (Thāp. 525; Vivāhap. 1275; cf. Vivāgas. 116). Forms in -mmi, -mimi are not rare: in verses: *samaṇammi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9; 2,16,9); *bambhammi ya kappammi ya* = *brāhṁe ca kulpe ca* (Āyār. p. 125,34); *dāhiṇammi pāsammi* [sic] = *dakṣiṇe pārśve* (Āyār. p. 128,20); *logammi* = *loke* (Sūyag. 136. 410); *samgāmanimmi* = *samgrāme* (Sūyag. 161); *āyommi* = *āyūṁsi* (Uttar. 196); *marapaṇammi* = *marapaṇte* (Uttar. 207); *jalaṇammi* = *jvalane* (Nāyādh. 1394). Later such forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -e, hardly rightly, as *dārūṇammi gimhe* (Nāyādh. 340); *utthiyammi sūre sahasarassimmi diṇayare tejasā jalante* = *utthite sūre sahasroraśmau dinakare tejasā jvalati* (Vivāhap. 169; Anug. 60; Nāyādh. § 34; Kappas. § 59), and beside the loc. in -misi, as *gimhakālasamaṇamsi jēṭṭhāmūlamāsammi* = *grīṣmakālasamaye jyeṣṭhāmūlamāse* (Ovav. § 82). The loc. in -e in the early prose, in comparison with that in -misi, is a little numerous: *harae* = *hrade* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); *viyāle* = *vikāle* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *lābhe sante* = *lābhe sati* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.); *paḍipahe* = *pratipathe*, *parakkame* = *parākrame* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3), *sapaḍidvāre* = *soapratidvāre* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5), more frequently in verses, as *loe* = *loke* (Āyār. 1,8,4,14; 2,16,9; Uttar. 22.169); *laddhe pinde* = *labdhe pinde* (Āyār. 1,8,4,13); *āramāgāre*, *nagare*, *susāṇe*, *rukkhamūle* (Āyār. 1,8,2,3); *marapaṇte* (Uttar. 213); *dharapaṇtale* (Sūyag. 296), also beside the loc. in -misi and -mmi, as *sīsiraṁsi addhapadivanne* = *śīṣire ardhapratipanne* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 21); *saṁsāraṁmi aṇantage* (Uttar. 215. 222); *pattammi āse* = *prāpta ādeṣe* (Uttar. 227). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -misi, as *taṁsi tārisagaṁsi vāsaghaṁsi abbhinterao sacittakamme bāhirao dūmija-ghaṭṭhamatthe* is followed still by seven loc. in -e — *taṁsi tārisagaṁsi sajanijjaṁsi sāliṇṇapaṇatthe* is followed eight loc. in -e — *puvvarattāvarat-takālasamaṇamsi* (Kappas § 32). Dialectically the loc. in -him from -ssim are also found (§ 65.264); Mg. *evamvaddakāhim gollakkappamāṇāhim kulāhim* = *evamvadrake galvarkapramāṇe kule* (Mrech. 126, 9); Mg. *pavahaṇā-*

*hiṃ*²=*provahane* (Mṛcch. 119,23), are also found. In addition, the loc. is put also in *-hi* in A: *desahi*=*dese*; *gharahi*=*grhe* (Hc.4,386.422,15); *hradahi*=*hrade*; *padhamahi*=*prathame*, beside *tie pāde*=*trīṭṭiye pāde*; *samapāahi*=*sama-pāde*; *sisahī*=*siṛge*; *antahi*=*ante*; *cittahi*=*citte*; *vaṃsaḥi*=*vaṃse* (Piṅgala 1,4^b.70.71.81^a.120.155^a;2,102). The loc. in prose ends in *-e* in Ś. and mostly in Mg., too, as for Ś. Mk. fol. 69 expressly remarks: Ś. *gehe*, *āvane*=*āpane* (Mṛcch. 3,9.14.15), *muhe*=*mukhe* (Śak. 35,10); Mg. *haste*; *vihave* *vihadide*=*vibhave* *vighaṭite* (Mṛcch. 21,12; 32,21); *śamale*=*samare* (Venis. 33,8). In verses in Mg. the loc. in *-mmi* too is found, sometimes beside that in *-e*: *caṇḍāloḷlammī*=*caṇḍāloḷkule*; *kūvammī*=*kūpe* (Mṛcch. 161,14;162,7); *śomammī* *gahammī*=*saumye grahe*; *śevide* *apaścammī*=*sevite* *pathye* (Mudrār. 177,5; 257,2; cf. ZDMG. 39,125.128). Rājasekhara errs here too against the dialect, since he uses the loc. in *-mmi* in prose also: *majjhammī* (Karp. 6,1), beside *majjhe* (Karp. 12,10;22,9); *kavvammī*=*kāvye* (Karp. 16,8); *rāmammī* *rāme*; *sedusimantammī*=*setusimante* (Bāṭar. 96,3;194,14). In Indian editions the loc. in *-mmi* is often found in Ś., which perhaps is not a fault of the MSS., but of the authors, who did not know to write Ś. correctly. Cf. e. g. Pras. 35,3; 39,2; 44,8,9; 45,5; 47,6; 113,8.12; 119,14.15; Karpas. 25,3; 37,6; Kāṇṣav. 50,2.14; Mallikām. 87,4; 88,23. Naturally the writings, such as *cāṇakkammī* *akarūṇe* (Mudrār. 53,8); *hiṇānivisesammī* *jāṇe*=*hṛdayanirviśeṣe* *jāṇe* (Viddhaś. 42,3), *gacchatammī* *deve* (Cait. 134,10), too are wholly false. In A. the loc. usually ends in *-i* from *-e*: *tali*=*tale*, *paṭthari*=*prastare*; *andhāri*=*andhakāre*; *kari*=*kare*; *mūli* *viṇaṣṭhai*=*mūle* *vināṣṭe*; *bāri*=*deāre* (Hc. 4,334.344.349.354.427.436); sometimes it ends in *-e* too: *appiē* *diṭṭhai*, *piē* *diṭṭhai*=*apriye* **drṣṭake*, *priye* **drṣṭake*; *pie* *diṭṭhē*=*priye* *drṣṭe*; *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,365.1. 396,2).

1. So it is to be read; cf. Mṛcch. 139,23, the v.l. in GoḍABOLE 348,3 and in LASEN, Inst. p. 430. — 2. So to be read with the ed. Calc. 1829 p. 227, 6 and ed. GoḍABOLE p. 331,8 according to the v. l.

§ 366^b. In the voc. sing. of the *a*-stem *pluti* is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc. 3,38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine may end in *-e* too, beside in *-a*, *-ā*: *ajjo*=*ārya*; *devo*=*deva*; *khamāsamaṇo*=*kṣamāśramaṇa* (Hc.); *rukko*=*rukṣa*; *vaccho*=*vrkṣa* (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for the vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in *-e* always. The examples are: AMg. *ajjo*=*ārya* (Sūyag 1016; Uttar. 415; Vivāhap. 132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.8. § 18.52); as plur. = *āryāḥ* (Thān. 146.147; Vivāhap. 132.188 f. 193.332; Uvās. § 119.174); *tāo*=*tāta* (Nāyādh. § 83.85.98); *devo*=*deva* (Nāyādh. § 38); *puriso*=*puruṣa* (Sūyag. 108); *amma jāo*=*ambātātau*, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61.62; Vivāhap. 804.805.808 ff. [oftener *ammātāo*]; Nāyādh. § 134.138.145; p. 260.862.887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg. JM. *ammo*=*amba* (Hc. 3,41; Uvās. § 140; Āv. 13,33; 14,27); also used as the plur. of parents (Nāyādh. § 138; Uttar. 574). The example given by Hc., *ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇie* is H 676, where WEBER and the Bombay edition read *bhaṇie* *bhaṇāmi attā*; T. reads *attā bhaṇāmi bhaṇie*; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found *ammo* in M. too. Perhaps in the *o*, is inserted the particle *u*, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (*āmantraṇe*) and in calling from off (*sambodhane*). Against this, in AMg. *bhaṇie*=*bhadanta*¹ (§ 165); Mg. *bhāve*=*bhāva* (Mṛcch. 10,22; 11,24; 12,3; 13,6.24; 14,10 etc.); *ceḍo*=*ceṣa* (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside *ceḍā* (Mṛcch.

118,1; 119,11. 21; 121,9; 122,9 etc.); *uodśake*=*upāsaka* (Mṛch. 114,7)
bhaṭṭake=*bhaṭṭaka* (Śak. 114,5; 116,11); *lāutte*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 117,5);
puttake=*putraka* (Śak. 167,7)², the nomin. must be considered to have
been used vocatively. Whether even in A. *bhamaru*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4,
368); *māhiharu*=*māhīdhara* (Vikr. 66,16) are to be taken as in the nomin.
is doubtful, since in A. the final *a*, also elsewhere, becomes *u* (§ 106).
The form in *-e* is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in *mama śīle śadakhāṇḍe kaleśi*
=*mama śīraḥ śatakhāṇḍam karoṣi* (Mṛch. 151,25). Other examples quoted
by LASSEN³ have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367^a. In Venis.
at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read *labbhadi* instead of
lambhai in GRILL, so that *maṁśae*, *uṇhe* (read *uṇe*), *luhile* are nom. according
to § 357.

1. This is the right explanation. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,155, note 3; FISCHER on
Hc. 4,287. Wrongly E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, where further literature.—2. Misun-
derstood by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 28. See FISCHER, GGA, 1880, p. 326.—
3. Inst. p. 429.

§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ā*=*āḥ*:
M. AMg. JM. Ś. *devā*=*devāḥ* (H. 355; Ovav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mṛch. 3,13);
JŚ *aṭṭhā*=*ariḥāḥ* (Pav. 382,26); Mg. *puṭiṣā*=*puruṣāḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13);
CP. *samuddā*, *saiṭā*=*samudrāḥ*, *sailāḥ* (Hc. 4,326); D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dākṣiṇā-*
tyāḥ (Mṛch. 103,5); Ā. *viśaddhā*=*viśabdhāḥ* (Mṛch. 99,16); A. *ghoḍā*=
ghoṭāḥ (Hc. 4,330,4). In AMg. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found
in *-āo* too; *māṇavāo*=*mānavāḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Sūyag. 412); *tahāgāyāo*=*tathā-*
gatāḥ (Āyār. 1,3,3,3); *hajāo*=*hatāḥ* (Sūyag. 295); *samathāo*=*samarthāḥ*;
omarattāo=*avamaratṛāḥ*; *sisāo*=*siṣyāḥ*; *āujivāo*=*abivāḥ* (Uttar. 755.768.794.
1045); *virattāo* [so the commentary; text *°āo*]=*viraktāḥ*; *sāgarāo*=*sāgarāḥ*
(Uttar. 758.1000). Other cases yet Uttar. 698.895.1048.1049.1053.
1059.1061.1062.1064.1066.1071.1084. So also in M. or JM. *vaṇṇāo* beside
vaṇṇā=*vaṇṇāḥ* in a grammatical citation in Lakṣmīnāthaḥaṭṭa on Piṅgala.
1,2(p.3,5). Indian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś. too, e.g. Dha-
naṁjayav. 11,7 ff.; 14,9f.; Cait. 43,18ff. A tracing of the plur. in *-āo*, which
is the rule in the case of the feminine in *ā* (§ 376) back to Vedic *-āsas*,
hence the derivation of Pkt. *jaṇāo* from Vedic *janāśas* is linguistically im-
possible. V. Mg. *bhaṭṭālakāho*, A. *loahō* (§ 377) are in direct continuation
(§ 372). Pkt. shows that *-āsas* is to be explained from *ās+as*, that is to
say, the ending *-as* of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur.
of the *a*-stem. Pkt. *māṇavāo* is, therefore, a double form¹, like the abl. sing.
vacchatto (§ 365). In A. the ending *-ā* appears often shortened (§ 364):
gaa=*gajāḥ*; *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ*; *bahua*=*bahukāḥ*; *kāara*=*kātarāḥ*; *meha*=
meghāḥ (Hc. 4,335. 367. 376. 395,5; 419,6).—In the nom. acc. plur. of the
neuter the most usual form is in *-im*, before which *a* is lengthened; beside
it, in verses *-i* and *-ī* are used (§ 180.182). On the forms *dhaṇānim*, *vaṇā-*
nīm taught by Kī. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. *-i* only, C. 1,3
only *-ṇi*; Hc. 3,26 and Sr.fol.17 teach *-ī*, *-im*, *-ṇi*, Kī.3,28; Mk.fol. 43 *-im*
only. M. has *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*: *ṇaṇāim*=*nayanāni* (H. 5); *aṅgāi vi piḍim* (H. 40);
raaṇāi va garuṇaṇasāi=*ratnāni va gurukagunaśatāni* (R. 2,14). In AMg.,
already in the oldest texts, *-ṇi* too, beside *-im*, is quite usual: *pāṇāim bhūy-*
āim jivāim sattāim=*prāṇān bhūtāni jivāni sattvāni* (Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1,
1,11), beside *pāṇāni vā bhūyāṇi vā jivāni vā sattāni vā* (Āyār. p. 132,28);
udagapasaṇyāṇi kaṇḍāni vā mūlāni vā pattāni vā pupphāni vā phalāni vā biyāṇi vā
hariyāṇi vā (Āyār. 2,2,1,5). Often both the forms stand beside one
another: *sē jīāim puna kulāim jāṇējīā tam jahā uggaikulāni vā bhogakulāni vā*
rāinnakulāni vā...still follow nine compounds with *kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2);
agārāim ceyiāim tam jahā ḍesaṇāni vā āyajaṇāni vā devakulāni vā—yet follow

eleven forms in *āni*—*tahappagārāim āsanāni vā...bhavanagihāni vā* (Āyār.2,2, 2,8); *aṇṇāni ya bahūni gabbhādāṇaṃmaṇṇa-m-āiyāim kouyāim* (Ovav. [§ 105]); *khēttāim* in the same verse with *khēttāni=ksetrāni* (Uttar. 356). The form in *-ni*, as in JM.², especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg. too the choice between *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*. So in Uttar.357 we should read *tāim tu kkēttāi supāvayāim=tāni tu ksetrāni supāpakāni*; Dasav. 619,17 stands *pupphāi biyāim vipphāṇṇāi*; 621,1 we should read *sattucupṇāim kolacupṇāi āvaṇṇa*. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg. : *pañca egūṇāim addāgasāyāim...pakkhittāim = pañcaikonāny *ādarapakasātāni...prakṣiptāni*; *nicchiddāim dārāim=nicchiddāni dārāni* (Āv. 17,15. 19); *tāni vi pañca corasāyāni...saṃbohiyāni pavvaṇṇāni=tāny api pañca corasātāni...saṃbo-dhitāni prarajitāni* (Āv.19,2); *bahūni vāsāni* (Erz.34,3), beside *bahūim vāsāim = bahūni varṣāni* (Erz. 34,17). Writings, like *vatthābharanāni rājasantiyāim* (Erz. 52,8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in *poṭṭāim ānehi tie rattagāni āṇiyāni* (Erz. 31,8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12,11; Kī. 5,78; Mk. fol. 69, *-ni* too may be used beside *-im*. So stands *suhāni = sukhāni* (Śak. 99,4) and *apaccanivvasesāni sattāni* (Śak. 154,7) in most of the MSS.; for *vaṇṇāni=vacanāni* (Vikr. 87,22) the best MSS. have *vaṇṇāim*, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mg., elsewhere, *-im*³ only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in *-ā* are often found beside those in *-im* or in *-ni*: AMg. *udagapasūyāni kaṇḍā ni vā mūlāni vā tayā pattā pupphā phalā biyā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,9); *bahusambhūyā vaṇaphalā* (Āyār.2,4,2,13,14); *pāṇā ya taṇā ya biyā ya paṇagā ya hariyāni ya* (Kappas. S. § 55). The form of the following words might have influenced *taṇā = *tvacāh=tvacah* in the second example (cf. however, *taṇāni* too § 358), and *pāṇā = prāṇāh*, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: *māyajaṅgā = mātraṅgāni* (Thāṇ. 187); *thāṇā = sthānāni* (Thāṇ. 163. 165); *pañca kumbhakārāvaṇasayā = pañca kumbhakārāpaṇasātāni* (Uvās. § 184); *nahā=nakhāni*, *aharōṭṭhā uttarōṭṭhā = adharoṣṭhe uttaroṣṭhe* (Kappas. S. § 43); *cattāri lakkhaṇā, ālambaṇā = catvāri lakṣaṇāni, ālambanāni* (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. *pañca sayā piṇḍiyā* (Āv. 17,1), beside *pañca pañca suvaṇṇasayāni* (Āv. 16,30); Ś. *midhūṇā* (Mṛcch. 71,22), beside *midhūṇāim* (Mṛcch. 71,14); *jāṇavattā=yānapātrāni* (Mṛcch. 72,23; 73,1); *viraḍā mae āsaṇā=vīracitāni mayāsonāni* (Mṛcch. 136,6), beside *āsaṇāim* (Mṛcch. 136,3), and in Mg. (Mṛcch.137,3); *duve piā uṇṇadā=duo priye upanate* (Vikr.10,3); *aṇurāsaṇā akkharā=anurāgasūcakāny akṣarāni* (Vikr. 26,2). Hc. 1,33 mentions *naaṇā=nayanāni*; *loaṇā=locanāni*; *vaṇṇā=vacanāni*; *dukkhā=dukkhāni*; *bhāṇā=bhājanāni*. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to suggest that the form in *-ā* is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has given cause for change of the gender. Before the endings *-im*, *-ī*, a short vowel often appears in A.: *ahiulāṭ=ahikulāni*; *loaṇāṭ jāṇasat=locanāni jāṇisaranāni*; *maṇorahāṭ=manorathāh*; *niicintaṭ hariṇāṭ=niicintā hariṇāh* (Hc. 4,353. 365,1. 414,4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by LASSEN. Inst. p. 307.—2. JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxvi § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in *-ni*. — 3. FISCHER, De Kālidāsae Śakuntali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8,142. FABELY BOLLENSSEN, Mālavikā. p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367^a. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending *-e*, that has been extended from the pronominal declension¹. M. *carāṇe=carāṇau*; *ṇāame, garuaare=nīcatamān, gurukatarān*;

dose=*doṣaṇ* (G. 24. 82. 887); *dosagūṇe*=*doṣagūṇau*; *pāe*=*pāḍau*; *sahatthe*=*svahastau* (H. 48.130.680); *dharapihare*=*dharaṇidharān*; *mahihare*=*mahidharān*; *bhinnaade a garue taraṅgappahare*=*bhinnataṭāṃś ca gurukāṃś taraṅgapraharān* (R.6,85.90;9,53); AMg. *samaṇamāhaṇaāṭhikivapaṇaimage*=*śramaṇabrahmaṇā tūhikṛpaṇavanipakāṇ* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9); *sāhie māse*=*sādhikān māsān* (Āyār. 1, 8,1,2,4,6); *ime eyāruwe uḷle kallāne sive dhanne maṅgalle sassirīe cōddasa mahāsumiṇe*=*imān etadrūpān udārān kalyāṇāṇṣivān dhanyān māṅgalyān sāśrikāṃś caturdaśa mahāsvapnān* (Kappas. § 3); JM. *bhoe*=*bhogān* (Āv. 8,24; 12,14. 20; Dvār. 495,7); *te nagaraloe jalayasaṃbhamubbhantaloṇaṇe palāyamāṇe*=*tān nagaralokāṇ jvalanasaṃbhamodbhraṇtalocanān palāyamāṇān* (Āv. 19,10); *te ya samāgae*=*tāṃś ca samāgatān* (Kk 263,22); JŚ. *sese puna titthayare sasavvasiddhe visuddhasabbhāve samāṇeṇa vīriyāyāre*=*śeṣān puna tiriṭṭhakarān sasavvasiddhān viśuddhasadbhāvāṇ śramaṇāṃś ca vīriyācārān* (Pav. 379,2); *vividhe viṣae*=*vividhān viṣayān* (Pav. 384,49); Ś. *adikkantakusumasamāe vi rukkhāe*=*atikkāntakusumasamayān apī rukṣakān* (Śak. 10,2); *purā paṇṇāde duve vare*=*purā pratijñātau dvau varau* (Mahāv.65,5); *dārake*=*dārakau* (Uttarar.191,5); Mg. *avale*=*aparān* (Mṛcch. 118,14); *niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a*=*nijapṛāṇān vibhavān kulāni kalatrāṇi ca* (Mudrār. 256,5)²; D. *sumbhaṇisumbhe*=*sumbhaṇisumbhau* (Mṛcch.105,22). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMg. *bahave jive*=*bahūni jivāni* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *duve rukkhaseaṇake*=*dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1); A. *bhuae*=*bhuvanāni* (Piṅgala 1,62^b), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in *-ā=ān* (§ 89; Sr. fol. 6); M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, *vid-dhaṇā*=*nirdhanān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6; Sirihāsanadv. in IS. 15,355 [so to be read]; Vetālap. p. 219, No. 17 ed. UHLE; on Hc. 2,72); *doṣa*=*doṣān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6); AMg. *rukkhā mahallā*=*rukṣān mahataḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,11. 12)³; *purisā*, *āsā*=*puruṣān*, *āśvān* (Nāyādh.1378. 1388 f.); *bandhavā*=*bāndhavān* (Uttar. 576); *samphāsā*=*samsparsān* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); *uvassayā*=*upāśrayān* (Kappas. S. § 60); prosodically *guṇa*=*guṇān* (Dasav. 637,4) too. The form in *-ā, -a* is usual in A.; *saralā sāsa*=*saralāṇi svāsān*; *nirakkhaa gaa*=*nirakṣakān gajān*; *desaḍā*=*deśān*; *siddhatthā*=*siddhārthān* (Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3); *maṇḍā maṇḍakān*; *vipakkhā*=*vipakṣān*; *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*; *kavandhā*=*kabandhān* (Piṅgala 1,104^a. 117^a. 120^a. 2,230). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be *dālam*=*dārān* (Prab. 47,1=55^a.5 P.=58,16 M.), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads *lisaṇam dālāṇam* against grammar and prosody.

1. WEBER, H¹ p. 51; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,438.—2. The verse is to be read: *yaṭ mahadha laḥkiduṇ niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a* (HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,121). *kule* and *kalatte* may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366^b.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ehim*=Vedic *-ebhis* (§ 72), which alternates with *-ehī*, *-ehi* in verses (§ 178) and with *-ehi* before enclitics in prose too in AMg. JM (§ 350): M. *amūlalaḥuehi sāsehim*=*amūlalaḥukaiḥ svāsaiḥ* (G. 23); *avahatthiasabbhāvehi dakkhiṇṇabhaṇiehim*=*apahastita-sadbhāvair dākṣiṇyabhaṇitehi* (H. 353); *kañceṇasilālehim chiṇṇāvamāṇdalehi*=*kāñceṇasilātalaiḥ chinṇātāpamāṇḍalaiḥ* (R. 9,55). Apparently in such cases we should read *-hī* for *-hi* (§ 178; cf. § 370). AMg. *tilaehim tālehim chattovehim sirisehim sattavaṇṇehim*=*sill* 19 instr. follow—=*tilakair lakucais* **chattropaiḥ sirīṣaiḥ saptaparnaiḥ* (Ovav. § 6); *santehim taccehim tahiehim sabbhūehim aṇiṭṭhehim akantehim appiehim amañṇehim amañāmehim vāgaraṇehim*=*sadbhis* **tāttvais* (§ 281) *tathyaiḥ sadbhūtair aṇiṭṭair akāntair apriyair amañjñair* **amañpāir*

vyākaraṇaiḥ (Uvās. § 259); JM. *māyandamahuvindehiṃ* = *mākandamadhukavṛndaiḥ* (Kī. 18); *vatthābharaṇehiṃ* = *vastrābharaṇaiḥ* (Āv. 26,27); *tehiṃ kumārehiṃ* = *taiḥ kumāraiḥ* (Āv. 30,9); JS. *vihaṇehiṃ* = *vibhavaḥ*; *sahassehīṃ* = *sahasraiḥ* (Pav. 380,6. 12); *manavayakāḥ* = *manovacaḥkāyāḥ* (Kartig. 400,332); Ś. *jaṇehiṃ* = *janaiḥ* (Lalitav. 568,6; Mṛcch. 25,14); *jādasāṅkehiṃ* = *devehiṃ* = *jāta-sāṅkair devaiḥ* (Śak. 21,5); *bhamarasaṅghavihaḍḍidehiṃ* = *bhramarasaṅghaviḍḍitaiḥ kusumaiḥ* (Vikr. 21,9); Mg. *tattastehiṃ* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,20); *atṭaṇakelakehiṃ* = *ātmiyābhyām pādābhyām* (Mṛcch. 13,9); *maṣcabandhaṇovāḥ* = *matsyabandhanopāyāḥ* (Śak. 114,2); Dh. *vippadivehiṃ* = *vipratipābhyām pādābhyām*; A. *lakkhehi* = *lakṣaiḥ*; *sarehiṃ*, *saravarehiṃ*, *ujjānavarehiṃ*, *nivasantehiṃ*, *suaṇehiṃ* = *saraiḥ*, *sarovaraiḥ*, *udyaṇavanaiḥ*, *niva-sadbhiḥ*, *sujanaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 422,11). The inst. in *-ohiṃ* is frequent in A.: *guṇaḥi* = *guṇaiḥ*, *paāraḥi* = *prakāraiḥ*; *savvaḥi* = *pāṇthiāḥi* = *sarvaiḥ* *pathikāḥi* (Hc. 4,335. 367,5. 429,1); *khaggahī* = *khaḍgaiḥ*; *gaahī*, *turaahī*, *rahaḥi* = *gajaiḥ*, *turagaiḥ*, *rathaiḥ* (Piṅgala 1,7.145^a). On this, as well on the instr. in *-ehiṃ*, *-ihīṃ* see § 128.

§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in *-ehiṃto*, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix *-tas*, while that in *-sumto* is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix *-tas*: *tilehiṃto* = *tilebhyah* (Sūyag. 594); *maṇussehiṃto vā pañcīndiyatirikkhajonehiṃto vā pudhaviḥāḥiṃto vā* = *maṇussebhyo vā pañcendriyatiryagyonikebhyo vā prthivikāyikebhyo vā* (Thāp. 58); *nerāḥiṃto vā tirikkhajonehiṃto vā maṇussehiṃto vā devehiṃto vā* (Thāp. § 336; cf. Vivāhap. 1534 and elsewhere often); *sarisāḥiṃto rāyākulehiṃto* = *sadrśakebhyo rājākulebhyah* (Nāyādh. § 123); *kolaghariehiṃto vaciṃto* = *kaulagrāhikebhyo vrajebhyah* (Uvās. § 342.343). In cases like *therehiṃto* *naṃ* *godāsehiṃto* *kāsava-gōṭtehiṃto*; *chaluehiṃto* *rohaguttehiṃto* *kosiyagōṭtehiṃto* etc. (Kappas.Th. § 5 ff.), the plural is to be considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. JM. have also an abl. in *-ehiṃ* = Skt. *-ebhyah*, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. *°nāmadhejjhehiṃ* *vimāṇehiṃ* *oiṇṇā* = *°nāmadhejebhyo* *vimāṇebhyo* *vatirṇāḥ* (Ovav. § 37); *sāḥiṃ* *sāḥiṃ* *gehehiṃto* *niggacchanti* = *svakebhyah* *svakebhyo* *grthebhyo* *nirgacchanti* (Kappas. § 66; cf. Nāyādh. 1048; Vivāhap. 187. 950. 943); *sāḥiṃ* *sāḥiṃ* *nagarehiṃto* *niggacchanti* = *svakebhyah* *svakebhyo* *nagarebhyo* *nirgacchanti* (Nāyādh. 826); *gāratthehi* *ja* *sarvehiṃ* *sāhavo saṃjamuttarā* = *grasthebhyaś ca sarvebhyaḥ sādhaṇā saṃyamuttarāḥ* (Uttar. 208); JM. *jharei* *romakūvehiṃ* *seo* = *kṣarati* *romakūpebhyah* *svedaḥ* (Erz. 4,23; cf. JACOBI § 95). Cf. § 376. In A. the abl. ends in *-ahī*: *girisīṅgahī* = *girisīṅgebhyah*; *muhahī* = *mukhebhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,337. 422,20); *rukkhahū* = *rukṣebhyah* (Kī. 5,29). *-hū*, *-hī* corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending *-bhyām* of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgement of *-sumto* (LASSEN, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-āṇaṃ* = Skt. *-ānām*. In M., however, the denasalised form in *-āṇa*, which is found in AMg. JM. JS. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as *gaṇāṇa majjhe* = *gaṇānām madhye* (Kappas. § 61 = Ovav. 48, p. 55,13 = Nāyādh. § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as *kuḍilāṇa pēmmāṇaṃ* = *kuḍilānām prempām* (H. 10), *maāṇa oṇimillacchāṇaṃ* = *mṛgāṇām avanimilitākṣāṇaṃ* (R. 9,87), *sajjaṇāṇaṃ* *pamhustadasāṇa* = *sajjanānām vismṛtadasānām* (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur., we should for *-āṇā* read *-āṇa* (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. Ś. Mg., except in verses, have only the form

in *-āṇam*. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in *-ahā*. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitav. too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in *-āṇam* only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this *-āhā* and shortened *-ahā*, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending *-sām*: *niṇattāhā* = *niṇattānām*; *sōkkhahā* = *saukhyānām*; *tanahā* = *tyānām*; *muk-kāhā* = *muktānām*; *mattahā* *maagalāhā* = *matlānām* *madakalānām*; *saṇṇāhā* = *śaṇ-nānām* (Hc. 4,332.339.370.406.445,4); *vaṇkakaḍakkhahā* *loṇahā* = *vakrakaḍākṣa-yor locanayoh* (Vetālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); *mahabbhaḍahā* = *mahābhaḍānām* (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 15, elsewhere the ending *-haṁ* too is found beside *-ṇam*: *devāhaṁ* beside *devāṇam*; *tāhaṁ* beside *tānam*. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from *-ā*, *-n* and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in *-esu* = *-eṣu*, beside which sometimes *-esum* is found, as M. *sacandaneṣum āroviaroa-nesu* (read °sū; § 370) = *sacandaneṣo āropitarocaneṣu* (G. 211); *vaṇeṣum* = *vaneṣu* (H. 77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, beside the more frequent forms in *-su*, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p. 106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read °su. In Ś. the texts partly have *-su* (Lalitav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2; etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3.6), and partly *-sum* (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5.7; Śak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have *-su*). The Indian editions mostly have *-su*. In Mg. stands *pāeṣu* (Mṛcch. 19,6), but *pādeṣum* (121,20.22), beside *calapeṣu* (121,24) and *keṣeṣu* (122,22) in verses, Vepi. has *keṣeṣu* (35,19), Mudrār. has *kammeṣu* = *karmasu* (191,9), and Prab. has *puliṣeṣu* (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in *-m*, for prose *-sum*, Mg. *-sum* will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: *saahī* = *śateṣu*; *maggahī* = *mārgeṣu*; *gaahī* = *gateṣu*; *kesahī* = *keṣeṣu*; *aṇṇahī* *taruarahī* = *anyeṣu* *taruwareṣu* (Hc. 4,345.347.370,3.422,9). In Hc. 4,423,4 for *gavakkhehim* we should read *gavakkhahī* and in 445,2 probably *ḍuṇṇarahī*. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. *jaganissiehi* *bhūehim* *tasanāmehi* *thāvarehim* *ca* | *no tesim ārabhe dandam* (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.

1. Cf. Pischel, De Kāl dāsae ḡakuntali recensionibus p. 31.

§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. *ajjo* and *ammajāo* are used as the voc. plur. too (§ 366b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending *-hu* too, Mk. fol. 75 *-ho* with *a* of the stem lengthened before it: *bamhaṇāhu* = *brāhmaṇāh* (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in *bhaṣṭālākāho*, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of *bhaṣṭālākā ho* we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is *-hō*, without lengthening of *a* of the stem: *taruṇahō* = *taruṇāh*; *loahō* = *lokāh* (Hc. 4,346.350.2.365,1). In A. the ending *-hō* comes after all the stems: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyah* (Hc. 4,346); *aggihō* = *agnayah*, *mahilāhō* = *mahilāh* (Kī. 5,20); *cadummuhahō* = *caturmūkhāh*, *harihō* = *harayah*, *taruhō* = *taravah* (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). LASSEN, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. *-āhu* (*-āho*) the Vedic. ending *-āsas* has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in *ho* the particle *ho*, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165,1.5. In A. the endings of the *a*-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. *ghimsu-*, *pāṇu-*, *pilakkhu-*, *manthumilakkhu-*, the nouns that have become *u*-stems.

§ 373. The declension of *a*-stems in PG.VG. (§ 363) agrees most faithfully with that in Ś. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Ś., alone is deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in *-āye* is put in the dative in AMg. JM. (§ 361. 364), and the abl. sing., which ends in *-ā* here, but in Ś., almost always ends in *-ādo* (§ 365).

b) FEMININE IN *-ā*.

§ 374. *mālā* (garland).

Singular.

- Nom. *mālā*.
 Acc. *mālām*.
 Ins. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the other dialects only *mālāe*, A. *mālāē*.
 Dat. *mālāe*; only in AMg.
 Abl. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, [*mālāhinto*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, *mālatto*]; Ś. Mg. *mālādo* and *mālāe*; A. *mālāhē*.
 Gen. Loc. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāa*, the rest of the dialects only *mālāe*; A.: gen. *mālāhē*, loc. [*mālāhi*].
 Voc. *mālē*, *mālā*.

Plural.

- Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, *mālā*; Ś. Mg. *mālāo*, *mālā*.
 Ins. M. AMg. JM. *mālāhi*, *mālāhi*, *mālāhim*; Ś. Mg. *mālāhim*.
 Abl. M. AMg. *mālāhinto*, [*mālāsunto*, *mālāo*, *mālāu*]; A. *mālāhu*.
 Gen. M. AMg. JM. *mālāna*, *mālānā*, *mālānaṁ*; Ś. Mg. *mālānaṁ*; A.: [*mālāhu*].
 Loc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāsu*, *mālāsū*, *mālāsūṁ*, Ś. Mg. *mālāsu*, *mālāsūṁ*.
 In PG. are found the nom. sing. *paṭṭikā* (7,48. 51), *kaḍa tti*=*kṛteti* (7,51), and the acc. sing. (or plur.) *pilā bādā*=*pidāṁ bādāṁ* (or *pidā bādāḥ*) (6,40), as well as the acc. sing. *śimāṁ*=*śimāṁ* (6,28).

§ 375. On the declension of the *ā*-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3.9. 10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30. 4,34-8,352; Kī. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol. 14 f. On the shortening of *ā* in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also Mg. *śevīda*=*sevītā* (Mṛch. 117,1). The instrumental, the genitive the locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have become identical. The common form is *mālāe*=Skt. *mālāyai*, that is to say=the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmanas and known in the Avestā too¹. Sometimes in verses the forms in *-āe* and *-āi* stand side by side, as *pucchiāi muddhāe* = *prstāyā mugdhāyāḥ* (H. 15). On metrical grounds, in M. the form in *-āi*, which is to be brought in throughout, where in the texts *-āē* may have to be read, is prevalent. The v. l. mostly has the correct reading *-āi*, as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243. 290.453 474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians (Hc. 3,29; Kī. 3,27; Sr. fol. 14) teach a form in *-āa* too, which is forbidden by others (Vr. 5, 23; Mk. fol. 43). Such forms are found in M. as v. l. So: *jōṇhāa*=*jyotsnāyā*; *nevaccakalāa* = *nepathyakalayā*; *helāa* = *helayā*; *hariddāa*=*haridrāyāḥ*; *caṅgimāa*=*caṅgimatvena* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1; 86,4; 53,9; 55,2; 71,4; 79,12). KONOW reads for them *jōṇhāi*, *nevaccakalāi*, *helāi*, *haliddāi*, *caṅgimāi* (29,1; 86,9; 51,2; 52,4; 69,3; 78,9). Some MSS. sometimes have *-āa*. Since G. H. R. does not otherwise know *-āa*, *tiadāa*=*trijātājāḥ* (R. 11,100) and *ṇisaṇṇāa*=*ṇisaṇṇāyāḥ* (R. 10,101) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for *āi*, as C. has. This *-āa* goes back to the abl. gen. Skt. *-āyāḥ*, so that *jōṇhāa*=*jyotsnāyāḥ*, of which the strictly corresponding form **jōṇhāā* is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol. 14. In A. *-āe* has been shortened to *-āē*: *niddāē*=*nirdayā*; *candimāē*=*candri-*

mayā; uddāvantiaē = uddāpayantyā; mañjīṭhaē = mañjīṭhayā (Hc. 4,330,2,349. 352,438,2).—On the dative in *-āe* in AMg. see § 361. 364.—Of the forms of the abl. sing. mentioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in *-āo*, S. Mg. *-ādo* more often : AMg. *paratthimāo vā disāo āgeo ahañ amsi dāhiṇāo vā disāo.. paccatthimāo.. uttarāo.. uddhāo = *purastimāto vā disā āgato 'hom asmi dakṣiṇāto vā disāh.... *pratyastimātaḥ.... uttarātaḥ.... ūrdhvaṭaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 2); *jibbhāo = jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 1); *siyāo = śibikātaḥ* (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); *chāyāo = chāyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 639); *aṭṭaṇasālāo = aṭṭaṇasālātaḥ* (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); *māyāo = māyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *sūṇāo = sūṇātaḥ* (Nirāyāv. § 10); S. *bubhukkhādo = bubhukṣātaḥ, dakkhiṇādo, vāmādo = dakṣiṇātaḥ, vāmātaḥ; padolikkādo = pratolikkātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. *lacchādo = rathyātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 158,13). Ablative in *-āe* (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Sr. fol. 14) occurs in S. and Mg.: S. *imāe maataṇhiāe = ayaṃ mṛgatṛṇnikāyāḥ* (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLENSSEN cannot be comprehended as instr.; Mg. *ṣeṇyāe* (text *ṣeṇjāe*) = *ṣeṇyāyāḥ* (Cait. 149,19).—The form *mālatto* follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending *-he* corresponds to the pronominal ending *-syāḥ*, so that *tahē dhanahē* (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = *tasyā *dhanyasyāḥ = tasyā dhanyāyāḥ*². Hc. 4,350 comprehends *bālāhe*, so that *visamatthana* is to be taken as *bahuvrīhi*, is = “before the young woman with odd breasts”. Genitive are: *tucchamañjhahe*, *jampirahe*, *tucchaarahāsahe*, *alahantiahe*, *vammahanivāsahē*, *muddhaḍahe = tucchamadyāyāḥ, jalpanaṣilāyāḥ, tucchatarahāsyāyāḥ, alabhamānāyāḥ, manmathanivāsāyāḥ, mugdhāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,350); *tisahē = tṛṣāyāḥ; mupātiahe = mṛnālikāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,395,7. 444).—Examples for the loc. are: M. *dukkhuttarāi paavīe = dukkhottarāyām padavyām; gāmaracchāe = grāmerathyāyām* (H. 107. 419); AMg. *suhammā; sabhāe = sudharmāyām sabhāyām* (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMg. JM *campāe = campāyām* (Ovav. § 2,11; Erz. 34,25); JM. *saṇḍolāe najarie = saṇḍolāyām nagaryām* (Dvār. 497,21); *ikkikkāe mehalāe = ekaikasyām mekhalāyām* (T. 5,11); S. *susamiddhāe = susamiddhāyām; edāe padosavelāe = etasyām pradosaṇḍavēlayām; rukkhavāḍiāe = rukṣavāḍikāyām* (Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); Mg. *andhaḍḍolūpūlīdāe nāṣiāe = andhakārapūritāyām nāṣikāyām; padolīāe = pratolikāyām; suvaṇṇacoliāe = suvaṇṇacorikāyām* (Mṛcch. 14,22; 163,16; 165,2). AMg. *giriḡuhamṣi* for *giriḡuhāe = giriḡuhāyām* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1) has been determined through the loc. in *-mṣi* of the mascul. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355. 358. 364 367. 379. 386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in *-e*, a form that is known to Vr. 5,28 alone; whilst Hc. 3,41; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-ā* as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-ā* are: M. *attā* (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8,469.543.553.653.676.811); M. AMg. *piucchā = piṭṛṣvasah* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299.1348), M. *māuā = mātṛke* (H.); *māucchā = mātṛṣvasah* (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMg. *jāyā* (Uttar. 442), *puttā = putri* (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655.658), and the frequent M. S. *halā* (Hc. 2,195; H.), in S., mostly joined with the vocative in *-e* of a proper noun, as *halā saṇṭale* (Śak. 9,10); *halā aṇusūe* (Śak. 10,12); *halā nomālie* (Lalitav. 560,9; text *no*); *halā cittalehe* (Vikr. 9,3); *halā maṇṇie* (Ratn. 293,29); *halā ṇiṇṇie* (Ratn. 297,28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as *halā uvoasi* (Vikr. 7,17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as *halā apaṇḍide* (Priyad. 22,7), in M. S. used as plur. too (H. 893.901; Śak. 16,10; 58,9; Vikr. 6,13; 7,1; 11,1; Karp. 108,5). JM. has *halā* too (Hc. 2,195; Erz.), which Ki. 5,19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.

as *hali* (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). *Ś. amba* (mother; Śak. ed. BURKHARD 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatim. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anarghar. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to LANMAN³ and BECHTEL⁴. In A. the final *-e* is shortened, as *sahiē* = **sakhike*; *ammīē*; *bahipuē* = *bhaginike* (Hc. 4,358,1.367,1.396,2.422,14), or it becomes *-i*, as in *hali*, mentioned above, and in *ammi*, *muddhi* = *mugdhe* (Hc. 4,395,5. 376,1). On AMg. JM. *ammo* see § 366^b.

1. PSICHEL, BB. 6,281,³ note 3.—2. With LASSEN, Inst. p. 462, we may also consider it to be a case of transfer from the *a*-stems. — 3. Noun-Inflection p. 360. — 4. Hauptprobleme p. 265 f.

§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in *-o* (§ 367); nom. M. *mahilāo* = *mahilāh* (H. 397); AMg. JM. *devayāo*, *Ś. devadāo* = *devatāh* (Thāp. 76; Erz. 29,3; Śak. 71,8); acc. AMg. *kalāo* = *kalāh* (Uttar. 642; Nāyādh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. *caivvohāo vaggāo* = *caturvidhā vargaṇāh* (Āv. 7,4); *Ś. paḍivīao* = *praḍipikāh* (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. *savvaṅgāo* = *sarvāṅgāh* (Hc. 4,348). In verses *-o* interchanges with *-u*, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. *dhannāu tāu* = *dhanyās tāh* (H. 147) against *Ś. dhannāo kkhū tāo kannaḍo* [so to be read] *jāo* (Mālatim. 80,1); AMg. *thiṇṇāu* = *strikāh* (Sūyag. 225); acc. A. *anurattāu bhattāu* = *anuraktā bhaktāh* (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. *dāraggalāu jāo* = *da-rārgalā jātāh* (H. 322); *raivirāmalajjīao* *apattaniamhaṇāu* = *rativirāmalajjīā aprāptanivasaṇāh* (H. 459); *paḍigaḍu disāo* = *pratigatā disāh* (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in *-ā*: M. *rehā* = *rekhāh* (G. 22; H. 206), beside *rehāu* (Hc. 474) and *rehāo* (G. 509. 682); *sariā sarantapavahā...vūdhā* = *saritah saratpravāhāh...ūdhāh* (R. 6,50); *mehalā* = *mekhalāh* (Mṛcch. 41, 2); AMg. *dōjjhā* = *dohyāh*; *dammā* = *damyāh*; *rahaḍōggā* = *rathayogyāh* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *pakkā* = *pakvāh*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhāh* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15. 16); *bhojjā* = *bhāryāh* (Uttar. 660; *nāvāhi tārimāo tti pāṇipējja tti no vac* = *nau-bhis *tārimā tti pāṇipeyā tti no vadet* (Dasav. 629,1); *Ś. pūjjantā devadā* = *pūjyamānā devatāh*; *gaṇiā* = *gaṇikāh* (Mṛcch. 9,1. 10); *agahidatthā* = *agrhitār-thāh* (Śak. 120,11); *aditthasujjapāā...ṇāgakaṇṇā viā* = *adr̥ṣtasūryapādāh...nāgakanṇā viā* (Mālav. 51,21; cf., however, the v. l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in *Ś.-āo* only, and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25,20 stand beside one another: *tāo...paḍivīao avamāṇidaṇiddhanakāmuā viā gaṇiā nissinehāo dāṇim samvuttā* = *tāh...praḍipikā avamāṇitanirdhanakāmukā viā gaṇikā niṣṇehā idāṇim samvuttāh*. STENZLER has, with AB, already corrected *samvuttā* as *samvuttāo*; DH, in Gopābole p. 72, have *gaṇiāo* for *gaṇiā*, so that *°kāmuāo* is to be read. Sometimes in AMg. too, both the forms stand side by side: *indabhūtipamō kkhāo cōddasasamaṇasāhassio ukkosiṇyā samapa-sampayā* = *indrabhūtipramukhyāś caturdaśasamaṇasāhasrya *utkoṣitāh śramaṇa-sampadaḥ* (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 15. 16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 too.—In Mg. the ins. is in *-ehim* instead of that in *-āhim* in *ambikamādukehim* = *ambikāmātrkābhīh* (Mṛcch. 122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Śākāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. *accharehim* = *apsarobhīh* from the stem *accharā* (§ 410)¹, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,11², but the first *samaccharehim* is to be analysed as *sama + ccharehim* = *sama + psarobhīh* (§ 328)³. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in *-him* is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. *dhārāhim* = *dhārābhyah* (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. *mehalāhi* (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of *mehalāsu*, as Kāvvyaprakāśa 74,1

has in the v. l., = *mekhalāsu*; AMg. *hatthuttarāhiṃ* = *hastottarāsu* (Āyār. 2, 15, 1. 2. 5. 6. 17 22. 25; Kappas.); *gimhāhi* (Sūyag. 166), in the sense of *gimhāsu* (Vivāhap. 465) = **grīsmāsu* (§ 358); *aṇantāhiṃ osappiṇiussappiṇi-hiṃ viikkantāhiṃ* = *anantāsu avasarpinyulsarṇaṇiṣu vyatikrāntāsu* (Kappas. § 19); *visāhāhiṃ* = *visākhāsu* (Kappas. § 149); *cittāhiṃ* = *citrāsu* (Thāp. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); *uttarāsādhāhiṃ, āsādhāhiṃ* (Kappas. § 205. 211); *chinnāhi sāhāhi* = *chinnāsu sākhāsu* (Uttar. 439; text **hiṃ*)⁴. — Abl. in *-hiṃto* are AMg. *antosālāhiṃto* = *antaḥsālābhyah* (Uvās. § 195); *itthiṇāhiṃto* = *strī-kābhyah* (Jiv. 263. 265). In the A. the abl. has the ending *-hu* = *-bhyah*: *vajamsiahu* = *vayasyābhyah* (Hc. 4,351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in *-su* prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Śak. 29,4, there stands *viralapāḍavacchāsuṃ vaṇarāṇiṣu* = *viralapāḍapacchāyāsu vaṇarāṇiṣu* in the Benpāl recension, and *-āsu, -iṣu* in the rest. — In the voc. the form in *-o* is prevalent: Ś. *devadāo* (Bālar. 168,7; Anarghar. 300,1); *dāriāo* = *dārikāh* (Vikr. 45,6); *avaloidā buddharakkhidāo* = *avalokitābuddharakṣite* (Mālatīm. 284,11). On *halā* see § 375. — On *ajjū* = *āryā* see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter *acchara* is naturally to be answered in the negative. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 326; cf. HOFER, De Pr. dialecto p. 150 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 316f. and § 410. — 3. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 52,93 ff. — 4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like *hatthuttarāhiṃ nakkhattaṇaṃ jogevagaṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,6,17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and SPEYER, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1,6) § 42.

2) STEMS IN -i, ī AND -u, ū.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 377. Masculine *aggi* = *agni*.

Singular.

N. *aggi* [*aggiṃ*].

Acc. *aggiṃ*.

I. *aggiṇā*, A. also *aggiṇa*, *aggiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggiō*, *aggiu*, *aggiṇo*, *aggiṇiṃto*, [*aggihi*, *aggiṭto*]; JŚ. [Ś. Mg.] *aggiḍo*; A. *aggihe*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggiṣa*, [*aggiṭto*]; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇo*; A. [*aggihe*].

L. *aggiṃmi*, AMg. mostly *aggiṃsi*, AMg. JM. *aggiṃmi* too; A. *aggihi*.

V. *aggi*, *aggi*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggiō*, *aggao*, *aggai*; Ś. *aggiō*, *aggiṇo*.

Acc. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggao*.

I. M. AMg. JM. *aggihi*, *aggihi*, *aggihiṃ*; Ś. Mg. *aggihiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggihiṃto*, [*aggiṣuṃto*, *aggiṭto*, *aggiō*]; A. *aggihi*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇam*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇam*; A. *aggihā*, *aggihū*.

L. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; A. *aggihi*.

V. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*; A. *aggiho*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *dahi* = *dadhi*; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMg. JM. *dahiṃ*, *dahi*, *dahi*, Ś. Mg. *dahiṃ*, *dahi*; V. *dahi*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *dahiṃ*, *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahiṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.). — In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. *udakādiṃ* 6,29, the gen. sing. masc. *sattissa* = *śakteḥ* 6, 17, *bhaṭṭisa* = *bhaṭṭeḥ* 6,19, and the acc. plur. masc. *vasudhāhipataye* = *vasudhāhipatīn* 7,44 (cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484).

§ 378. Masc. *vāu* = *vāyu*.

Singular.

N. *vāū* [*vāum̐*].Acc. *vāum̐*.I. *vāunā*; A. *vāuna*, *vāum̐* too.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *vāūo*, *vāūu* [*vāūo*, *vāūhim̐to*, *vāutto*]; A. *vāuhē*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāussa* [*vāuo*]; Ś. Mg. *vāūno*, Mg. in verses *vāūsā* too; [A. *vāuhē*].L. *vāummi*, AMg. *vāum̐si* too, AMg. JM. *vāum̐mi*.V. *vāu*, *vāū*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāū*, *vāūo*, *vāavo*, *vāao*, *vāai*; Ś. *vāūno*, *vāao*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *vāūno*, *vāū*, AMg. also *vāavo*.I. M. AMg. JM. *vāūhi*, °h̐, °him̐; Ś Mg. *vāūhim̐*.Abl. [*vāūhim̐to*, *vāūsum̐to*, *vāutto*, *vāūo*]; AMg. *vāūhim̐* also, A. *vāuhū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇa*, °ṇā, °ṇam̐; Ś. Mg. *vāūṇam̐*, A. *vāuhā*; *vāuhū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *vāūsū*, °sū, °sum̐; Ś. Mg. *vāūsū*, *vāūsum̐*; A. *vāuhī*.V. A Mg. *vāavo*; A. *vāuhō*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *mahu* = *madhu*; only nom. acc. sing. *mahum̐*, *mahū*, *mahu*; Ś. Mg. *mahum̐*, *mahu*; voc. plur. *mahūim̐*, *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahūṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.).—In PG. an *u*-stem is not found.

§ 379. On the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems see Vr. 5,14-18. 25-27. 30; C. 1,3. 11-14; Hc. 3,16-26; 4,340 341. 343-347; Ki. 3,8. 11,13. 15. 17-22.24.28.29; 5,20,25-27.33-35.37; Mk. fol. 42-44; Sr. fol. 9-12. In the nom. sing., according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization : *aggim̐*, *ṇim̐*, *vāum̐*, *vihum̐*. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Paṇḥāv. 448 *susāhum̐*, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for *susāhū*, since beside it stand *suisī*, *sumunī* = *soṣṣih̐*, *sumunih̐*. On the nom. in -ī, -ū see § 72. From *sakhi* the nom. sing. is JM. *sahī* (Ki. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the denasalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMg. *taū* = *trapu* (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read *taū*. In the nom. stands AMg. Ś. *dahim̐* (Thāṇ. 230; Mṛech. 3,12 [to be read so for *dahim̐*]), but AMg. *dahi* (Thāṇ. 514); AMg. Ś. *vatthu* = *vastu* (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 51b, 12); Ś. *ṇaṇamahu* = *nayanamadhu* (Mālav. 22,3). On AMg. *aṭṭhī*, *dahī* see § 358. Acc. are AMg. Ś. *acchim̐* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Śak. 31,13); *aṭṭhim̐* = *asthi* (Sūyag. 594); AMg. *dahim̐* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17); AMg. Ś. *mahum̐* (Āyār. 2,1, 4. 5. 8,8; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17; Śak. 81,8); JŚ. *vatthum̐* (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. *svasti* always becomes *soṭṭhi* in Ś. (e. g. Mṛech. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.), and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as *sāhu* (e. g. Mṛech. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and *suffhu* (e. g. Mṛech. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), Mg. *śāhu* (Venīs. 34,3. 23; 35,14; Mṛech. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read *lahum̐*, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for *lahu* (Mṛech. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Śak. 39,3; 76,1; Mṛech. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse *lahu* is correct (Mṛech. 99,24; Venīs. 33, 13).—With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. *pañā* = *patyā*, forms as one says M. *gahavañā* (H. 172), AMg. *gāhavañā* (Uvās. § 6) = *grhapatinā*, Mg. *bahinipadinā* = *bhaginipatinā* (Mṛech. 113,19). From *akṣi* the ins. is M. *acchiṇā* = *akṣṇā* (G. 32); from *dadhi* is found Ś. *sadahiṇā* =

sadadhñā (Mṛcch. 69,3). For the expected *aṭṭhīnā* = *aṭṭhñā*, *muṭṭhīnā* = *muṭṭhñā*, *leṭṭhñā* = *leṭṭhñā* AMg. has *aṭṭhīnā*, *muṭṭhīnā*, *leṭṭhñā*, with shortening of *ā* before the enclitic *vā* and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in *-ena* in the combination *daṇḍeṇa vā aṭṭhīnā vā muṭṭhīnā vā leṭṭhñā vā kaṇḍeṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Sūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 386, on the instr. *aggīnā*, *aggīm*, *vāuṇ* in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. *uahiṇ* = *udadheḥ* (G. 56. 470); AMg. *kucchiṇ* = *kukṣeḥ* (Kappas. § 21,32); *dahiṇ* = *dadhñeḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °hi°); JŚ. *himsāido* = *himsādeḥ* (Pav. 386,4; text °āṭido); JM. *kammaggin* = *karmāgneḥ* (Āv. 19,16); AMg. *ikkhū* = *ikṣoḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °to); JM. *sūrihiṇto* (Kk. II, 509,4); A. *girihe* (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms *aggīno*, therefore, the form of the neut. transported into Skt., but evidently from the *n*-stems, which often become identical with the *i*-stems (§ 405), and *aggissa*, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the *a*-stem, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the *u*-stems, in JŚ. too: M. *giriṇo* (G. 141) and M. AMg. *giriṇa* (G. 510; Sūyag. 312); M. *uahiṇo* (R. 5,10) and *uahiṇa* (R. 4,43. 60) = *udadheḥ*; M. *raviṇo* (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and *raviṇa*, *raṇṇa* (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = *raveḥ*; M. *paṇiṇo* (H. 54. 55. 297) and *paṇissa* (H. 38. 200) = *patyeh*; M. *pasuvaiṇo* = *paśupateḥ* (H. 1), *paḍavaiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (H. 969), *bhuamgavaiṇo* = *bhujamgapatēḥ* (G. 155); *naravaiṇo* = *narapatēḥ* (G. 413), but AMg. JM. *gāhāvaiṇa* = *grhapateḥ* (Sūyag. 846; Vivāhap. 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 4. 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7, 7); AMg. *muṇṇissa* = *muneḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Sūyag. 132); *isissa* = *rṣeḥ* (Uttar. 363; Nirayāv. 51); *rājarisissa* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Vivāhap. 915 f.; Nāyādh. 600. 605. 611. 613); *sārahissa* = *sāratheḥ* (Uttar. 668); *andhagavāṇhissa* (Antag. 3) and *andhagavāṇhiṇo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = *andhrakavṛṣṇeḥ*; *aggissa* (Vivāhap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirayāv. 50); JM. *pañcālāhiṇo* = *pañcālādhipateḥ* (Erz. 8,8); *hariṇo* = *hareḥ* (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); *nābhissa* = *nābheḥ* (Āv. 48,13,33).—M. *pahuṇo* (G. 847.1006.1065) and *pahussa* (H. 243) = *prabhoh*; AMg. *bhikkhuṇo* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Sūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JŚ. *bhikkhussa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. *usussa* = *iṣoḥ* (Vivāhap. 1388); *maccussa* = *mṛtyoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 401); *sāhussa* = *sādhoh* (Uttar. 418. 571); *vatihussa* = *vastunoh* (Paṇhāv. 398); JM. *bandhussa* = *bandhoh* (Sagara 8,5); M. *viṇhuṇo* = *viṇoh* (G. 16); *caṇḍamsuṇo* = *caṇḍāmsoḥ* (Karp. 35,7); *ambuṇo* = *ambunah* (G. 1196). In Ś. Mg. the form in *-ssa* is not used in prose: Ś. *rāesīṇo* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Śak. 21,4; 50,1; 130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14; 36,8; 80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 46,9; Anarghar. 111,13), *vihiṇo* = *vidheḥ* (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatīm. 361,10); *sahassarasiṇo* = *sahasrarāṣṇeḥ* (Prab. 14,17; Venīs. 25,6); *paḍavaiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatīm. 65, 6); *udarambhariṇo* = *udarambhareḥ* (Jivān. 43, 15); *dāsarahiṇo* = *dāsaratheḥ* (Mahāv. 52, 18; Anarghar. 157,10); *guruṇo* = *guroḥ* (Śak. 22,13; 158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghar. 267,12); *mukhamahuṇo* = *mukhamadhoh* (Śak. 108, 1); *adhamabhīruṇo* = *adharmabhīroḥ* (Śak. 129,10); *vikkamabāhuṇo* = *vikramabāhoh* (Ratn. 322,33); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Venīs. 62, 3; 95, 15; Jivān. 19,9); *pahuṇo* = *prabhoh* (Prab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); *indūṇo* = *indeḥ* (Jivān. 19,10); *mahuṇo* = *madhunah* (Hāsy. 43,23); Mg. *lāesīṇo* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Venīs. 34,1); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. *viśāvatulṣa* = *viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9). The gen. M. *dahiṇo* (Karp. 15,1) is from *dadhi*. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the *a*-stems, as for the abl., therefore *girihe*, *taruhe*. In the loc.

in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is *-mmi*, in JM. *-ñmi* too : M. *pañmi* = *patyau* (H. 324. 849); *jalahimmi* = *jaladhau*; *girimmi* = *girau*; *asimmi* = *asau* (G. 146. 153. 222); *uahimmi* = *udadhau*, *jalanihimmi* = *jalanidhau* (R. 2,39; 7,2. 7. 12; 5,1); JM. *girimmi* = *girau* (Kf. 17); *viñimmi* = *vidhau*, *ujahimmi* = *udadhau* (Sagara 7,1; 9,3). In AMg. the common form is that in *-ñsi* : *kucchiñsi* = *kukṣau* (Āyār. 2,15,2 ff.; Vivāhap. 1274; Kappas.). *pāñsi* = *pāṇau* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,7,1,5; Vivāhap. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); *rāsiñsi* = *rāṣau* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2). Beside them are found in AMg. *tañmi* *rājariñmi* *namñmi* *abhinikkhamantañmi* = *tasmin rājarsau namāu abhinikṣkrāmāti* (Uttar. 279); *accinñmi*, *accimālinñmi* (Vivāhap. 417); *aginñmi* (Dasav. 620,24); more often *sahassarassinñmi* (366a). Likewise with the *u*-stems : M. *pahummi* = *prabhau* (G. 210); *seummi* = *setau* (R. 8,93); JM. *merummi* = (T. 5,3); JŚ. *sāhummi* = *sādhau* (Kartig. 399,315; MS. °ha°); AMg. *leñummi* = *leṣṭau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *bāhummi*, *ūrummi* = *bāhau*, *ūrau* (Dasav. 617,12); *uñmi* = *ṛtau* (Thāp. 527; text *udu*°). Corresponding to *rāo* = *rātrau* (§ 386) AMg. has also *ghimso* for **ghimso* = *ghrañse* (§ 105; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58. 109) in the verse. Mg. has in the verse *kedummi* = *ketau* (Mudrār. 176, 4). Ś. has *vatthunī* = *vastuni* (Bālar. 122, 11; Dhūrtas. 9,10). According to Mk. fol. 69 in Ś. the correct forms are *aggimmi* and *vūmmi*.—In A. the ending of loc. is *-hī* = *-ñmin*; *kalihī* = *kalau*; *akkhihī* = *akṣṇi*; *sañdhihī* = *sañdhau* (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3), *āihī* = *ādau* (Piṅgala 1, 85. 142). For the *u*-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches *-hī* for *i*- and *u*-stems.—In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. *gahavāi* (H. 297), but AMg. *gāhāvāi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2. 3,3. 5,2; 2,3,3,16) = *grhapate*; AMg. *munī* = *mune* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMg. JM. *mahāmuni* (Sūyag. 419; Kk. II, 505,25); AMg. *maharisi* = *maharṣe* (Sūyag. 182); AMg. *subuddhi* = *subuddhe* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMg. *jambū* = *jambo* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5,27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. *khaviśavvari* = *kṣapitaśarvarika*, *diṇavāi* *dinapate* (H. 655); M. *pavaṅgavāi* = *plavaṅgapate* (R. 8,19); JM. *pāvavihi* = *pāpavidhe* (Sagara 7,15); JM. *suravāi* = *surapate* (Kk. 276,19); AMg. *munī* (Sūyag. 259); AMg. *bhikkhu* = *bhikṣo* (Sūyag. 245. 301); M. JM. *pahu* = *prabho* (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15, 90; Kk. 269, 35); Ś. *rāsi* = *rājarsē* (Uttarar. 125,8). Ś. *jadāo* = *jaṭṭyo* (Uttarar. 70,5) is probably a false reading.

§ 380. In the nom. plur. the forms *aggiṇo* and *aggi*, *vūṇo* and *vāu* go side by side in M. JM. AMg. : M. *kaiṇo* = *kavayaḥ* (G. 62) and *kai* = *kapayaḥ* (R. 6,59. 83); *giriṇo* (G. 114) and *giri* (G. 450; R. 6,34.60) = *girayaḥ*; *riuṇo* (G. 1195) and *riū* (G. 245. 721) = *ripayaḥ*; *pahuṇo* (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and *pahū* (G. 868) = *prabhavaḥ*; AMg. *amuṇī* beside *muṇiṇo* = *amunayaḥ*, *munayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *giyaraṇiṇo* = *gitaratayaḥ* beside *giyanaccaparai* = *gitanṣiyaratayaḥ* (Ovav. § 35); *nāṇārui* = *nāṇārucayaḥ* (Sūyag. 781); *isiṇo* = *ṣayaḥ* beside *muṇi* = *munayaḥ* (Uttar. 367); *haya-m-āi* *goṇa-m-āi* *gaya-m-āi* *siha-m-āiṇo* (§ 353; Uttar. 1075); *vinnū* = *vijñāḥ* (§ 105; Āyār. 1,4,3,1); *guru* = *guravaḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1); *pasū* = *paśavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,3,3); *opasū* (Sūyag. 601); *uū* = *ṛtavaḥ* (Samav. 97; Vivāhap. 798; Apuog. 432); *dhāuṇo* = *dhātavaḥ* (Sūyag. 37); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrayaḥ* (Kk. 264 41; 267,41; 270,6. 36. 42 etc.); *sāhuṇo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Āv. 9,22; 26, 36; 27,7; 46,3. 9; Kk. 274,36) and *sāhū* (T. 4,20); *guruṇo* = *guravaḥ* (Kk. 271,6; 274,28. 36). In AMg. prevalent is the form in *-ī*, *-ū*, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, such as *ūrū* (Uvās. § 94; Sūyag. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMg. *pāñi* (Kappas. S. § 43), AMg. *indaggī* = *indrāgnī* (Thāp. 82), AMg. *do*

vāu = *dvau vāyū* (Thāṇ. 82), *M. bāhū* = *bāhū* (G. 428). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: AMg. *nāyao* = *jñātayaḥ* (Sūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), *anāyao* (Sūyag. 628); AMg. *rāgaddosādayo* = *rāgaddoṣādayaḥ* (Uttar. 707); JM. *bhavodattādayo* (Erz. 17,28); AMg. *risao* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); JM. *maharisao* (Erz. 3,14); AMg. *°ppabhiḥjao* = *°prabhṛtayaḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32;73 so to be read; cf. v. 1.); AMg. *jantavo* (verse! Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Sūyag. 105) beside *jantuṇo* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *sāhavo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Uttar. 208). From *bahu* (many) the nom. in AMg. is always formed as *bahave* (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3,3. 5. 10; 2,1,4,1. 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 852. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in JM. (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for *bahavo* (Erz. 38,24) or *bahū* (Erz. 38,21). In Ś. the forms in -i, -ū, which are formed according to the nom. of the a-stems, are not used. The i-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in -io, as *isio* = *ṛṣayaḥ*, *gṛio* = *girayaḥ* (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15); *risio* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Mṛcch. 326, 14), partly in -ṇo, as *kaiṇo* = *kapayaḥ* (Bālar. 238, 5); *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣayaḥ* (Bālar. 268, 1); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Unmattar. 3,7); *cintāmaṇipahudiṇo* = *cintāmaṇiprabhṛtayaḥ* (Jivān. 95,1). In the case of the u-stems in Ś. beside the forms in -ṇo, as *pañguṇo* = *pañgavaḥ* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālataṛuṇo* = *bālataṛavaḥ* (Karp. 62,3); *taṛuṇo* (Karp. 67, 1); *binduṇo* (Mallikām. 83,15) occurs also the form *bindao* = *bindavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 74,21). *bandhū* = *bandhavaḥ* (Śak. 101,13) is not Ś., but M. only *dihagomāo* from **dihagomāao* (§ 165) = *dirghagomāyavaḥ* is traceable in a verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 168, 20); otherwise examples for i- and u- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms *aggiṇo* and *vāuṇo* alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: M. *pañṇo* = *pañin* (H. 705); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrin* (Kk. 267,38; 270,2); AMg. *mahesiṇo* = *maharṣin* (Āyār. 1,5,5,1); but also AMg. *mittanāi* = *mitrajñātāin* (Uvās. § 69. 92; so to be read for *°ñāim*); *mallaī*, *lēcchāī* = *mallakin*, *licchavāin* (Vivāhap. 499 f.; Niraṣāv. § 25); *nāyao* = *jñātāin* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 378 [text *ñāio*]); AMg. *pasavo* = *pañūn* (Sūyag. 414); JM. *guruṇo* = *gurūn* (Kk. 269,35); JM. *sāhuṇo* = *sādhūn* (Kk. 271,15); AMg. *bāhū* = *bāhū* (Sūyag. 222. 286); AMg. *satūi* = *satrūn* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *bahū* = *bahūn* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216), beside *bahave*, as in the nom. (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9; Uvās. § 119 184), for which is put *vasudhādhipataye* of PG. — Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: M. *acchīm* = *akṣiṇī* (Hc. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40.54), *acchīi* (H. 314); M. AMg. JM. *acchīni* (H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. 1.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30,4); AMg. *acchī* (Vivāgas. 11), falsely in Ś. too (Jivān 89,3) AMg. *atthīni* = *asthīni* (Sūyag. 590); AMg. *sālīni* = *sālīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10); *vihīni* = *trihīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682); *dariṇi* = *dariḥ* (Āyār. 2,10,11); JM. *āṇi* = *ādīni* (Kk. 274,4); JŚ. *āḍiṇi* (Pav. 384,48); M. *aṃsūim* = *asrūṇi* (G. 130. 1208); *pañḍūi* = *pañḍūni* (G. 384. 577) and *pañḍūim* (G. 462); *bindūim* = *bindūn* (G. 223); AMg. *maṃsūim* = *śmastrūṇi* (Uvās. § 94); *maṃsūni* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11); *dārūni* (Sūyag. 247); *pañḍūni* = *prāṇān* (Aṇuog. 432; Vivāhap. 423); *kaṅgūni* = *kaṅgavaḥ* (Sūyag. 682); *milakkhūni* = **mleicchāni* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8); A. *aṃsū* (Piṅgala 1,61). According to Vr.5,26 only the forms like *dahīi*, *mahīi* would be usable; Kī. 3,28 teaches *dahīm*.—For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are: M. *kaiḥi*, *°hi* = *kaṇibhiḥ* (G. 84. 88) and = *kapibhiḥ* (R. 6,64. 78. 94); AMg. *kīmihim* = *kṛmibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 278); JM. *āṭhim* = *ādibhiḥ* (Āv. 7, 12); Ś. *isihim* = *ṛṣibhiḥ* (Śak. 70, 6); Mg. *°ppahudihim* = *°prabhṛtibhiḥ* (Śak.

114,2); M. *acchihim*, °hū, °hi (H. 338. 341. 457. 502); Ś. *acchihim* (Vikr. 48,15; Rato. 319,18); Mg. *akkhihim* (Mṛech. 120,13; 152,22) = *akṣibhyām* M. *riūhim* = *ripubhih* (H. 471; G. 718); M. *sisūh* = *śiṣubhih* (G. 1046); AMg. *vaggūhim* = *vagnubhih* (Vivāhap. 946; Nāyādh. § 25. 79; p. 302. 736. 757. 1107; Rāyap. 266 f.; Uttar. 300; Thāp. 527; Ovav. § 53. 181; Kappas.); AMg. *ūrūhim* = *urubhyām* (Thāp. 401); Ś. *gurūhim* = *gurubhih* (Hāsy. 40,17); Ś. *bindūhim* = *bindubhih* (Venis. 66,21; Nāyādh. 24,13; Karp. 72,1).—The abl. occurs in M. *acchihimto* = *akṣibhyām* (G. 223); JM. *ujjānāhiimto* = *udyānādibhyah* (Dvār. 498,20); AMg. *kāmidḍhiimto* = *kāmarddheh* (honorific plural; Kappas.; Th. § 11). As in the case of the *a*-stems (§ 369), so in the case of *i*- and *u*-stems too, the *ins.* is used as the *abl.*: *santi egehim bhikkhūhim gāratthā samjamuttarā* = *santi ekebhya bhikṣubhya grhassthāh samyamottarāh* (Uttar. 208) —A. *taruhū* = *tarubhyah* (Hc. 4,341) is properly = *tarusu*, that is to say = the *loc.*, with which the ablative has become identical, according to Hc. 4,340 the *gen.* too; yet it will be better to consider *taruhū* as in the *loc.*, whilst *biḥū* = *doayoh* (Hc. 4,383,1), by all means, stands in the sense of the *gen.*—The examples for the genitive are: M. *kañnam* = *kavīnām* (H. 86); *kañna* = *kapīnām* (R. 6,84); *giriṇa* (G. 137. 449; R. 6,81); AMg. *dhammasārahīnam* = *dhammasāratthīnām* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); metrically *iṣṇa* = *ṛṣīnām* (Sūyag. 317) and *iṣṇam* (Uttar. 375. 377); *udahiṇa* = *udadhīnām* (Sūyag. 316); *vihīnam* = *vrihiṇām* (Vivāhap. 421); JŚ. *jadīnam* = *yatinām* (Pav. 385,63); *āṇam* = *ādīnām* (Kattig. 401,340); Ś. *mahivādīnam* = *mahīpatinīm* (Lalitav. 555,14); Ś. *acchīnam* = *akṣṇoh* (Vikr. 43,15; Nāgān. 11,9); M. *icchūnam* = *ikṣūnām* (H. 740); *riūna* = *ripūnām* (G. 106. 166. 237); *tarūna* = *tarūnām* (G. 140); AMg. *bhikkhūnam* = *bhikṣūnām* (Āyār. 1,7,7 2); *savvaṇṇanam* = *sarvajñānām* (Ovav. § 20); *milakkhūnam* = *mlecchānām* (Sūyag. 817); Mg. *bāhūna* = *bāhvoh* (in the verse; Mṛech. 129,2); *pahūnam* = *prabhūnām* (Kāṇṇasav. 50,4); JŚ. *sāhūnam* = *sādhūnām* (Pav. 379,4). A. has the ending *-hā* = *-sām* of the pronoun: *satūhihā* = *śakunīnām* (Hc. 4,340); on *-hū* see above.—The *loc.*, for example is found as M. *girisu* (G. 138); M. AMg. *acchisu* (H. 132; Āyār. 2,3,2,5); Ś. *acchisuṃ* (Śak. 30,5); M. *riūsu* = *ripūsu* (G. 241); JŚ. metrically *ādisu* = *ādisu* (Pav. 383,69); AMg. *uūsu* = *ṛṣṭu* (Nāyādh. 344); Ś. *ūrūsu* = *ūrvoḥ* (Bālar. 238,7; text °ru°). In A. the form *duhū* corresponds to one **duṣu* (femin.; Hc. 4,340), whilst *tīhi* (Hc. 4,347), properly is = *tribhih*, therefore = the *instr.*, as in the case of the *a*-stems (§ 371).—The *voc.* occurs in JM. *saṃalagunanihiṇo* = *sakalagunānidhayaḥ* (Sagara 7,12); AMg. *jantavo* (Sūyag. 335. 424), *bhikkhavo* (Sūyag. 157; text °kkhu°). For JM. *guruo* (Kk. III. 513,22) we should read *gurūo*. On A. see § 372.

§ 382. In AMg. the forms, of the plur. of *bahu* (much) that are valid for the masculine, are mostly used for the feminine too: *bahave pāpajāi* = *bahuyah prāpajātayah* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *bahave sāhammiṇiṇo* = *bahūh *sādharmiṇih* (Āyār. 2,1,1 11; 2,2,1,2; 2,5,1,2; 2,10,2); *bahave devā ja devō ja* (Āyār. 2,15,8); *bahave khuddākhuddi jāo vāvō* = *bahuyoh kṣudrāḥkṣudrikā vāpyah* (Jiv. 476); *bahūnam samajānam bahūnam samajīnam bahūnam savajjānam bahūnam savijjānam bahūnam devānam bahūnam devīnam* (Kappas. S. § 64; Nāyādh. 498. 518. 615. 654; Vivāhap. 242); *bahūhim āghavanāhi* = *a paṇṇavanāhi ya vinṇavanāhi ya saṇṇavanāhi ya* = *bahvibhir *ākhyāpanābhih ca* **prajñāpanābhih ca* **vijñāpanābhih ca* **saṃjñāpanābhih ca* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539. 889; Uvās. § 222; Vivāhap. 814); *bahūhim khujjāhim* = *bahvibhih kubjābhih* (Nirayāv. § 4; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. § 117; p. 832. 837; Vivāgas. 226; *bahūsu vāṇisu* = *bahvīsu vāpīsu* (Nāyādh. 915); *bahūsu vijjāharisu* = *bahvīsu vidyādhariṣu* (Nāyādh. 1275; so the commentary; text *bahusu vijjāsu*). Cf. also Ovav. § 8. On the retained Skt. forms like *girisu*,

vagguhim see § 99, on the stepping over of the *a*-stems into the *u*-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. *sakahāo* = *sakthini* § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in *-ī* and *-ū* shorten their *ī* and *ū* according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42. 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in *-ī*, *-u*. So nom. *gāmaṇī* = *grāmaṇih*; acc. *gāmaṇim*; ins. *gāmaṇiṇā*; gen. *gāmaṇiṇo* and *gāmaṇissa*; voc. *gāmaṇi*; nom. *khalapū* = *khalapūh*; acc. *khalapūh*; ins. *khalapūṇā*; gen. *khalapūṇo*; voc. *khalapū* (Hc. 3,24. 42. 43. 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: *khaḷavāṇi*, *khaḷavāṇo*, *khaḷavāṇo*, *khaḷavā*. Examples are: M. *gāmaṇi*, *gāmaṇiṇo* = *grāmaṇih*, *grāmaṇyah* (H. 449.633); *gāmaṇiṇaṇ* (R. 7,60); J.M. *asogasiṇi*, *asogasiṇiṇo* = *asokaśrih* *asokaśriyah* (Āv. 8,2. 32); Ś. *candasiriṇo*, *candasiriṇā* = *candraśriyah* *candraśriyā* (Muḍrār. 39. 3; 56,8; 227,2. 7); Ś. *māhavasiriṇo* = *mādhavaśriyah* (Mālatim. 211,1); Ś. *aggaṇi* = *aggaṇih* (Mṛech. 4,23; 327,1). The forms *saam̐bhūm*, *saam̐bhūṇo* = *soyam̐bhūvam*, *soyam̐bhūvah* (G. 1.813), *saam̐bhūṇo*, *saam̐bhūssa*, *saam̐bhūṇā* (Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from *svayam̐bhū* or from *°bhu*.

b) FEMININE.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in *-ī*, *-u*, as *bhūmisu*, *suttisu*. (§ 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in *-ī*, *-u*, with which those in *-ī* and *-ū* have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in *-ā* in § 374ff., and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: *ṇaii*, *ṇaiē*, *ṇaiā*, *ṇaiā* from *ṇai*=*nadī* (Bh. 5,22; Kī.3,26; Mk. fol.43); *ruia*, *ruia*, *ruii*, *ruie* from *ru* = *ruci* (Sr. fol. 15); *buddhiā*, *buddhiā*, *buddhi*, *buddhiē* from *buddhi*; *sahā*, *sahā*, *sahii*, *sahie* from *sahi* = *sakhi*; *dheṇūā*, *dheṇūā*, *dheṇūi*, *dheṇūe* from *dheṇu* = *dhenu*; *vahūā*, *vahūā*, *vahūi*, *vahūe* from *vahū* = *vadhū* (Hc. 3, 29). Of these, the forms in *-iā*, *-ūā* are not available, and those in *-ii* *-ūi* are rare in the texts: M. *ṇaii* = *natyāh* (G.1000); AMg. *mahii* = *mahyāh* (Sūyag. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for *-iā* of the texts, as G. 139.860.922. For *gabbhiṇii* = *garbhiniyāh*, now WEBER H. 166 correctly reads *gabbhiṇiā*. In all cases, where the forms in *-iē*, *-ūe* stand in the text, and the metre requires a short, as *mahiē*, *siriē*, *tajjaṇiē*, *pavitharaṇiē*, *ṇariē*, *ṇivasiriē*, *lacchiē* etc. (G. 122. 212. 247. 268. 501. 928); *vahūē* (H. 874. 981), the forms in *-iā* or in *-ii*, *ūā* or in *-ūi* are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected *-iā*, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla¹ by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. *hasam̐tī* beside *hasam̐tā*, *hasam̐tīe* (cf. IS. 16,53 too). For *vahūē* (H. 874. 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvya-prakāśa give the v. l. at 874 *vahūo*, *bahūā*, at 981 *bahūi*, *bahūi*. We have, therefore, to write *vahūā* or *vahūi*, as also H. 786. 840. 874; *vahūā* stands at H. 457. 608. 635. 648, everywhere with the v. l. *vahūe* or *bahūe*. Cf. § 375. The forms in *-iā*, *-ūā* are, likewise those in *-ii*, *-ūi*, confined to verses, but with the stems in *-ī*, *-ū* in M. very frequently: ins. *bandiā* = *bandyā*; *vāhiā* = *vyādhiyā*; *laliāṅgūlā* = *lalitāṅgulyā* (H. 118. 121. 458); *āhiā* = *abhijātyā*; *rāasiriā* = *rājāśriyā*; *diṭṭhiā* = *dr̥ṣṭyā*; *thiā* = *sthiyā*; *jāṇaiā* = *jāṇakyā* (R. 1,11. 13. 45; 4,43; 6,6); *sippiā* = *śuktyā*; *muṭṭhiā* = *muṣṭyā*; *deviā* = *devyā* (Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14); gen. *koḍiā* = *koteh*; *ghariṇiā* = *ghṛiṇiyāh*; *giriṇaiā* = *giriṇadyāh* (H. 3,11. 14. 37); *dhaṇariddhiā* *siriā* a *saliluppaṇṇāi* *vāruṇiā* a = *dhanaraddhiyāh* *sriyā* ca *salilotpannāyā* *vārunyā* ca (R. 2,

17); *dharanīa* = *dharanyāḥ* (R. 2,2; 7,28); *sarassaia* = *sarasvatyāḥ*; *rūdhia* = *rūdhēḥ* (Karp. 1,1; 51,3); L. *pānāūdia* = *prāṇakutyām* (H. 227; on the meaning cf. Pāyāl. 105 with Deśin. 6,38); D. *narīa* = *nagaryām* (Mṛcch. 100,2). For the ablative examples are wanting. The usual forms in all the dialects, except A., that C. 1,9 alone knows, is that in *-īe*, *-ūe*, which, however, is not found in the abl. So ins. M. *bhaṇantīe* = *bhaṇantīyā* (H. 123); AMg. *gaie*, Ś. *gadīe* = *gatyā* (Kappas. § 5; Śak. 72,11); Mg. *śattīe* = *śaktyā* (Mṛcch. 29,20); P. *bhagavatīe* = *bhagavatīyā* (Hc. 4,323); gen. *lacchīe* = *lakṣmyāḥ* (G. 68); AMg. *nāgasirīe māhaṇīe* = *nāgaśrīyā brāhmaṇyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1151); Ś. *radanāvalīe* = *ratnāvalīyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 88,21); Mg. *majjālīe* = *mājjāryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 17,7); loc. *paavīe* = *padavyām* (H. 107); AMg. *vānārasīe naṇīe* = *vārāṇasyām nagaryām* (Antag. 63; Nirayāv. 43. 45; Vivāgas. 136. 148. 149; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Nāyādh. 1516. 1528). AMg. JM. *aḍavīe* = *aḍavyām* (Nāyādh. 1137; Erz. 1,4; 13,30; 21,21); Ś. *masāṇavīdhīe* = *śmaśāṇavīthyām* (Mṛcch. 72,8); Mg. *dhalaṇīe* = *dharanyām* (Mṛcch. 173,16). The form is found to have been shortened to *-īe* in A. too: ins. *maragaakantiē* = *marakatakāntīyā*; gen. *gaṇantiē* = *gaṇantīyāḥ*; *radiē* = *ratyāḥ* (Hc. 4,349. 333. 446).

§ 386. In the ins., *diṭṭhiā* = *diṭṭyā* (e.g. Mṛcch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc.) used adverbially, Ś. has retained an old ins. in *-ā*. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in *-ī*: *kittī* = *kīrtiyā* (1,65^a; 2,66); *bhattī* = *bhaktiyā* (2,67), and so is also *evāsattī* for *°uttā* (S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *°itti* = *ekavimsatyā* to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in *-īe* in AMg. JM.Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4, 350, like the gen., it ends in *-hē*, has the endings *-īo*, *-ūo*, JS.Ś.Mg. *-īdo*, *-ūdo*: AMg. *arairāto* = *aratirātēḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *kosio* = *kośyāḥ* (Sūyag. 593); *naṇīo* = *nagaryāḥ* (Nirayāv. § 19; p. 44.45; Nāyādh. 1135); *poḥkharīṇio* = *puṣkarīnyāḥ*; *corapallio* = *corapallyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1060. 1427. 1429); *gaṅgāsindhūo* = *gaṅgāsindhoh* (Thāp. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f.) Ś.: *aḍāido* = *aḍavyāḥ* (Śak. 35,8); *ujjainīdo* = *ujjayinyāḥ* (Ratn. 321,22; 322,9); *sacido* = *śacyāḥ* (Vikr. 44,8); Mg. *naalido* = *nagaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 159,13). — The gen. has in A., as in the case of *a*-stems (§ 375), the ending *-hē*, before which the vowel is shortened: *joantiḥē* = *paśyantiyāḥ*; *mēllantiḥē* = *muñcantiyāḥ*; *goriḥē* = *gauriyāḥ*; *tumbiniḥē* = *tumbinyāḥ* (Hc. 4,332,2. 370,4. 395,1. 427,1); *kaṅguḥē* = *kaṅgoḥ* (Hc. 4,367,4). — In the loc. in AMg. we find frequently *rāo* = *rātrau* as well, the only form (Āyār. 1,8,2,6; Sūyag. 247. 255. 519; Nāyādh. 302. 374), as in the combinations *aho jā rāo* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Sūyag. 295. 412. 485; Uttar. 430), or in *aho jā rāo jā* = *ahaś ca rātrau ca* (Paṇhāv. 373), *rāo vā vijāle vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2,23 [so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126]), *diṇḍā jā rāo jā* = *divā ca rātrau ca* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3. 4,1; Uttar. 847), *diṇḍā vā rāo vā* (Sūyag. 846; Dasav. 616,13). Sometimes in AMg. the ending of the masc. and neutr. is extended over to the feminine: *piṭṭhīmsi* from *piṭṭhī* (§ 53; Nāyādh. 940); *bhittīmsi* = *bhittau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *rājahāṇīmsi* = *rājadhānyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4; 2,3,1,2) between pure loc. in *-īmsi* of the masc. and the neutr. Cf. § 355.358. 364. 367. 375. 379. Ś. has *ratimmi* = *rātrau* (Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4); *bhūmimmi* = *bhūmau* (Mallikām. 337,21). In A. the loc. ends in *-hī* = *-gyām*; *mahīhī* = *mahyām*; *riḍḍihīhī* = *ṛddhau*; *sallāhīhī* = *sallakyām*; *vāpārasihī* = *vārāṇasyām*; *ujjēhīhī* = *ujjayinyām* (Hc. 4,352.418.8,422,9,442,1); *ṇadīhī* = *nadyām* (Piṅgala 1,5a), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of the *i*-stems, also in *-ī* and shortened: *-ī puhavi* = *prithivyām* (1,121; text *°mī*); *dharanī* = *dharanyām* (1,137^a); *puhavi* = *prithivyām* (1,132^a); *mahī* = *mahyām* (1,143^a). — The vocative ends in *-ī*, *-u*: M. *māhavi* = *mādhavi*; *bhāiravi* = *bhairavi*; *devi* = *devī* (G. 285. 287. 290. 331);

thorattani = *sthūlastani* (H. 925); *Ś. bhaavadi bhāiradhi* = *bhagavati bhāgirathi* (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); JM. *Ś. putti* = *putri* (Āv. 12,11. 17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); *Ś. sahi mālati* = *sakhi mālati* (Mālatim. 94,2); Mg. *vuḍḍhakusṭṭani* = *vuḍḍhakusṭṭani* (Mṛcch. 141,25; 152,22); *kaccāṇi* = *kātyāyāni* (Caṇḍak. 69,1); M. *vevantoru* = *vepamānoru* (H. 52); *suaṇu* = *sutanu* (G. 186; H.); *kariaroru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925); in Mg. with *pluti vāsū* (Mṛcch. 127,1).

§ 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in -io, -ūo, which alternate with -iu, -ūu in verses : nom. M. *kattio* = *kyttayā* (H. 951); *riddhio* = *ṛddhayā* (G. 92); *lumbio* = * *lumbyā* (H. 322); *ṇaio* = *nadyā*; *ṇaario* = *nogaryā* (G. 360. 403); AMg. *mahāṇaio* = *mahānadyā* (Thāp. 76. 77. 79); *hirannakoḍio* = *hiranyakotyā* (Uvās. § 4), *itthio* = *striyā* (Thāp. 121); M. *taruṇiu* = *taruṇyā* (G. 113; H. 546); JM. *palatanio*...*avarohajuvaio* = *pralapantayā*...*avarodhayuvatayā* (Sagara 4,13); *vasahio* = *vasatayā* (T. 4, 22); *Ś. gidio* = *gitayā* (Mahāv. 121,7); *mahuario* = *madhukaryā* (Mṛcch. 29,5. 7; 70,2); *āidio* = *ākṛtayā* (Śak. 132,6); *paḍio* = *prakṛtayā* (Vikr. 73,12; Mudār. 39,1; 56,8); A. *aṅguliū* = *aṅgulyā* (Hc. 4, 333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. *kulavahūo* = *kulavadhvā* (H. 459); AMg. *suravadhūo* (Ovav. § [38]); *rajjūo* = *rajjavā* (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. *sahiriō* = *sahanaṣilāḥ* (H. 47); AMg. *vallio* = *valliḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15); *osahio* = *osadhīḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,16; Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33); *savattio* = *sapatniḥ* (Uvās. § 239); *saṣagghio* = *saṭagghniḥ* (Uttar. 285); JM. *goṇio* (Āv. 7,10); *Ś. bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīḥ* (Śak. 79,13); A. *vilāṣiṇiu* = *vilāṣiṇīḥ* (Hc. 4,348), and with *ī* *sallaiū* = *śallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. *bahūo coravijjāo* = *bahvīḥ coravidyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1421), but also *bahave sāhammiṇio* = *bahvīḥ *sādharmiṇīḥ* (§ 382). — Voc. JM. *bhajavāio devayāo* = *bhagavatyo devatāḥ* (Dvār. 503,25); M. *Ś. sahiō* = *sakhyāḥ* (H. 131. 619; Śak. 12,1; 90,8; Cait. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); *Ś. bhodio* = *bhavatyāḥ* (Viddhaś. 121,1); *bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīḥ* (Uttar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. *sakūo* (H. 412. 743). In A. the voc. has the ending -hō : *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyāḥ* (Hc. 4,346). The forms in -ī, -ā, taught by Hc. 3,27. 124, are likewise found in the texts : nom. M. *asaī mha* = *asatyāḥ smāḥ* (H. 417); voc. M. *pīasahī* = *priyasakhyāḥ* (H. 903); acc. AMg. *itthī* = *striḥ* (Verse !; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. *Ś. sahiim* = *sakhibhiḥ* (H. 144; Śak. 167,9); M. *diṭṭhiim* (G. 752); *sakhiḥ*, *sakhi* (H. 15. 60. 69. 810. 840); JŚ. *dhūliim* (Pav. 384,60); AMg. *cilāiim vāmaṇiim vaḍabhiim babbariim ... damiṭhiim sinhalīim*... = *kirātībhir vāmaṇibhir vaḍabhiḥbarbaribhir draviḍībhiḥ sinhalibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 55); *Ś. aṅgulīim* = *aṅgulibhiḥ* (Mṛcch. 6,7; Śak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has *thībū* = *striḥ*; A. *pupphavāi* = *puṣpavatibhiḥ* (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel : *asaī* = *asatībhiḥ*, *deṇti* = *dadaṭibhiḥ* (Hc. 4,396,1. 419,5). — Gen. M. *sahīna* = *sakhi-nām* (H. 482); *thuṇa* = *stulīnām* (G. 82); *taruṇīnām* (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. *savattīnām* = *sapatnīnām* (Uvās. § 238. 239); M. *Ś. kāmīṇīnām* (H. 559; Mṛcch. 71,22); M. *vahūnām* = *vadhūnām* (G. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71. 93) and *vahūna* (R. 9,40. 96; 15,78). Loc. M. *rāṭsu* = *rāṭriṣu* (H. 45); *giriadisu* = *giritāṣiṣu* (G. 374); AMg. *itthīsu* = *striṣu* (Āyār. 2,16,7; Sūyag. 405. 409); JM. *kujonisu* = *kuyoniṣu* (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. *vāvisu* = *vāpiṣu* (G. 166; Nāyādh. 915); M. *°uthalīsum* (G. 256) and *°uthalīsu* (G. 350. 421) = *°sthalīṣu*; *Ś. vaṇarāṭsum* = *vaṇarāṭṣiṣu* (Śak. 29,4; Uttarar. 22,13; text *°isu*); *devīsum* (Śak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins. : *disihī* = **diṣiṣu* = *dikṣu*, but also *duhū* = *dvayayā* (Hc. 4, 340; cf. § 381).

§ 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. *āpiṭṭiyām* (6,37) that is to say *āpiṭṭiyām* = *āpiṭṭiyām*, therefore, the form of Pāli.—If the feminine forms

in *-i*, *-u*, *-ī*, *-ā* enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt., take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a masc. or neuter. So M. *kareṇa va pañcaṅgulīṇā* (G. 17); M. *sasialāsuttiṇā... kavāleṇa* = *śaṭikalāsuktinā . kavāleṇa* (G. 40); Ś. *mae mandabuddhiṇā* = *mayā mandabuddhinā* (Śak. 126, 10); Ś. *mohidamadinā* = *mohitamatinā, nīdiniṇa-buddhiṇā* = *nītinibhūnabuddhinā* (Mudrār. 228,1; 269,3); Ś. *ujjumadiṇo* = *rjumatēḥ* (Pras. 46,9). Mg. *muṣṭie* = *muṣṭinā* = *muṣṭāmuṣṭi*, really = *muṣṭyā muṣṭinā* (Mṛcch. 170,15) is also noticed.

3) STEMS IN *-r*.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between *nomina agentis* and words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing. and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Otherwise, corresponding to the change of *r* to *i* or *u* (§ 50ff) the stems in *-r* have become *i*- or usually *u*-stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as new thema, according to the *a*-declension: *pīi*-, *piu*-, *piara*- = *pīr*-, *bhaṭṭi*-, *bhattu*-, *bhattāra*-. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as the *ā*-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: *māā*-, *māi*-, *māu*-, *māārā*-. Hence the grammarians (Vr. 5,31—35; Hc. 3,44—48; Kl. 3,30—34; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13.16.18) teach for the *r*-stems, all the forms that are valid for the *a*-, circumstantial *ā*-, and *u*-stems, and it has not as yet been possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. *Nomina agentis*, — *bhattu* = *bhartṛ* (husband).

Singular.

Nom. *bhattā*; AMg. *bhattāre*, also JM. *bhattāro*.
Acc. *bhattāraṃ*; Mg. *bhattālaṃ*.
Gen. *bhattuṇo*, AMg. *bhattārassa* also.
Loc. JM. Ś. *bhattāre*.
Voc. *bhattā*.

Plural.

Nom. M. AMg. *bhattāro*; AMg. *bhattā* also.
Ins. AMg. *bhattārehiṃ*.
Loc. AMg. *bhattāresu*.
Voc. AMg. *bhattāro*.

In the meaning "master" *bhartṛ* has become an *i*-stem in Ś. (§ 55.289) and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. *bhaṭṭā* (Lalitav. 563, 23; Ratn. 293,32; 294,11 etc.); acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* (Mālav. 45.16; 59,3; 60,10); ins. *bhaṭṭiṇā* (Śak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2. 9; 8, 7); gen. *bhaṭṭiṇo* (Śak. 43,10; 117,7; Mālav. 6,22; 40,18; 41,9. 17; Mudrār. 54,2; 149,2); voc. *bhaṭṭā* (Ratn. 305,17. 23; Śak. 144,14), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 34,11. 17).—Examples for individual cases are: nom. AMg. *ne ā* = *netā* (Sūyag. 519; text *netā*); *kaṇṭhaccheṭṭā* (Uttar. 633); JM. *dāyā* = *dātā* (Erz. 58,30); M. JM. Ś. *bhattā* (Karp. 43,4; Äv. 11,2; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,4.5); JŚ. *nādā* = *jāstā*, *jhādā* = *dhyātā* (Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70), *kattā* = *kartā* (Pav. 384,36. 58. 60); Ś. *sāsīdā* = *śāsītā*, *dādā* = *dātā* (Kāleyak. 24,16; 25,22); Ś. *rakkhīdā* = *rakṣītā* (Śak. 52,5; Mukund. 15,5); AMg. *udagadā-jāre* [text *°dātāro*] = *udakadātā* (Ovav. § 86); AMg. *bhattāre* (Nāyādh. 1230); AMg. *uvadamsēṭṭāre* [text *°ro*] = *upadarśayitā* (Sūyag. 593); JM. *bhattāro* = *bhartā* (Äv. 12,5. 12. 16. 17; Erz. 6,36; 85,22).—Acc. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhattāraṃ* (H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatīm. 240, 2); Mg.

bhattālam (Venis. 33,8); AMg. *udagadāyāram* = *udakaddātāram* (Ovav. § 85); *pasatthāram neyāram* = *prasāstāram nelāram* (Samav. 84); *satthāram* = *śāstāram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. JŚ. *kattāram* = *kartāram* (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1).—Gen. M. JM.Ś. *bhattuno* (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Śak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6. 16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. *udagadāyārassa* = *udakaddātuḥ* (Ovav. § 85).—For the loc. Ś. *bhattari* (Śak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read *bhattāre*, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23, 5). False is also the reading *bhattari* of the Kashmirian - (105,15), *bhattuni* of the Devanāgarī- and *bhattummi* of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. BÖHTL.; 248,6 ed. Madras). The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between *bhattummi*, *bhattari*, *bhattari*, *bhattammi*.—Voc. *bhattā*, see above.—Plural: nom. M. *soāro* = *śrotārah* (Vajjālagga 325,17); AMg. *pasatthāro* = *prasāstārah* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23. 38); *uvavattāro* = *upapattārah* (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56. 69. ff.); *akkhāyāro*, *āgantāro*, *neyāro* [text *nelāro*], *pannattāro* = *ākhyātārah*, *āgantārah*, *netārah*, **prajñaptārah* (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. *gantā* = *gantārah* (Sūyag. 150); *saviyā* = *savitārau*, *taṭṭhā* = *taṣṭārau* (Thāp. 82). To it belongs also AMg. *bhajanāro*, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as *bhavantāro*¹, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too, (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562.766; Ovav. § 56.129) and the voc. (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 239.585. 630.630.635). Its meaning is = *bhavantah* or *bhagavantah*, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from *bhavant*, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. *āusantāro* = *āyuṣmantah* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing.) from *āyuṣmant*. There is found also the gen. *bhajanāraṇam* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. *dāyārehiṃ* = *dātybhiḥ* (Kappas. § 112).—Loc. *āgantāresu* = *āgantṛsu* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4. 5; 2,7,2,1. 7. 8.), *dāyāresu* = *dāṭṛsu* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17).—The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the a-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattāra*-, or according to the u-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattu*-.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. *bhavant* and the fut. part. *bhaviṣṭ*.—2. The hypothesis of STEINTHAL (Specimen der Nāyādharmakāhā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Praṛit (i. e. AMg.) is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — *piu* = *pitṛ*.

Singular.

Nom. *piā* [*piaro*]; Ś. Mg. *pidā*.

Acc. *piaram*; AMg. JM. *piyaram*; Ś. *pidaram*; Mg. *pidalam*.

Ins. *piuṇā* [*piareṇa*]; Ś. Mg. *piduṇā*; A. *piara*.

Gen. *piuno*; AMg. *piuno*, *piussa*; JM. *piuno*, *piyarassa*; Ś. Mg. *piduno*; A. *piaraha*.

Voc. [*piā*, *piā*, *piaram*, *piaro*, *piara*].

Plural.

Nom. [*piaro*], [*piuno*]; AMg. JM. *piyaro*; AMg. also *piṭ*; Ś. *pidaro*.

Acc. [*piare*, *piuno*]; AMg. *piyaro*; Ś. *pidaro*, *pidare*.

Ins. [AMg. *piūhim*, also *piihim*; [*piarehim*].

Gen. AMg. *piūnam*, also *piūnam*.

Loc. [*piūsum*].

Sing. : nom. is very frequent : M. *piā* (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. *piyā* (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. *pidā* (Śak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); Ā. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 104,17); Mg. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 32,11); AMg. JM. *bhāyā* = *bhrātā* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. Ā. *bhādā* (Uttarar. 128,10;

Pras 83,6; Venṣ. 102,4; 103,22; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,18); *Ś. jāmādā* = *jāmātā* (Mālatīm. 235,4; Mallikām. 210,23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text °do]); Mg. *vāmādā* (Mṛcch. 139,25). Acc. Mg. *piyaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345); *ammāpiyaram* (Thāp. 126; Uttar. 573); *Ś. pidaram* (Vikr. 81,10; 82,8; Mālav. 84,5; Venṣ. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kāmsav. 50,12 etc.), in A. too (Mṛcch. 101,17) and Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,10); JM. *bhāyaram* *Ś. bhādarām* = *bhrātaram* (Erz. 85,4; Venṣ. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240, 2). — Ins. M. AMg. *piuṇā* (G. 1197; Vivāhap. 820. 827), Mg. *piduṇā* (Mṛcch. 167,24), A. *piara* (Śukas. 32,3); JM. *bhāuṇā* (Erz. 45,28), *Ś. bhāduṇā* (Mālav. 71,2; Mālatīm. 244,2); *Ś. jāmāduṇā* (Ratn. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMg. *piuṇo* (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyādh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMg. *ammāpiuṇo* (Thāp. 125) beside *ammāpiussa* (Thāp. 126); JM. *piuṇo* (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and *ammāpijarassa* (Erz. 77,30); *Ś. piduṇo* (Mṛcch. 95,2. 15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvaṭip. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); *Ś. bhāduṇo* (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālar. 113,7; 144,10; Venṣ. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); *Ś. jāmāduṇo* (Venṣ. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. *piaraha* (Piṅgala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMg. *piyaro* (Thāp. 511. 512), frequently in the compound *ammāpiyaro* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 16; Vivāhap. 809. 926; Thāp. 524,525; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 114. 116; p. 292. 887. 965 and often); AMg. JM. *bhāyaro* (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMg. *bhāyarā* (Uttar. 402,622) and AMg. *do pi* = *dvau pitarau* [as the names of stars; Thāp. 82], *Ś. bhādarō* (Uttarar. 12,7; Venṣ. 13,9). False are *Ś. mādāraparā* (sic; Kāmsav. 50,14) and *bhādarā* (sic; Kāmsav. 50,10). We should read *mādāpidaro* and *bhādarō*. — Acc. AMg. JM. *ammāpiyaro* (Antag. 4, 23,61. Nāyādh. § 134,138; p. 260,887; Vivāhap. 808; Erz. 37,29); *Ś. pidaro* (Vikr. 87,17); AMg. also *ammāpiyare* (Uttar. 643; Commentary °*raṇ*); *Ś. mādāpidare* = *mātāpitarau* (Śak. 159,12). — Ins. AMg. *ammāpiūhiṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyādh. § 138; p. 889) and AMg. JM. *ammāpiūhiṃ* (Kappas. § 94; v. l. °*piū*; Thāp. 527; Vivāhap. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2) JM. *māyāpiūhiṃ* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *piūhiṃ*, *bhāhiṃ* (Sūyag. 694; text °*hiṃ*), false, *piyāhiṃ* (104) and *pitāhiṃ* (692); *Ś. bhādarehiṃ* (Mṛcch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — Gen. AMg. *ammāpiūṇam* (Kappas. § 90; Nāyādh. § 120; p. 905. 965) and *ammāpiūṇaṃ* (Ovav. § 72; v. l. °*piū*; 103. 107); JM. *māyāpiūṇam* (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMg. *culanīpiya* = *culanīpitṛ* is declined as: nom. *culanīpiyā*, acc. °*piyam*, gen. °*piyassa*, voc. °*piyā* (Uvās. s. v.).

§ 392. *mātr* (mother) forms the nom. M. *mā* (H. 400. 508); AMg. JM. *māyā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 115. 161. 377. 635. 750; Nāyādh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46. 109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4. 7); *Ś. Ā. Mg. mādā* (Uttarar. 126,6; Venṣ. 29,12; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 129,6). In the meaning 'divine mother', the stem *mādarā*, which is declined like the feminine in -ā, makes its appearance according to Hc. 3,46. — Acc. M. *māaram* (Hc. 3,46), AMg. JM. *māyaram*, Dh. *Ś. mādaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345; Erz.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 32,12; *Ś. Mṛcch.* 141,11; Śak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.); in M. also *mām* (H. 741), and so the word may generally be declined as an ā-stem: sing. ins. JM. *māyāe* (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. *Ś. mādāe* (Karp. 19, 5); voc. M. *māe* (H. s. v. *mā*), *Ś. mādē* (Venṣ. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMg. *māyāhiṃ* (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. *māhā* (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMg. *māyaro* (Thāp. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74. 77); besides AMg. JM. have ī- and ū- stems (Hc. 3,46); gen. loc. sing. *māūe* (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāhap. 116); ins. plur. *māhiṃ* (Sūyag. 692 [i°]. 694); gen. plur. *māiṇam*, *māiṇa* (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. *māi* in A. Piṅgala 1,2. — From *duhitṛ* the nom. *Ś.* is *duhidā* (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhaś.

47,6. 10; Priyad. 52,6), the acc. Ś. *duhidaram* (Śak. 128,2), the voc. Ś. *duhide* (Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc.). JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* and M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* are mostly used (§ 65.148), JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* which are inflected as *ā*-stems, especially in the combinations JM. *dāsiedhīyā*, Ś. *dāsiedhidā*, Mg. *dāsiedhidā*, comprehended as compounds (cf. *dāsieutta*). In Ś. Mg. the manuscripts and texts write *dhīā* mostly falsely. Nom. Ś. *dāsiedhidā* (Ratn.302,8); AMg. JM. *dhūyā* (Āyār. 1,2, 1,1; 2,15,15; Sūyag. 635,637; Vivāgas. 105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586 781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23; 11,10; 12,3; 29,14; 37,26ff.; Erz. 5,38); Ś. *ajjādhūdā*=*āryāduhitā* (Mṛcch.53,23; 54, 7; 94,11; 325,14); acc. M. *dhūam* (H. 388), AMg. *dhūyam* (Vivāgas. 228. 229; Nāyādh. 820); ins. M. *dhūāi* (H. 370); *dhūāe* (H. 864); Ś. *dāsiedhidāe* (Nāgān. 57,4). Mg. *dāsiedhidāe* (Mṛcch. 17,8); gen. Ś. *dāsiedhidāe* (Mṛcch. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10); Ś. *ajjādhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 53,15; 94,4); loc. AMg. *dhūyāe* (Nāyādh. 727); voc. JM. *dāsiedhie* (Erz. 68,20); Ś. *dāsiedhīe* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 72,19; Karp. 13,2 [Konow °*dhūde*]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3; 301,18; Nāgān. 57,3; Caṇḍak. 9,16); Mg. *dāsiedhīe* (Mṛcch. 127,23). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *dhūyāo* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; 2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23; 12,1; Erz. 14,12); ins. JM. *dhūyāhi* (Erz. 14,16); gen. AMg. *dhūyānam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1); Ś. *dhidānam* (Mālatīm. 288,5); voc. Ś. *dāsiedhidāo* (Cair. 84,7). From the stem *dhūyārā* is found the acc. sing. AMg. *dhūyaram* (Uttar. 641), ins. plur. *dhūyārāhi* (Sūyag. 229).— From *svasy* the nom. sing. is AMg. *sasā* (Hc. 3, 35; Pāiyāl. 252; Sūyag. 176).

4) STEMS IN *o* AND *au*.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of *go* only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. *suṃyago* = *abhinavoprasūtā gauḥ* (Sūyag. 180); nom. plur. *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* (Dasav. 628,15); acc. plur. *gāo* = **gāvaḥ* = *gāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 10); ins. plur. *gahim* = *gobhiḥ* (Aṇuog. 351); gen. plur. *gavam* = *gavāṃ* (Samav. 83; Uttar. 293). The nom. sing. in AMg. is *gave*=**gavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17), as also at Sūyag. 147 we have to read for *gavaṃ* of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. *gavā* in *jaraggavā* = *jaradgāvaḥ* (Sūyag. 185). For the mascul. *goṇo* is mostly used in AMg. Mg. (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; 2,3,3,8. 13; 2,4,2,7; Sūyag. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Paṇḥāv. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5. 12-14. 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places *goṇāim* with a change of gender according to § 358); AMg. *goṇattāe* = *gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51). The fem. is JM. *goṇī* (Āv. 7,10. 12; 43,10), or M. *gāi* (Hc. 1,158; H.), AMg. JM. *gāvī* (C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3. 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 618,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12. 14; Erz.). For the masc. Hc. 1,158 mentions *gāūo*, *gāo*, for the femin. *gāūā*, *gāi*. Of them *gāūo* = *gāvayāḥ*, *goṇo* is either=**goṇno* for **gunṇo* = **gūṇnāḥ* from *ṽgur* according to § 66¹, or = **gavana*. Cf. also § 8. 152.

1. So more correctly than BB. 3,237.

§ 394. *nau* (ship) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. *nāvā*, which is inflected according to the *ā*-declension (Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16); sing. nom. AMg. *nāvā*, Ś. *nāvā* (Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mṛcch. 41,20), A. *nāva* (Hc. 4,423,1); acc. M. *nāvaṃ* (G.812), AMg. *nāvaṃ*, *nāvam* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13 ff.; Sūyag. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741); ins. gen. AMg. *nāvāe* (Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. § 218); abl. AMg. *nāvāo* (Āyār. 2,3,2,2. 3); plur. ins. AMg. *nāvāhi* (Dasav. 629,1).

5) STEMS IN -*t*.

§ 395. The nouns in -*t*, having a single stem, of which *t* is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final *t*: M. *indaññā* = *indrajitā* (R. 14,16), gen. *indañño* (R. 12,58. 84) and *indaissa* (R. 15,61), loc. *indaṃmi* (R. 13,99); *taḍḍi* = *taḍḍit* (Hc. 1,202), A. *taḍḍi* = *taḍḍitam* (Vikr. 55,2); *marū* = *marut* (Ki. 2,123; M. *vijjā* = *vidyut* (Vr. 4, 9; Bh. 4, 26; Hc. 1, 15; Ki. 2, 129; H. 585). From *jagat*, the nom. sing. is M. *jaam* (R. 5, 20; 9, 73), AMg. *jage* (Sūyag. 74), A. *jagu* (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. *jagam* (Sūyag. 405. 537); the gen. A. *jaassu* (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. *jaammi* (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and *jae* (G. 239; H. 303), AMg. *jagai* (Sūyag. 104; text °*ti*) and *jagamsi* (Sūyag. 306), JS. *jagadi* (Pav. 382, 26; text °*ti*), A. *jagi* (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings -*ā*: *sarit* becomes *Pāli saritā*, M. *sariā* (G. H. R.), JM. *sariyā* (Erz.), A. *saria* (Vikr. 72,9); M. gen. plur. *sariāhā* (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. *sarihū* = **saribhih* = *saridbhih* (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the *ā*-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for *vidyut*. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found *vijjūṇā* too beside *vijjūe*, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. *vijjūṇo* too.

§ 396. The stems in -*at*, -*mat*, -*vat* partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the *a*-declension of the strong stems in -*anta*, -*manta*, -*vanta*. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. *jāṇam* = *jānan* (Sūyag. 1,332); *vijjam* = *vidoān* (Sūyag. 126. 306. 380 ff.); *cakkhumam* = *cakṣuṣmān* (Sūyag. 546); *diṭṭhimam* = *diṭṭhimān* (Sūyag. 200. 531); *āyavam* *nāṇavam* *dharmavam* *bambhavam* = *ātmavān* *jñānavān* *dharmavān* *brahmavān* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *puṭṭhavam* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), *thāvam* = *sthāmvān* (Uttar. 50. 90), *cittam*, *acittam* = *tiṣṭhan*, *atiṣṭhan* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *kuṇṇam* = *kurvan* (Sūyag. 31,863), *kiṇam*, *haṇam*, *paṇam* = *krīṇan*, *ghnan*, *pacan* (Sūyag. 609); AMg. JM. *maham* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4; Sūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kk. 271. 11); JM. *araham* = *arhan* (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In Ś. Mg. it is confined to *bhagavat* and *bhavat* (pronoun) (Hc. 4,265). So Ś. *bhaavam* (Mṛcch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5. 23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.); likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Caṇḍak. 43,7); Ś. *bhavam* (Mṛcch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Śak. 37. 1 etc.), *atthabhavam* = *atrabhāvān* (Śak. 33,3; 35,7), *tatthabhavam* = *tatrabhāvān* (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3. 15); likewise P. *bhagavam* (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. *māmayā* = *matimatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4. 2,5), *māmajā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,22,2,16. 3,14,4,17; Sūyag. 373); AMg. *jāṇayā* *pāsayā* = *jānatā* *paṣyatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); AMg. JM. *mahayā* = *mahatā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 718; Vivāgas 239; Nāyādh. § 15.135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): *mahayā iddhi mahayā jute mahayā baleṇam*... = *mahatyarddhiyā mahatyā dyutyā mahatā balena*... (Jiv. 588 [text *juttie*]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. § 52); M. *bhaavaā* (G. 896), AMg. JM. *bhagavaṇṇā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 7. 3, 5 etc.; Uvās. and very often; Kk. 268, 17), Ś. *bhaavaḍḍā* = *bhagavatā* (Lalitav. 265,18; Śak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. *bhavadā* = *bhavatā* (Śak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), *atthabhavadā*, *tatthabhavadā* (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Śak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś. *bhaavado* (Śak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Caṇḍak. 43,6); Ś. *bhavado* (Śak. 38,6. 8; 39,12; Mṛcch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), *atthabhavado* (Vikr. 21,10), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79. 16). So also in the proper

noun Ś. gen. *rumaṇṇado* = *rumaṇvataḥ* (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom. is *rumaṇṇo*, as of an *n*-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives and participles only the forms of the *a*-stems are otherwise usual in Ś.Mg. Hence false is Ś. *guṇavado* (Śak 84,8 ed. BURKHARD), for which ed. BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15 have likewise the false dative *guṇavade*. On the dative *bhavade* see § 361. — Gen. AMg. *mahao* = *mahataḥ* (Sūyag. 312), *bhagavao* = *bhagavataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16. 28; Vivāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very often), *paḍivajjao* = **pratipadyataḥ*, *viharao* = *viharataḥ* (Uttar. 116), *avijāṇao* = *avijānataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), *akuvvao* = *akurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 540), *pakuvvao* = *prakurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 340), *karao* = *kurvataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5) *haṇao* = *ghnataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), *kittayao* = *kirtayataḥ* (Uttar. 726), *dhiṇṇao* = *dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,8). On Ś. Mg. see above. — Loc. Ś. *sadi* = *sati* (Śak. 141,7); M. *himavai* = *himavati* (Mudrār. 60,9). — Voc. AMg. JM. *bhagavaṇ*, *bhayaṇ* (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111; Erz. 2,32; 44,18; Dvār. 495,13); Ś. *bhaavaṇ* (Ratn. 296,24; 298,14; 300,33; Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vikr. 86,10; Uttarar. 204,8 etc.); P. *bhagavaṇ* (Hc. 4,323). Beside AMg. *āsaṇ* = *āyuṣman* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 1; Sūyag. 792; Samav.1) AMg. very frequently has *āuso* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,1,7. 13, 2,6,1,5. 10. 11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Sūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.); further *samaṇāuso* (Samav. 31; Ovav. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617. 652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Sūyag. 579.582; Nāyādh. 497.504). *āuso* is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. S. s. v.) as = **āyusmas*, hence it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in -as (WHITNEY § 454). — In the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. *silamanto* *guṇamanto* *vaimanto* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *mūlamanto* *kandamanto* *khandhamanto* *toyāmanto* *sālamanto* *paḍālamanto* etc. (Ovav. § 4), *bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also Ś. nom. *bhaavanto* (Mudrār. 20,5). For Ś. *kidavanto* = *kṛtavantaḥ* (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read *kidavantā*, on the other hand for voc. *bhavantā* (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed. Madras. 135,7 read *bhaavanto*, as stands at Venis. 102,2. — Nom. plur. neut. are AMg. *pariggahāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); *balavanti* (Uttar. 753); *eyāvanti* *savvāvanti* = *etāvanti* **sarvāvanti* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5. 7); *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,2,1. 4; cf. § 357); *jāvanti* (Uttar. 215). The sing. *abhidavam* = *abhidraṇ* metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2). Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. JM. *bhayaṇ* (T. 4,14. 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. *samaṇāuso* is used for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural *āusanto* for the singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom. sing. in prose would be *āusante*: *āusanto* *samaṇā* = *āyuṣmaṇ śramaṇa*, *āusanto* *gāhāvai* = *āyuṣman gṛhapate* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.; 2,3,2,1. 2. 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); *āusanto* *goṇamā* = *āyuṣman gotama* (Sūyag. 962. 972. 981) beside *āyuso goṇamā* (Sūyag. 964); *āusanto* *udagā* = *āyuṣmann udaka* (Sūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example *āusanto* *niyaṇṭhā* = *āyuṣmanto nirgranthāḥ* (Sūyag. 989. 992). From the weak stem are formed *jāṇao*, *ajāṇao* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the commentary and JACOBI (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom. plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the formation in -anta, -manta, -vanta prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M. *pianto* = *piban*; *calanto* = *calan*; *bahugūṇavanto* = *bahugūṇavān*; *kuṇanto* =

kṛṇvan (H. 13. 25. 203. 265); AMg. *sāsanto* beside *sāsam* = *sāsat* (Uttar. 38); *anusāsanto* (Uttar. 39); *kiṇanto*, *vikkīṇanto* = *kṛiṇan*, *vikkīṇan* (Uttar. 1010); *mūlamante*, *kandamante* = *mūlavān*, *kandavān* (Ovav. § 5); *vannamante*, *gandhamante* = *varṇavān*, *gandhavān* (Bhag. 1,420); *virāyante* = *virājan* (Ovav. § 48); *vistiyanto* = *viṣīdan*, *ramanto* = *ramamāṇaḥ* (Dasav. 613, 16; 641, 21); *cullahimavante* = *cullahimavān* (Thān. 176); JM. *saṁthuvvanto* = *saṁstāyāmāṇaḥ*; *gāyanto* = **gāyan*; *deṇto* = **dayan*; *agūhanto* = *agūhan*; *paḷoṇto* = *pralokayan* (Āv. 7,25; 8,26; 9,5. 6; 15,21); *kandanto* = *krandan* (Erz. 42,12); JM. *ś. mahanto* (Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8); *ś. karēnto* = *kurvan* (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23), *jāṇanto* (Mṛcch. 18,23; 104,1); *puloanto* = *pralokayan* (Mahāv. 99,3), *cittavanto* = *cittavān* (Śak. 87,13); Mg. *pucamde* = *prechan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *mahante* = *mahān* (Mṛcch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venis. 35,17; 36,3); *colaante* = *corayan* (Mṛcch. 165,9); *daṁśaante* = *darśayan* (Śak. 114,11); *mantaante* = *mantrayan* (Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 °to); Dh. *ācakkhanto* = **ācakṣat* (§ 88; Mṛcch. 34,24); P. *cintayanto* = *cintayan*, *paribbhamanto* = *paribhraman* (Hc. 4,323); A. *hasantu* = *hasan*, *daṁsijjantu* = *darśyamāṇa* (Hc. 4,383,3,418,6), *jagganto* = *jāgrat* (Piṅgala 1,62^a), *valanta* = *vaṭan*; *ulhasanta* = *ullasan*; *guṇavanta* = *guṇavān* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; 2,45); nom. neut. *bhaṇantaṁ* = *bhaṇat* (H. 218); *kirantaṁ* = *kirat* (G. 1182); *ś. dīśantaṁ* = *darśyamāṇam* (Uttarar. 77,6); A. *dhaṇamanta* = *dhanavat* (Piṅgala 2,45). Mg. *dahante* (more correctly *dahadāhante* with the v. l.; Venis. 35,23) is related to the neuter *ṣopidaṁ* = *ṣopitam*. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. *ś. mahantaṁ* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūyag. 944; Mṛcch. 40,22); M. *pijjantaṁ*, *apuṇijjantaṁ*, *avalambijjantaṁ*, *paḍāntaṁ* = *piyamāṇam*, *anunīyamāṇam*, *avalambiyamāṇam*, *prakāśayantaṁ* (G. 466–469); AMg. *saṁārambhantaṁ* = *saṁārabhamāṇam*, *kiṇantaṁ* = *kṛiṇantaṁ*, *giṇhantaṁ* = *grhṇantaṁ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1); JM. *jāpantaṁ* = *jāpantaṁ* (Kk. 262,5); *ś. jāṇantaṁ*, *santaṁ*, *asantaṁ* (Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9,10), *kappijjantaṁ* = *kalpyamāṇam* (Mṛcch. 4,10), *uvvahantaṁ* = *udvahantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 41,10). False is *ś. bhaṇavantaṁ* for *bhaṇantaṁ* (Vikr. 87,17). Mg. *māntaṁ* = *mārayantaṁ*, *yāntaṁ* = *jivantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 123,22; 170,5); *aliḥantaṁ* = *arhantaṁ* (Laṭakam. 14,19); A. *dāraṇtu* = *dārayantaṁ* (Hc. 4,345); neuter: M. *santaṁ* *asantaṁ* (H. 513); *ś. mahantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,11). — Ins. M. *piantaṇa* = *pibatā*, *padantaṇa* = *patatā* (H. 246. 264); AMg. *vinimujjantaṇaṁ* = *vinimujjātā* (Ovav. § 48); *anukampantaṇaṁ* = *anukampatā* (Āyār. 2,15,4); JM. *jāpantaṇa* = *jāpātā* (KI. 15; Erz. 10,26); *kuṇantaṇa* = Vedic *kṛṇvātā* (KI. 15); *vaccantaṇaṁ* = *vrajatā* (Āv. 11,19); JS. *arahantaṇa* = *arhatā* (Pav. 385,63); *ś. calantaṇa* = *calatā* (Lalitav. 568,5); *gāantaṇa* = *gāyatā*, *karēntaṇa* = *kurvatā* (Mṛcch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24); *harantaṇa* (Uttarar. 52,9) *bhuttavantaṇa* = *bhuktavātā* (Jivān. 53,11); Mg. *gaṣantaṇa* = *gacchatā* (Mṛcch. 167,24); *āhiṇḍantaṇa* = *āhiṇḍanēna* (Caṇḍak. 71,12); A. *pavasantaṇa* = *pravasatā* (Hc. 4,333), *bhamantē* = *bhramatā* (Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *roantaṇi* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). — Abl. AMg. *cullahimavantaṇo* = *cullahimavataḥ* (Thān. 177). — Gen. M. *ārambhantassa* = *ārabhamāṇasya*, *ramantassa* = *ramamāṇasya*, *jāṇantassa* = *jānataḥ* (H. 42,44. 243), *visahantassa* = **viśahataḥ*, *vōcchindantassa* = *vyavacchindataḥ* (R. 12,23; 15,62); AMg. *āusantassa* = *āyusmataḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1); *bhagavantassa* = *bhagavataḥ* (Kappas. § 118); *vasantassa* = *vasataḥ* (Uvās. § 83), *cajantassa* = *tyajataḥ* (Ovav. § 170); *cullahimavantassa* (Jiv. 388 f.); *kahantassa* = *kathayataḥ* (Sūyag. 907); *jiṇantassa* = *jayataḥ* (Dasav. 618,14); JM. *acchantassa* = *rechataḥ*, *dhūvēntassa* = *dhūpayataḥ*, *sārakkhantassa* = *saṁrakṣataḥ* (Āv. 14,25; 25,4; 28,16); *karēntassa*, *kuṇantassa* = *kurvataḥ*

(Erz. 1,24;18,10); JM. *cintantassa*, Ś. *cintaantassa* = *cintayatāḥ* (Erz. 11,8; 18,16; Śak. 30,5); Ś. *mahantassa* = *mahatāḥ* (Uttarar. 105,5); *maggantassa* *mārgamāṇasya*, *nikkamantassa* = *niṣkrāmataḥ* (Mṛcch. 95,7; 105,24); *haṇumanassa* = *hanumataḥ* (Mahāv. 125,14); Mg. *vaññamdaṣṣa* = *vrajataḥ* (Lalivav. 566,7); *alihanassa* = *arhataḥ* (Prab. 52,7); CP. *naccantassa* = *ṇṭiyataḥ* (Hc 4,326); A. *mellantahō* = *tyajataḥ*, *dēntahō* = **dayataḥ*, *jujjhantahō* = *judyataḥ*, *karantahō* = *kurvataḥ* (Hc. 4,370,4.379,1.400).—Loc. M. *samāruhantammi* = *samārohati*, *hōntammi* = *bhavati*, *ruantammi* = *rudati* (H. 11. 124. 596); *haṇūmante* and *haṇumantammi* = *hanumoti* (R. 1,35; 2,43); AMg. *jālate* = *jvalati* (Kappas. § 59; Nāyādh. § 34; Uvās. § 66; Vivāhap. 169); *sante* = *sati* (Āyār. 2,5,1,5; 2,8,1; 2,9,1), *himavante* = *himavati* (Uvās. § 277); *arahantamsi* = *arhati* (Kappas. § 74; Nāyādh. § 46), *abhinikkhamantammi* = *abhinīṣkrāmoti* (Uttar. 279); Ś. *mahante* = *mahati* (Śak. 29,7); D. *jiante* = *jivati* (Mṛcch. 100,9); A. *pavasantē* = *pravasati* (Hc. 4,422,12).—Voc. M. *āloanta sasanta jambhanta ganta roanta mucchanta padanta khalanta* = *ālokayan śvasan jymbhamāṇa gacchan rudan murchan patan skhalan* (H. 547); *mahanta* (desiring), *muanta* = *muñcan* (H. 510. 643), Mg. *alihanta* = *arhan* (Prab. 54,6; 58,7; Laṭakam. 12,13).—Plural: nom. M. *padantā*, *nivadantā* = *patantaḥ*, *nipatantaḥ* (G. 122. 129. 442); *bhindantā* = *bhindataḥ*, *jānantā* = *jānataḥ* (H. 326. 821); AMg. *silamantā* = *silamantaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *jampantā* = *jalpantaḥ* (Sūyag. 50); *vāyantā* *ya gāyantā* *ya naccantā* *ya bhāsantā* *ya sāsantā* *ya sāvēntā* *ya rakkhantā* *ya = vācayantā* *ca gāyantā* *ca ṇṭiyantā* *ca bhāṣamāṇā* *ca sāsata* *ca śrāvayantā* *ca rakṣantā* *ca* (Ovav. § 49, V); *pūrayantā*, *peccantā*, *ujjoṇṭā*, *karēntā* = *pūrayantaḥ*, *prekṣamāṇāḥ*, *uddiyolayantaḥ*, *kurvantaḥ* (Ovav. [§ 37]); *buddhimantā* = *buddhimantaḥ* (Sūyag. 916); *arahantā* = *arhantaḥ* (Kappas. § 17. 18), even in the combination *arahantā bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1, 4, 1, 1; 2, 4, 1, 4 [so to be read]); Vivāhap. 1235), likewise *samaṇā bhagavanto silamantā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 10); JM. *kiddantā* = *kridantaḥ* (Āv. 30,15); *gavesantā* = *gaveṣayantaḥ*, *cojjantā* = *codyamāṇāḥ* (Kk. 273, 42; 274, 3); *santā* = *santaḥ*, *carantā* = *carantaḥ* (Erz. 1. 12. 13); Ś. *pūjjantā* = *pūjjyamāṇāḥ*, *sikkhantā* = *śikṣantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 9, 1; 71, 21), *khelantā* = *khelantaḥ* (Uttarar. 108, 2); Mg. *śāsantā* = *śvasantaḥ*, *paḍivasantā* = *pravivasantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 116,17; 169,3); A. *phukkijjanta* = *phūṭkriyamāṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,3); *guṇamanta* = *guṇevantaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,118); neuter: AMg. *vaṇṇamantāṇi* *gandhamantāṇi* *rasamantāṇi* *phāsamantāṇi* = *varṇavanti* *gandhavanti* *rasavanti* *sparśavanti* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Vivāhap. 144; Jiv. 26); acc. M. *uṇṇamante* = *unnamataḥ* (H. 539); AMg. *arahante bhagavante* = *arhato bhagavataḥ* (Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. § 21), *samārambhante* = *samārabhamāṇān* (Āyār. 1,1,3 5); JS. *arahante* (Pav.379,3); neutrum: AMg. *mahantāṇi* (Vivāhap. 1308 f.).—Ins. M. *visamghadantehim* = *visamghatadbhiḥ* (H. 115), *viñintehim* = *vinirgacchadbhiḥ* (G. 138); AMg. *jivantehim* = *jivadbhiḥ*, *ovayantehi* *ya uppajayantehi* *ya = apapatadbhiḥ* *colpatadbhiḥ* *ca* (Kappas. § 97); *paññānamantehim* = **prajñānamadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *āvasantehim* = *āvāsadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4); *bhagavantehim* = *bhagavadbhiḥ* (Aṇug. 95); *araha- ntehim* = *arhadbhiḥ* (Thāṇ. 288; Aṇug. 518 [°ri]); *santehim* = *sadbhiḥ* (Uvās. § 220. 259. 262); JM. *āpucchantehim* = *āprechadbhiḥ* (Āv. 27,11); *maggantehim* = *mārgamāṇāḥ* (Āv. 30,17); *gāyantehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ*, *bhaṇantehim* = *bhaṇadbhiḥ*, *āruhantehim* = *ārahadbhiḥ* (Erz. 1,29,2,15. 21); Ś. *gacchantehim* = *gacchadbhiḥ* (Mudrār. 254,3); *anicchantehim* = *anicchadbhiḥ* (Bālar. 144,9); *gāntehim* = *gāyadbhiḥ* (Cat. 42,2); Mg. *paḍisantehim* = *praviṣadbhiḥ* (Caṇḍak. 42,11); A. *nivasantaḥ* = *nivasadbhiḥ*, *valantaḥ* = *valadbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11. 18).—Gen. M. *ēntāṇaṃ* = *āyatāṃ*, *cintantāṇa* = *cintayatāṃ* (H. 38,83); AMg. *arahantāṇaṃ* *bhagavantāṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 1235;

Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20. 38); *santāṇaṁ* = *satām* (Uvās. § 85); *paṇṇāṇa-mantāṇaṁ* = **prajāṇanamatām* (Āyār. 1.6,1,1); JM. *āyārantāṇaṁ* = *ācaratām* (Dvār. 502,28), *carantāṇaṁ* = *caratām* (Āv. 7,9), *kuṇantāṇaṁ* = *kurvatām* (Kk. 270,40), *joṇantāṇaṁ* = *paṣyatām* (Erz. 73,18); JŚ. *arihantāṇaṁ* (Pav. 379,4; 383,44 [°ra°]); Ś. *pekkhantāṇaṁ* = *prekṣamāṇāṇām* (Venīs. 64,16; Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. *oliḥantāṇaṁ* = *arhatām*, *ṇamantāṇaṁ* = *nomatām* (Prab. 46,11; 47,1); *ṇiskamantāṇaṁ* = *niṣkrāmatām* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *peccantāṇa* = *prekṣamāṇāṇām*, *cintantāḥ* = *cintayatām*, *ṇavantāḥ* = *ṇamatām*, *joṇtāḥ* = *paṣyatām* (Hc. 4,348. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. *dhavalāntesu* = **dhavalāyatsu* (H. 9); JM. *naccantesu* = *nṛtyatsu* (Erz. 2,2), *gacchantesu* = *gacchatsu* (Āv. 7,26; Erz. 7,19), *kiḷantesu* = *kṛidatsu* (Erz. 16,16); Ś. *parihariāntesu* = *parihriyamāṇesu* (Mudrār. 38,10), *vaṣṭāntesu* = *vaṣṭamāṇesu* (Pārvaṭip. 2,5; text *vaṣṭadesu*).—Voc. AMg. *āusantā* = *āyusmantāḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* we find isolated forms, that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem, that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. JM. *bhagavo* (Erz. 25,19); Mg. *haṇūme* = *hanūmān* (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. *haṇūmaśihale* (Mṛcch. 133,12) and M. *°variahaṇumaṁ* (R. 12,88); AMg. *asaṁ* = *asat* (Sūyag. 35); acc. AMg. frequently *mahaṁ* = *mahantam* and *mahat* (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325; Vivāgas. 221; Vivāhap. 1325; Uvās. s. v. *maha*; Nāyādh. § 22. 122), fem. too (Vivāhap. 105), and *bhagavaṁ* = *bhagavantam* (Uvās. s. v.; Kappas. § 15. 16. 21; Bhag. 1,420; Ovav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from the weak stem in *-ta*, transported to the *a*-declension, are also found. So nom. sing. AMg. *ajāṇao* = **ajāṇataḥ* = *ajāṇan* (Sūyag. 273; text *avijāṇao*), *viḷāṇao* = *viḷāṇan* (Nandīs. 1); nom. plur. fem. *amaimāyā* = **amatimatāḥ* = *amatimatyaḥ* (Sūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. *bhavaḷyāṇaṁ* = **bhavatāṇām* = *bhavalām* (Uttar. 354). For Ś. *himavadassa* (Pārvaṭip. 27,13; 32,19; 35,1) we should read *himavantassa*, as in the last place GLASER (31,15) has.—From *arhat* are always formed the nom. *arahā*, *arihā*, as from the stem *arhan* (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Ovav.); likewise is found M. *haṇumā* (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg. *āusantāro*, *bhajāntāro* see § 390).

6) STEMS IN -n.

§ 399. 1) Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*. *-rāa-*, AMg. JM. *rāya-*, Mg. *lāa-* = *rājan*. In the declension of *rājan*, the old *n*-stem and the *a*-stem, that appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides an *i*-stem should be deduced from the original reparation-vowel *i* (§ 133).

Singular.

Nom. *rāā*, [rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāyā*; Mg. *lāā*; P. *rājā*; CP. *rācā*.
 Acc. *rāāṇaṁ*; [rāiṇam, rāam]; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇaṁ*, *rāyaṁ*; Mg. *lāāṇaṁ*.
 Ins. *raṇṇā*, *rāiṇā*; JM. also *rāeṇa*; [*rāṇā*, *rāṇā*]; Mg. *laññā*; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā*.
 Abl. [*raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*, *rāāo*, *rāādo*, *rāāu*, *rāādu*, *rāāhi*, *rāāhiṁto*, *rāā*, *rāāṇo*].
 Gen. *raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*; AMg. JM. also *rājassa*; [*rāāṇo*, *rāāṇo*]; Mg. *lañño*, *lāiṇo*; P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo*.
 Loc. [*rāimmi*, *rāammi*, *rāe*].
 Voc. [*rāa*, *rāā*, *rāo*]; AMg. JM. *rāja*, *rāyā*, AMg. also *rāyaṁ*, Ś. *rāam*; Mg. [*lāam*]; P. *rājāṁ*.

Plural.

Nom. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇo*, *rāiṇo*; [*rāā*]; Mg. *lāāṇo*.
 Acc. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇo*; [*rāiṇo*, *rāe*, *rāā*].

Ins. *rāhiṃ*; [*rāhiṃ*].

Abl. [*rāhiṃ*, *rāhiṃto*, *rāhiṃto*, *rāsiṃto*, *rāsiṃto*].

Gen. *rāiṇaṃ*, [*rāiṇaṃ*, *rāiṇaṃ*]; JM. *rāiṇaṃ*, *rāyāṇaṃ*.

Loc. [*rāsiṃ*, *rāsiṃ*].

Voc. = nom.

On the declension of *rājan* see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Kī. 3, 35—40; Mk. fol. 44. 45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AMg. JM. Ś.: sing. nom. Ś. *rāā* (Mṛch. 28,2. 12; 68,8; Śak. 40,7; Vikr. 15,4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AMg. JM. *rājā* (Sūyag. 105; Ovav. § 11. 15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz.); Mg. *lāā* (Mṛch. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. *rājā*, CP. *rācā* (Hc. 4,304. 323. 325).—Acc. JM. *rāyāṇaṃ* (Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. III, 510,32) and *rāyaṃ* (Uttar. 443; Ovav. § 55; Nāyādh. § 78; Nirayāv. § 8. 22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. *lāāṇaṃ* (Mṛch. 138,25).—Ins. AMg. JM. *raṇṇā*, *rannā* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 41; Kappas.; Āv. 8,23. 30. 33. 40. 53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11) and JM. *rāiṇā* (Āv. 8,35. 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24, 28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270, 42; III, 510, 6); JM. *rāeṇa* (Āv. 8,6); Ś. *raṇṇā* (Mṛch. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Śak. 57,4); Mg. *laññā* (Śak. 113,7; 117,3) in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mṛch. 158,23. 25 *laṇṇā* stands; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā* (Hc. 4,304. 320).—Gen. AMg. JM. *raṇṇo*, *ranno* (Uvās. § 113; Ovav. § 12. 13. 47. 49; Kappas.; Āv. 8,12. 27. 29. 54; Erz. 1,2; 32,13; 33,25); JM. also *rāiṇo* (Erz. 46,24; 47,3. 4; 49,1) and *rāyassa* (Kk. II, 505,17; III, 512,34); Ś. *raṇṇo* (Mṛch. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Śak. 29,3; 54,2; Vikr. 28,19) and *rāiṇo* (Mālatīm. 90,6; 99,4; Kāṇṣav. 49,10); Mg. *lañño*, written as *laṇṇo* (Mṛch. 168,3) and *lāiṇo* (Mṛch. 171,11); P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo* (Hc. 4,304).—Voc. AMg. *rājā* (Nirayāv. § 22); mostly *rāyaṃ* (Uttar. 409.414.417.418.444.503 etc.); JM. *rājā* (Kk. 261,12); Ś. *rāam* (Hc. 4,264; Śak. 31,10); Mg. *lāam* (Hc. 4,302); P. *rājam* (Hc. 4,323); A. *rāa* (Hc. 4,402).—The nom. voc. *rāo*, ins. *rāaṇā*, abl. gen. *rāāno* are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. *rāādo*, *rāādu* by Bh. Kī. 3,40 mentions also the ins. *rāā*, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read *rājā* in place of *rājā*.—Plural: nom. AMg. JM. *rājāṇo* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sūyag. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24. 32; Kk. 263, 16), JM. also *rāiṇo* (Erz. 9,20; Kk. III, 512,13 [so to be read for *rāyaṇo*]); Ś. *rāāno* (Śak. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. *lāāno* (Śak. 115,10).—Acc. AMg. JM. *rājāṇo* (Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16).—Ins. AMg. JM. *rāhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12).—Gen. AMg. JM. *rāiṇaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff. 832 ff.; Āv. 15,10; Kk. 263,11), JM. also *rāyāṇaṃ* (Erz. 28,22).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the *a*-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AMg. *ikkhāgarājā* = *aikṣvākarājā* (Thāp. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729); *devarājā* = *devarājā* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas.); JM. *vikkamarāo* = *vikramarājā* (Kk. II, 507,12), but *diharājā* = *dirgharājā* (Erz. 6,2); Ś. *mahārāo* = *mahārājā* (Śak. 36,12; 56,11; 58,13; Vikr. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); *juarāo* = *yuvārājā* (Śak. 45,6); *aṅgarāo* (Venis. 66,3); *vaccharāo* = *vatsarājā* (Priyad. 32,2; 33,7); *vallaharāo* *nāma rāa* (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. JM. *gaddabhillarājāṇaṃ* (Kk. 261,29); Ś. *mahārāam* (Vikr. 27,17).—Ins. AMg. *devarannā* (Kappas.); Ś. *aṅgarāeṇa* (Venis. 60,5); *nāārāeṇa* = *nāgarājena* (Nāgān. 69,18); *mahārāeṇa* (Vikr. 8,9; 29,13). Nāyādh. 852 has the mixed form AMg. *devaranṇeṇaṃ*.—Gen. AMg. *asurakumāraraṇṇo*, *asuraraṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 198); *devararaṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 220 ff.), *devaranno* (Kappas.); JM. *sagaranno* = **śakarājāṇaḥ* (Kk. 268,15); *vairasimharājassa* (Kk. II, 505, 17); Ś. *vaccharāssa* (Priyad. 33, 9); *kaliṅgararaṇṇo* (Priyad. 4, 15);

riurāṇo = *ripurāṇasya* (Lalitav. 567. 24); *mahārāssa* (Vikr. 12, 14; 28, 1); *aṅgarāssa* (Venis. 62, 13); Mg. *mahārāssa* (Prab. 63, 4). — Voc. AMg. *pañcālarāyā* (Uttar. 414); *asurarāyā* (Vivāhap. 254), both with *pluti*; Ś. *aṅgarā* (Venis. 66, 14); *mahārā* (Vikr. 12, 13). — Plural nom. AMg. *gaṇarāyāṇo* (Kappas. § 128); JM. *lāṭṭakaviṣayarāyāṇo* = *lāṭṭakaviṣayarājāḥ* (Kk. 264, 18); Ś. *bhīmasenāṅgarā* = *bhīmasenāṅgarājau* (Venis. 64, 9). — Acc. AMg. *gaṇarāyāṇo* (Nirayāv. § 25). — Ins. AMg. *devarāṭhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 241). — Gen. AMg. *devarāṭhiṇam* (Vivāhap. 240 f.; Kappas.); JM. *sagarāṭhiṇam* (Kk. 266, 41). For Ś. Mg. only the forms of the *a*-stems will be correct.

§ 401. *āṭman* forms: sing. nom. AMg. *āyā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3, 4; Sūyag. 28.35.81.838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhap. 132.1059 ff; Dasav. N. 646, 13); JŚ. *ādā* (Pav. 380, 8 etc.; § 88); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *appā* (G. 333. 798. 887. 899. 952. 956. 1120; H. 39. 193. 361. 672. 754. 880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646, 5; Nāyādh.; Bhag. 1, 420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380, 11; 382, 27; 385, 61; Mṛcch. 12, 7; 78, 11; Śak. 19, 7; 137, 6; 140, 7; Ratn. 291, 2; 295, 9; 299, 17; 307, 31 etc.); Ś. Mg. *attā* (Śak. 104, 4; Mg. Mṛcch. 140, 21)¹. — Acc. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Dh. *appāṇam* (G. 240. 860. 898. 953. 1070. 1201; H. 516. 730. 756. 902. 953; R.; Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 2; 2, 3, 1, 21; Sūyag. 415 [°*nā*]; Vivāhap. 178; Kappas. § 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17, 9. 10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382, 27; 385, 65; 386, 70; Kattig. 399, 313; Mṛcch. 32, 14); AMg. also *attāṇam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 3; 1, 3, 3, 4; 1, 6, 5, 4; 2, 5, 2, 2 [so to be read for *attā ṇam*]); Sūyag. 474 [°*nā*] and *āyāṇam* (Sūyag. 367); Ś. Mg. only *attāṇam* = **ātmānakam* (Mṛcch. 90, 21; 95, 4; 96, 7. 10. 14; 141, 17; Śak. 14, 3 [so to be read]; 24, 1; 60, 8; 63, 9; 64, 2; 74, 5; 124, 8; 137, 12; 159, 12; Vikr. 7, 17; 23, 13 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 13; 133, 21; 162, 21. 24; 169, 7); false *attāṇam* (Mṛcch. 327, 3; Priyad. 41, 14); *appāṇam* (Priyad. 12, 9; 23, 10; 28, 1. 5) and *appāṇam* (Cait. 75, 16)². — Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *appāṇā* (G. 78. 83. 910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2, 5, 2, 2, 3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhap. 67. 178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84, 7). — Abl. AMg. *āyao* = **ātmataḥ* (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read *attao* for *āttao* of the text at Sūyag. 472 too; JM. *appappāṇo* (T. 5, 18). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. Ā. *appāṇo* (H. 6. 281. 285; R.; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1, 1. 5; 1, 3, 2, 1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8. 50. 63. 112; S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Pav. 380, 7; D. Mṛcch. 103, 20; Ā. Mṛcch. 104, 9); M. *attāṇo* (G. 63. 90 [v. 1. °*ppa*°]. 96; H. 201 [v. 1. °*ppa*°]), and so always stands in Ś. Mg. (Mṛcch. 141, 15; 150, 13; 166, 15; Śak. 13, 10; 25, 1; 32, 1. 8; 51, 4; 54, 7 etc.; Vikr. 13, 4; 15, 3; 32, 17; 46, 7; Ratn. 297, 32; 303, 32; 304, 11 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 114, 14; 116, 19; 154, 20; 164, 4). — Voc. *appāṇ* (Hc. 3, 49). — Plur. nom. *appāṇo* = *ātmānaḥ* (Bh. 5, 46; Hc. 3, 56; Kī. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 45). — From *appa-* = *ātma-*, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive *appa-*, that is declined according to the *a*-declension (Hc. 3, 56; Mk. 45): nom. *appo*; abl. *appāo*, *appāu*, *appāhi*, *appāhinto*, *appā*; loc. *appe*; voc. *appa*, *appā*; Plur. ins. *appehi*; abl. *appāsumito*; gen. *appāṇam*; loc. *appesu*. Found in the texts are: acc. AMg. *appāṇ* (Sūyag. 282); ins. AMg. *appāṇa* (Sūyag. 282), *appāṇam* (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. *appāṇo* = **ātmānyah* (Hc. 4, 346); loc. AMg. *appe* (Uttar. 293); plur. *appā* in M. *suhambharappa ccia* = *suhambharātmanā eva* (G. 993). With *kaḥ svārthe*, this stem occurs in JM. *appāyāṇ* (Erz. 52, 10) and A. *appāṇ* (Hc. 4, 422, 3) = *ātmakam*. Further new *a*-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. JM. *appāṇo* = **ātmānaḥ* = *ātmā* (Vr. 5, 45; Hc. 3, 56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10, 1); *attāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); AMg. *āyāṇe* (Vivāhap. 132). — Ins. AMg. *appāṇeṇam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 6; 1, 5, 5, 2; 2, 1, 3, 3. 5; 2, 15, 2. 24; Vivāhap. 178). — Gen. JM. *appāṇassa* (Erz.). — Loc. M. *appāṇe* (R.). — Plur. nom. AMg. *āyāṇā* (Sūyag. 65); *appāṇā* (Hc. 3, 56). With *kaḥ svārthe*:

acc. JM. *attāṇayaṃ* (Erz.); Ś. Mg. *attāṇaṃ* (see above). — Gen. M. *appāṇaassa* (G. 955). In the first member of a compound there appears the strong stem in AMg. *appāṇarakkhī* = *ātmarakṣī* (Uttar. 197); JŚ. *appāṇasamaṃ* (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. *appaṇo* (Kl. 3,41). — Acc. A. *appaṇu* (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. *appaṇena* (Kl. 3,41; H. 827); A. *appaṇem* (Hc. 4,416). With *kaḥ svārthe*: acc. *appaṇaṃ* (Hc. 2,153); A. *appaṇaṃ* (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. *attāṇaśśa* (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. *attāṇakeraka* (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88, 24), Mg. *attāṇakelaka* (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21, 20; 118, 17; 130, 10; 139, 16; 164, 3; 167, 2); A. *appaṇachandaṃ* = *ātmacchandakam* (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. *appañiā*, *appaṇiā* (Hc. 3,14. 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in JM. *savvappaṇayāe* = **sarvātmanatayā* (Erz. 58, 31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. *āyā* would be taken as in the fem. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. *āyāe* = *ātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76. 845), *aṇāyāe* = *anātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76).

1. In Śak. 104,4 we should probably read with I *appā*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,56. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14,235.

§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong-stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in *-an*, are used, as independent *a*-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of *ātman* (§ 401); So sing. nom. *addhā* and *addhāṇo* = *adhvā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk fol. 45) — acc. AMg. *addh'* for *addham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59) and in the bahuvrīhi *dīha-mt addham* = *dīrghādhvānam* (§ 353); loc. AMg. *addhāṇe* (Uttar. 712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong *a*-stem in AMg. *addhāṇapadivanna* = *adhvapratiṭipanna* (Vivāhap. 153). Since *addhā* elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. *addham* too may be derived from it. — Sing. nom. D. *bambhā* (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. *bambho* (Erz. 30,20), AMg. *bambhe* (Kappas. Th. § 6) = *brahmā*; acc. M. *bambham* (H. 816); gen. AMg. *bambhassa* (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. *bambhā*, as *ajjamā* = *aryamaṇau* (Thāp. 82). — Sing. nom. *muddhā* and *muddhāṇo* = *mūrdhā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. *muddhāṇam* (Ovav. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. *muddhēṇa* (Uttar. 788) and *muddhāṇēṇam* (Uvās. § 81. 83); loc. AMg. *muddhi* = *mūrdhni* (Sūyag. 243) and *muddhāṇamsi* (Vivāhap. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. **kajamuddhāṇā* = **kṛtamūrdhāṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 40). — M. *mahimaṃ* = *mahimānam* (G. 885). — M. *savvatthāmeṇa* = *sarvasthāmnā* (H. 567). — Ś. *viḥavammā* = *viḥavavammā* (Ratn. 320,16), voc. *viḥavavammam* (Ratn. 320,19. 32); Ś. *diḥhavammā* = *dīrghavammā* (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. *sivakhandavamo* = *sivaskandavammā* (5,2), *bhaṭṭisammā* = *bhaṭṭisarmāṇaḥ* (7,50), VG. *sirivijayabuddhavammassa* (101,3); Ś. *cittavammo* = *citravammā* (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. *miankavammo* (Viddhaś. 73,2), *miankavammassa* (Viddhaś. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. *vaṇkima* = *vakrimāṇam* (Hc. 4,344); *ucchā* and *ucchāṇo* = *ukṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also *ukkhāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); *gāvā* and *gāvāṇo* = *grāvā*; *pāsā* and *pāsāṇo* = *pāsā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); *takkhā* and *takkhāṇo* = *takṣā* (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. *siṅghāṇa* = *śleṣman* (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the *a*-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. *thirapēmmo* = *sthīrapremā* (H. 131; so to be read with H. 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has **pimmo*); M. *appaṇṇappaṇarūḍḍhapēmmāṇam* (Pārvatīp. 45. 13); AMg. *akamme* = *akurmā* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1); AMg. *kajabalikamme* = *kṛtabalikarmā* (Ovav. § 17), fem. **kammā* (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. *rahitaparikamme* = *rahitaparikarmā* (Pav. 388,27); AMg. *sarvuddakammassa* = *saṃvṛtakarmāṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 144); AMg. *bahukūrakammā* = *bahukūrakarmāṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 282);

JM. *kajājamaṇakammā* = *kṛtācamaṇakarmāṇaḥ* (Dvār. 500,39); AMg. *jāyathāme* = *jātasthāmā* (Kappas. § 118; AMg. *iṭṭhiyāo... parūḍhanahakesakakkharomāo* = *striyaḥ ... prarūḍhanakhakeśakakṣaromnyaḥ* (Ovav. § 72); JM. *namuināmo* = *namucināmā* (Erz. 1,20), but also *cittasambhūyanāmāno* = *citrasambhūlanāmānau* (Erz. 1,19); Ś. *laddhaṇāmassa* = *labdhanāmnaḥ* (Ratn. 321,29); Ś. *kidāṇāparikammaṇ* = *kṛtācāraparikarmāṇaḥ* (Śak. 30,6); Ś. *aṇṇasaṁkantoḥpēmmā* = *anyasaṁkṛāntapremāṇaḥ* (Vikr. 45,2); Mg. *diṇṇakalaviladāme* = *dattakaraviradāmā* (Mṛcch. 157,5), *uddāme* = *uddāmā* (Mṛcch. 175,14). For Mg. *uddānēṭva kiṣolī* (Mṛcch. 161,5) we should read *uddāma vva kiṣolī*.

§ 403. From *maghavan* the nom. sing. is *maghoṇo* (Hc. 2,174) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. *maghavaṇ* (Vivāhap. 249). — *yuvan* is inflected as: sing. nom. M. JM. Ś. *juvā*, *juā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; H.; Dvār. 501,15; Mṛcch. 28,5,9; Pārvatip. 31,8); beside M. JM. *juvāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45; H.; Prab. 38,10; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds), AMg. *juvāṇe* (Vivāhap. 212,214,218,222,280,287,349) and *juvaṇ*, as from a *t*-stem (§ 396; Āyār. 2,4,2,10; 2,5,1,1); with *kaḥ svārthe*: M. *haṁsajuāṇao* (Vikr. 64,5; 74,4); femin. M. °*juāṇā* (H.); ins. M. *juāṇeṇa* (H.), JM. °*juvāṇeṇa* (Erz. 43,18); voc. M. *juāṇa* (H.); plur. nom. M. *juāṇā*, AMg. *juvāṇā* (H., also at the end of compounds; Thāp. 371; Antag. 55); ins. M. °*juāṇehi* (H.); gen. AMg. *juvāṇāṇaṁ* (Aṇuog. 323); voc. AMg. *juvāṇā* in *he juvāṇa tti* (Thāp. 488; Aṇuog. 324). — From *śaṇ* are found: sing. nom. *sāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56), AMg. *sāṇe* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8), A. *sāṇa* (Piṅgala 1,99), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. (Paphāv. 20); gen. AMg. *sāṇassa* (Uttar. 12). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under *panthan* or *panthin* or *panthi* or *panth*, are found exclusively from *pantha*: sing. nom. *pantho* (Hc. 1,30) and *paho* (Vr. 1,13; Hc. 1,88; Kī. 1,18; Mk. fol. 7); acc. AMg. JM. *panthaṁ* (Hc. 1,88; Āyār. 1,7,1,2; Thāp. 248; Āv. 22,26; 46,5,11,15), AMg. *panth-* = *pantham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59), AMg. *paham* (Sūyag. 59; Uttar. 324); ins. M. JM. *pahēṇa* (G. 423; Kk. 269,29; Āv. 36,33), AMg. *pahēṇaṁ* (Uttar. 635); abl. JM. *panthāo* (Kk. 264,4); loc. JM. *panthe* (Erz. 36,28); A. *panthi* (Hc. 4,429,1), AMg. *pahe* (Uttar. 324), JM. *pahammi* (Dvār. 504,1); plur. nom. M. *panthāṇo* (H. 729), AMg. JM. *panthā* (Sūyag. 110; Erz. 7,3); gen. AMg. *panthāṇaṁ* (Sūyag. 189); loc. AMg. *panthesu* (Uttar. 53). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. *pantha*, °*vantha* (H.; R.; Āv. 46,6) and *paha*, °*vaha* (G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.).

§ 404. The neutra in *-an* sometimes become masculine (§ 358); but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in *-a*. Thus e. g. *pēmma* = *pēman*: sing. nom. M. Ś. *pēmmaṇ* (H. 81,95,124,126,232; Ratn. 299,18; Karp. 78,3,6); acc. M. Ś. *pēmmaṇ* (H. 522; Vikr. 51,16; Karp. 76,8,10); ins. *pēmmēṇa* (H. 423,746,966); gen. M. Ś. *pēmmaṣsa* (H. 53,390,511,910,940; Karp. 75,9); loc. M. *pēmmammi* (Karp. 79,5), M. Ś. *pēmmē* (H. 304; Karp. 75,10); plur. nom. M. *pēmmaṇiṁ* (H. 127,236,287); gen. M. *pēmmaṇaṁ* (H. 10). — Sing. nom. M. Ś. Mg. *ṇāmaṇ*, AMg. JM. *nāmaṇ* (H. 452; Kappas. § 108; Āv. 13,29; 14,19; Erz. 4,34; Vikr. 30,9; Mg. Mudrār. 191,5; 194,7); acc. Ś. Mg. *ṇāmaṇ* (Mṛcch. 28,21; 37,25); ins. Ś. Mg. *ṇāmeṇa* (Vikr. 16,9; Mṛcch. 161,2), JM. *nāmeṇa* (Āv. 8,5), AMg. *ṇāmeṇaṁ* (Ovav. § 105), *nāmeṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 107); loc. M. *ṇāme* (G. 89); plur. nom. JM. *nāmāni* (Āv. 13,28) and AMg. JM. *nāmāṇi* (Uvās. § 277; Āv. 14,18). Skt. *nāma* (by name; namely) becomes M. Ś. Mg. *nāma* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 23,22; 28,23; 40,22; 94,25; 142,12 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,10; 38,2; 40,9), JM. *nāma* (Āv. 15,8; 16,29; 39,2;

Erz. 1,1. 20; 11,17 etc.), but AMg. *nāmañ* (Ovav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Niraṣāv.) and *nāma* (Ovav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. *jāmañ* = *janma* (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399,321); acc. M. AMg. *jammañ* (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. Ś. *jammaṇa* (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. *jammāo* (Sūyag. 689,756); gen. AMg. *jammaṣa* (Sūyag.); loc. JM. Ś. *jamme* (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5), A. *jami* (Hc. 4, 383, 3; to 10 be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. *kammañ* = *karma* (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413. 505); acc.; AMg. *JŚ. kammañ* (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399,319; 400, 327; 403,373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. *kammaṇaṇ* (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72. 76); gen. M. AMg. *JŚ. kammaṣa* (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇḍav. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383,27), Mg. *kammāha* (Hc. 4,299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108,13 *kammaṇo*); loc. AMg. *kammañsi* (Thāp. 208; Rāyap. 249), JM. *kamme* (Erz. 38,31); against the dialect is Ś. *kammammi* (Kaṇṣav. 50,2) for the correct *kamme* (Kāleyak. 25,8); plur. nom. AMg. *kammā* (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. *kammāñ* (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Ovav. § 153) and *kammā* (Uttar. 155), *ahākammāñi* (Sūyag. 873), *JŚ. kammāñi* (Pav. 384,59); ins. AMg. *kammehiñ* (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3; 1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716. 718. 719. 721. 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205. 218. 221. 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168. 185), *ahākammehiñ* (Uttar. 155. 205); gen. AMg. *kammāṇaṇ* (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156. 205; Samav. 112; Uvās. § 74), *kammāṇa* (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4,300 also *kammāhā*; loc. Ś. *kammesu* (Viddhaś. 28,6), Mg. *kammesu* (Mudrār. 191,9). On the nom. Ś. *kamme* see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. *kammañsi* = *carmañi* (Kappas. § 60), *romañsi* = *romṇi* (Uvās. § 219), *ahañsi* = *ahani* (Āyār. 2,15,11); Ś. *paṇve paṇve* = *parvaṇi parvaṇi* (Kāleyak. 13,20); plur. acc. M. *kammāñ* (H. 631); ins. AMg. *lomehiñ* = *lomabhiñ* (Uvās. § 94. 95); AMg. Ś. *dāmehiñ* = *dāmbhiñ* (Jiv. 348; Rāyap. 63; Mṛcch. 69,1); loc. M. *dāmesu* (G. 784); *JŚ. paṇvesu* = *parvasu* (Kattig. 402,359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. *camma* = *carma* (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. *JŚ. Ś. Mg. kamma* = *karma* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13. 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113. 178; Pav. 386,4; Venis. 62,5; Uttarar. 197,10; Mg. Śak 114,6 [verse]; Venis. 33,5). For Ś. Mg., except in verses, the form will be false for *kammañ*. In Mṛcch. 70,24 we should read *amūñ*...*kammatoraññiñ*, which is pointed to by the v. l. in GODABOLE p. 201; for Ś. *pema* (Prab. 41,6) the ed. Bomb. 91,6 reads *ppema* for *pemma* (Karp. 77,10 ed. Bomb.) KONOW 76,8 rightly has *pemmañ*. Ins. AMg. *kammaṇā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4); probably wrongly for *kammunā*, as AMg. JM. otherwise have (§ 104; Āyār. 1,4,4,3¹; 1,8,1,13. 17; Sūyag. 108. 151. 377. 542. 873. 978; Uttar. 28. 43. 177. 217. 505. 592. 753 f.; Jiv. 796; Paṇḍav. 134. 391; Vivāhap. 283. 1808; Erz. 25,20; Sagara. 2,9). Likewise there appears *u* for *a* in the gen. sing. AMg. *kammuno* (Uttar. 170. 223. 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. *kammunāṇ* (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. *dhammunā* from *dharman* in the combination *kāladhammunā sañjijutta* = *kāladharmāṇā sañyukta* (Thāp. 157; Vivāgas. 82 ff. 117. 155. 207. 217. 225. 238; Nāyādh. 329. 1099. 1421). Corresponding to Skt. *karmataḥ* AMg. has *kammao* (Uvās. § 51), and Ś. *jammado* (Rain. 298,11) is = Skt. *janmataḥ*. The loc. Ś. *kammañi* (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. *kammasu* = *karmasu* stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse.—As the masculina form a new stem in *-āṇa* (§ 401. 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in *-aṇa*: AMg. *jammaṇaṇ* = *janma* (Hc. 2,174; Jiv. 122. 123. 136 ff.); AMg. JM. *jammaṇa*° (Uttar. 1105; Paṇḍav. 72 ff.; Nāyādh. 290; Vivāhap. 1159. 1738. 1741 f. 1773; Sagara 6,10; Erz.); JM. *kammaṇaṇ* = *karma* (Erz. 52,17; 56,31), *kammaṇa*° (Erz. 29,23). The same stem with *u*, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of *karman*, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. *kammunādu*

(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17)². *bamhaṇa* = *brahman* (Kl. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. JACOBI reads with the ed. Calc. against the MSS. *kammāpi*, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by *saphalaṇ* (SBE. XXII, p. 4.). We should with the MSS. read *kammūḍa*, and *saphalaṇ* is to be assumed as = *scaphalam*.—2. *kammūḍa* can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*. The stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, partly according to the style of Skt., and partly on the basis of the stem in *-i*, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the *i*-declension. Sing. nom. M. AMg. JM. *Ś. hatthī*, Mg. *hastī*, A. *hatthi* = *hastī* (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mṛch. 40,22,25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mṛch. 40,9; 168,4; A. Hc. 4,443); M. *sihi* = *śikhi* (H. 13); AMg. JM. *Ś. tavassī*, Mg. *tavaṣṣī* = *tapasvī* (Kappas. S § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Śak. 132,8; Mg. Mṛch. 97,3); AMg. *mehāvi* = *medhāvi* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,6,2.5; 1,6,4,2.3), metrically also *mehāvi* (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. *ṇāṇī*, AMg. *nāṇī*, = *jñāṇī* (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. *viāsi* (Mukund. 14,10); *Ś. kārī* (Bālar. 56,14). The acc., in majority of cases, is formed according to the *i*-declension: M. AMg. JM. *hatthim* = *hastinam* (Mṛch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhap. 850; Nirayāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AMg. *tavassim* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhap. 232), *bambhajārim* = *brahmacāriṇam* (Uttar. 487), *oṇassim tejassim* *vaccassim jasassim* = *oṇasvinam tejasvinam varcasvinam yaśasvinam* (Āyār. 2,2,1,12), *paḥkhiṇ* = *paḥṣinam* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7), *śeṭṭhiṇ* = *śreṣṭhinam* (Samav. 84); JM. *sāmiṇ* = *svāminam* (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); *Ś. kañcuim* = *kañcukinam* (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise *Ś. piāḍariṇam* (Vikr. 10,14), *uāḍariṇam* (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18), *jālovajivīṇam* = *jālopajivīṇam* (Śak. 116,7), *vāliṇam* (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. *sasiṇā* (R. 2,3; 10,29. 42), *avalambīṇā* (G. 301); AMg. *gandhahatthiṇā* (Nirayāv. § 18), *nīhāriṇā* = *nirhāriṇā* (Ovav. § 56), *tāmalīṇā* *bālatavassīṇā* (Vivāhap. 235); JM. *Ś. sāmiṇā*, Mg. *śāmiṇā* = *svāminā* (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 260,29; Śak. 116,8; Mahāv. 120,12; Venis. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mṛch. 118,21; 162,17. 19; Venis. 35,12); JM. *visambhaghāiṇā* = *visrambhaghātīṇā* (Erz. 68,4), metrically also *manṭiṇā* for *mantriṇā* = *mantriṇā* (Āv. 13,13); *Ś. kaṇṇovaghādiṇā* = *kaṇṇopaghātīṇā* (Śak. 29,8); Mg. *kāliṇā* = *kāriṇā* (Mṛch. 158,21; Prab. 54,6).—Abl. AMg. *sihāṇo* = *śikharīṇaḥ* (Thān. 177).—Gen. M. *piṇāṇo* = *pinākinah* (G. 41), *sasiṇo* (G. 60. 953. 1108. 1182; H. 319; R. 10,46), *ḡṇasālīṇo vi kariṇo* = *ḡṇasālīṇo'pi kariṇaḥ* (H. 788); AMg. *jasassiṇo* = *yaśasvinah* (Sūyag. 304), *gihiṇo* = *grhiṇaḥ* (Uvās. § 83. 84); JM. *sāmiṇo* (T. 5,12) and AMg. JM. *sāmissa* (Vivāhap. 188; Āv. 32,27); JM. *egāgiṇo* = *ekākinah* (Erz. 9,16). In AMg. JM. more frequent is the ending *-issa*, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AMg. *māyissa*, *amāyissa* = *māyinaḥ*, *amāyinaḥ* (Thān. 150), *bambhajārissa* = *brahmacāriṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f.), *vatthadhārissa* = *vastradhārīṇaḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), *abhikāṇkhiṣsa* = *abhikāṇkṣiṇaḥ* (Uttar. 921), *tavassissa* (Vivāhap. 231. 233. 236), *hatthissa* (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhap. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AMg. *egantacārissa* *tavassiso* (Sūyag. 909); JM. *paṇaissa* = *praṇayinaḥ*, *virahissa* = *virahinaḥ* (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), *kāmissa* = *kāminah* (Erz. 71,4), *śeṭṭhiṣsa* = *śreṣṭhinaḥ* (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. *kavalanāṇissa* = *kevalajñāninaḥ* (Pav. 381,20); *Ś. virohiṇo* = *virodhinaḥ*, *vāsiṇo*, *paribheṇiṇo* = *paribhogiṇaḥ* (Śak. 18,11; 23,8; 38,5), *ahiniveseṇiṇo* = *abhiniveseṇiṇaḥ* (Mālav. 41,17), *sohiṇo* = *śobhinaḥ* (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. *śāmiṇo* = *svāminah* (Śak. 117,6), *aṇumaggagāmiṇo* = *anumārgagāmiṇaḥ* (Venis. 35,6).—Loc. AMg. *ruppimmi* = *rukmiṇi* *siharammi* = *śikharīṇi* (Thān. 75), *cakkavassimmi* = *cakravartini* (Nāyādh. § 46).—Voc. AMg. JM. *sāmi* (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46. 73; Āv. 32,

26); JM. *sāmi* (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. *kañcui* (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text °]).—Plural: nom. M. *phaṇiṇo*, *virāviṇo*, *saṅkiṇo* (G. 390. 611. 863. 880), *guṇiṇo* = *guṇinaḥ*, *cāiṇo* = *tyāgiṇaḥ* (H. 673), also *sāmi* = *svāminah* in *sāmi ceia* (H. 91), *vaṇahatthi* = *vaṇahastinaḥ* (R. 8,36); AMg. *duvālasaṅgiṇo* = *dvādasāṅgiṇaḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *daṇḍiṇo* *muṇḍiṇo* *sihaṇḍiṇo* *jaḍiṇo* *picchiṇo* beside *daṇḍi* *muṇḍisihaṇḍi* *picchi* in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), *agāriṇo*, *daṁsiṇo* = *darśinaḥ* (Sūyag. 301. 368. 370), *tassaṅkiṇo* = *tacchaṅkiṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 936), *abambhacāriṇo* = *abrahmacāriṇaḥ* (Uttar. 351), *pāragāmiṇo*, *dhuvacāriṇo*, *sammattadaṁsiṇo* = *samyaktvadarśinaḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), beside the more frequent nom. in -i, as *nāpi* = *jñāninaḥ*, *akkandakāri* = *ākrandakāriṇaḥ*, *pakkhi* = *pakṣiṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), *hatthi* = *hastinaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), *oṇaṁsi* *tejaṁsi* *vaccaṁsi* *jaṇaṁsi* = *oṇasvinaḥ* *tejasvino* *varcasvino* *yaśasvinaḥ* (Vivāhap. 185), *rūvi* *ja arūvi* *ja* = *rūpiṇaḥ* *ca cārūpiṇaḥ* *ca* (Vivāhap. 207), *cakkavaṁsi* = *cakravartinaḥ*, *cakkajohi* = *cakrayodhinaḥ* (Thāp. 197. 512). JM. too has both the forms beside one another: *manṭiṇo* = *mantriṇaḥ* (Kk. 262,30), *dariddiṇo* = *daridriṇaḥ* (Erz. 50,2), beside *mahātavassi* = *mahātapasvinaḥ* (Kk. 269,24), *hatthi* = *hastinaḥ* (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in -i is not used so little, as in the case of the i-stems (§ 380): Ś. *pakkhiṇo* = *pakṣiṇaḥ*, *sippiṇo* = *śilpiṇaḥ*, *avattabhaṇḍiṇo* = *avyaktabhāṇḍiṇaḥ* (Mṛcch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6), *kusumadāiṇo* = *kusumadāyinaḥ*, *dhammaāriṇo* = *dharma-cāriṇaḥ* (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), *parivanthiṇo* = *paripanthinaḥ* (Vikr. 8,9), *kañcuiṇo* = *kañcukinaḥ* (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending -io in Ś.: *sāmio* = *svāminah* (Kaṁsav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. *akālapadibhoṇi* *akālapadibhoṇi* = *akālapratibodhiny* *akālapratibhogiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), *rājakulagāmiṇi* (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. *pāṇiṇo* = *prāṇinaḥ* (Sūyag. 266), *mauli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Panhāv. 119), *thāni* = *sthāninaḥ* (Sūyag.); JM. *bharahaṇivāsiṇo* (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. *pakkhihiṁ* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 289), *savadarisiṁhiṁ* = *sarvadarśibhiḥ* (Nandis. 388), *paravāhiṁ* = *paravādibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *mehāvihim* = *mehāvibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *hatthihi* (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. *mantihi* = *mantribhiḥ* (Āv. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. *vaṁdihim* = *vandibhiḥ* (Lalitav. 565, 13).—Abl. AMg. *asaṇṇihimto* = *asaṇṇibhiḥ*, *pakkhihimto* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Jiv. 263. 265); A. *sāmiṭhū* = *svāmibhiḥ* (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. *barahiṇa* = *barhiṇām* (G. 349); AMg. *mahāhimavantaruppiṇaṁ* = *mahāhimavadrukmiṇoḥ* (Samav. 114. 117), *pakkhiṇaṁ* = *pakṣiṇām* (Jiv. 325), *gandhahatthiṇaṁ*, *cakkavaṁsiṇaṁ*, *savadarisiṇaṁ* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. *kāmatthiṇaṁ* = *kāmārthinām*, *vāiṇaṁ* = *vādinām* (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), *paṇaṇa* = *prapaṇyānām* (Kl. 15); JS *dehiṇaṁ* (Kattig. 402, 363); Mg. *sāmiṇaṁ* = *svāminām* (Kaṁsav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for °mi°).—Loc. M. *paṇaṇsu* = *prapaṇyisu* (G. 728); AMg. *halhisu* = *hastisu*, *pakkhisu* = *pakṣisu* (Sūyag. 317), *tavassisu* = *tapasvisu* (Panhāv. 430); Ś. *sāmisu* (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. *saṁkaragharādhivāsiṇo* (Mālatim. 128,7); Mg. *vaṁdiṇo* (Lalitav. 565, 17; 566, 5. 15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in -in, we find a stem extended by a: *sakkhiṇo* = *sākṣi* (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. *sakkhi*, Mg. *śakhi* (Āv. 38,5; Mṛcch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. *sakkhiḥkadua* = **sākṣikṛtvā* (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. *sakkhiṇo* (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Uttarak. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. *sihiṇaṁ* = *śikhi*, plural nom. *sihiṇā*, ins. *sihiṇehi* (bosom; Deśin. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. *kimina* = *kṛmin*, *sakimina* = *sakṛmi* (Nāyādh. 995; Panhāv. 525. 529); AMg. Ś.

barahiṇa, A. *barhiṇa* = *barhin* (Paṇṇav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61. 62; p. 914; Uttarar. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8), A. *bariṇa* (Hc. 4,422, 8), beside M. Ś. *barahi-* (G.; Viddhaś. 51,7); M. JM. *gabbhiṇa* = *garbhin* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Ki.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246). — In PG. the following forms are found: °*yāji* (5,1), gen. °*ppadāyino* = *pradāyinaḥ* (6, 11), but also *khamdakōṇḍisa* = *skandakunḍinaḥ* (6, 19), *nāganamḍisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *golisa* = *goḍinaḥ* (6,25) from *goḍa* = *goṇḍa* 2) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. °*sāmihi* = °*svāmibhiḥ* (6,11). °*vāsīhi* = °*vāsibhiḥ* (6,35. 36).

7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -*t* and -*n*, those in -*s* too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -*s*, 2) after dropping off of *s*, a stem in -*a*, -*i*, -*u*, i. e. in the vowel that was immediately before the *s*, and 3) a stem in -*sa*, formed by extension with *a*. So: M. *siroampa* = *śiraḥkampa* (R. 12, 31), *sirakavalana* = *śiraḥkavalana* (G. 351); AMg. *devio...* °*raīyasirasāo* = *devyaḥ...* °*racitaśiraskāḥ* (Ovav. § 55); Mg. *śiḥśācāṇa* (Mṛcch. 126,7). Cf. § 347. AMg. *joithāṇa* = *jyotiḥsthāṇa*, *joisama* = *jyotiḥsama* (Uttar. 375. 1009); PG. *dhamāyubalayasovadhanike* = *dhamāyurbalayaśovardhanakāṇ* (6,9; cf. VG. 101,8); M. JM. *āukkhae* = *āyukṣaye* (H. 321; Erz. 24,36), JM. *āudalāpi* = *āyurdalāni* (Kk. 268,22). In M. JM. AMg. the neuter nouns in -*as* are used as masculine as a rule (§ 356).

§ 408. Nouns in -*as*. — The forms built from the old *s*-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMg. *dummaṇā*, *sumaṇā* (Sūyag. 692), Ś. *duvāsā* = *duvāsāḥ* (Śak. 72,10), the stem also in the compound *duvāsāsāvo* = *duvāsāśāpāḥ* (76, 5), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. *purūravā* = *purūravāḥ* (Vikr. 40,21), Mg. *śamaśśaśidamaṇā* = *śamaśśastamaṇāḥ* (Mṛcch. 134,23). One must consider, M. JŚ. Ś. Mg. *ṇamo*, AMg. JM. *namo* = *nāmas*, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -*as* to masc. (e. g. M.: G. H.; AMg.; Vivāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM.: Kk.; Rṣabhap.; JŚ.: Pav. 379,4; 389,4; Ś.: Mṛcch. 128,18,21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mṛcch. 114,10. 22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11). Cf. § 175. 498. Neuter is also JŚ. *tao* = *tapāḥ* (Pav. 387,26). Acc. Ś. *purūravasaṃ* (Vikr. 36,9); neut. AMg. JŚ. *maṇo* = *manas* (Kappas. § 121; Pav. 386, 70). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMg. JM.: AMg. *maṇasā vajasā* = *manasā vacasā* (Thāp. 40), more often *maṇasā vajasā kājasā* (§ 364), *na cakkhusā na maṇasā na vajasā* (Paṇḥāv. 461); AMg. JM. *tejasā* = *tejasā* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Paṇḥāv. 507; Thāp. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39. 59. 118; Erz. 39, 8); AMg. JŚ. *tavasā* = *tapasā* (Sūyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76. 264; Ovav. § 21. 24. 38. 62; Pav. 388,27); AMg. *rajasā* = *rajasā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1. 3,4; Sūyag. 551), *sahasā* (Thāp. 368), *cejasā*, *jasasā* (Samav. 81. 83. 85), *sirasā* (Kappas.; Ovav.), also in Ś. (Vikr. 27,17). On the ins. in -*sā* of *a*-stems see § 364. — Loc. *urasi*, *sirasi* (Hc. 4,448); AMg. *tamasi* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); Ś. *purūravasi* (Vikr. 35,15), *tavasi* (Śak. 21,5); Mg. *śilasi* (Mṛcch. 17,1; 116,15).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the *a*-stem: sing. nom. M. *vimaṇo* (R. 5,16); AMg. *uggatavo* = *ugratapāḥ* (Uttar. 362), *tammaṇe* = *tanmanāḥ* (Vivāhap. 114), *pīmaṇe* = *pītimanāḥ* (Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17), *uggatave dīttatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave* (Ovav. § 62); °*raīyavacche* = °*racitavakṣāḥ* (Ovav. § 19); JM. *tammaṇo* = *tanmanāḥ*, *bhāsurasiro* = *bhāsuraśirāḥ* (Erz. 12,6; 69,6); JŚ. *adhikatejo* = *adhikatejāḥ* (Pav. 381,19); fem. M. *vimaṇa vva* (R. 4,31), AMg. *pīmaṇā* (Kappas. § 5); Ś. °*saṃkantamaṇā* = °*saṃkrāntamaṇāḥ* (Mṛcch. 29, 3); *pajjassuamaṇā* = *pratyutsukamaṇāḥ*

(Śak. 50,2); neut. M. *dummaṇaṁ* (R. 11,14); AMg. JM. *sejaṁ* = *śreyaḥ* (Uttar. 204. 672. 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333. 482. 574. 609. 616; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. *śila* (Mṛcch. 112,8,9) stands on account of metre for *śile* = *śiraḥ*. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in *-ya*s in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with *a*, as *sejaṁse* = *śreyaṇ*, *pāviyaṁse* (text *pāvaṁse*) = *pāpiyaṇ* (Thāp. 314. 315), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. *kaṇiyase* = *kaṇiyaṇ* (Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32), JM. *kaṇiyaso* (Dvār. 501,29), which, however, as the acc. AMg. JM. *kaṇiyasaṁ* (Uvās.; Dvār. 495,30) too can be equated as = Skt. *kaṇiyasa*, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative *baliyas* has developed an adjective **baliya*, nom. Ś. *balīo* (Śak. 50,5; 51,2), which has regularly shortened its *i* under the influence of the old accent: *balia* (strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42) and of which the neuter *baliaṁ* is used adverbially in the meaning "very" (Pāiyāl. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Venṣ. 34,3).— Acc. AMg. masc. *dummaṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 38), *jāḍaveaṁ* = *jātavedasaṁ* (Uttar. 365), *jāḍatejaṁ* = *jātatejasam* (Samav. 81); femin. M. *viṁaṇaṁ* (R. 11,49); very frequently in the neuter: M. AMg. *uraṁ* (R. 1, 48; 4,20. 47; Āyār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127); M. AMg. *jaṣaṁ* = *yaśas* (R. 2, 5; 4,47; Uttar. 170), Dh. *jaṣaṁ* (Mṛcch. 30,9); M. *naḥaṁ*, AMg. *naḥaṁ* (R. 1,7; 5,2. 64; Ovav.); AMg. *tamaṁ* (Sūyag. 31. 170); M. *siraṁ* (R. 11,35. 64. 73. 90. 94); AMg. Mg. *maṇaṁ* (Uttar. 198; Mṛcch. 30,24); AMg. *vayaṁ* = *vayas* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2. 5 beside nom. *vao* in 1,2,1,3); JM. *tejaṁ* = *tejas* (Erz. 3,10; 8,24); AMg. JŚ. *rajaṁ* = *rajas* (Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61); A. *taū*, *tauu* = *tapas* (Hc. 4,441,1. 2).— Ins. M. *vaceṇa* = *vakṣasā* (G. 301); *sireṇa* = *śirasā* (Hc. 916), also in A. (Hc. 4,367,4) and Ś. (Bālar. 246,6), AMg. *sireṇaṁ* (Thāp. 401); M. *tameṇa* = *tamasā* (R. 2, 33); AMg. *teṇa* (Uttar. 363), *teṇaṁ* = *tejasā* (Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94); M. AMg. *raeṇa*, AMg. *raeṇaṁ* = *rajasā* (H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovav. § 112); M. *maṇeṇa*, AMg. *maṇeṇaṁ* = *manasā* (G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panhāv. 134); JM. *parituṣṭhamaṇeṇaṁ* = *parituṣṭhamanasā* (masc.; Erz. 39,9); Ś. *purūraveṇa* (Vikr. 8,14); A. *chandeṇa* = *chandasā* (Piṅgala 1,15); femin. M. *viṁaṇāi* (H. 118); Ś. *taggadamaṇāe* = *tadgatamanaskayā* (Viddhaś. 43,8).— Abl. M. *sirāhi* (G. 58), *ṇahāhi* (G. 1164; R. 13,51); AMg. *tamāo* and metrical *tamao* = *tamasah* (Sūyag. 31. 170), *pējjāo* = *preyasah* (Ovav. § 123).— Gen. M. *asuddhamaṇassa* = *asuddhamanasah* (masc.; H. 35); Ś. *purūravassa* (Vikr. 22,16), *tamassa*, *rajaṣsa* (Prab. 48,1; 56,14); JM. *jaṣassa* (KI. 21), A. *jaṣaḥa* = *yaśasah* (Erz. 86,19).— Loc. M. AMg. *ure* (G. 773; H. 31. 276. 299. 671; R. 11,76; 12,56. 62; 15,50. 53. 64; Vivāgas. 168), M. also *urammi* (G. 1022; R. 11,100; 15,46) and AMg. *uraṁsi* (Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās.); M. *naḥammi* (G. 135. 476. 819. 829; R. 13,53; 14,23. 83), *ṇahe* (R. 13,58), AMg. *ṇabhe* (Sūyag. 310); AMg. *tamaṁsi* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); Ś. *soṭte* = *srotasi* (Karp. 71,1); AMg. *tave* = *tapasi* (Vivāhap. 194); AMg. M. *sire* (R. 4,4; Uttar. 664); JM. *sirammi* (Erz. 58,1; Kk. 268,39); M. *sarammi* = *sarasi* (H. 491. 624); M. JM. D. *maṇe* = *manasi* (R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mṛcch. 104,2); AMg. A. *chande* = *chandasi* (Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93); A. *maṇi*, *siri* (Hc. 4,422,15. 423,4).— Plural: nom. M. *serā* = *sarāṁsi* (masc.; G. 524); AMg. *ahosirā* = *adhahśiraḥ*, *mahājasā* = *mahāyaśaḥ*, *hāravirāḍjāvacchā* = *hāravirāḍjitavakṣasah* (Ovav. § 31. 33), *thālavaḍjā* = *sthālavacasaḥ* (Uttar. 15), *pāvaceḍjā* = *pāpacetasah* (Sūyag. 289); A. *āsattamaṇa* = *āsaktamanasaḥ* (Kk. 261,4); femin. M. *gaavaḍjo* = *galavayaskāḥ* (H. 232); AMg. *°raiḍjasirasāo* = *°racitaśiraśkāḥ* (Ovav. § 55), *miḍjasirāo* = *mṛgaśiraśi* (Thāp. 81).— Acc. femin. Ś. *sumaṇāo* = *sumanasah* (Mṛcch. 3,1,21); neut. AMg. *sarāṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2).

—Ins. M. *sarehi* (H. 953), *sirehi*, *sirehiṃ* (H. 682; R. 6,60), *°maṇehi* (masc.; G. 88), *urehi* (R. 6,60); femin. M. *vimaṇāhiṃ* (R. 11,17), *maṇḍalomaṇāhi* (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. *sarāṇa* (H. 953); JM. *gaṇavajjāṇa* (KI. 14), femin. M. *gaṇavāṇa* (H. 233).—Loc. AMg. *tavesu* (Sūyag. 318), *saresu* (Nāyādh. 412). Like *āpas* becoming *āu* and *tejas* becoming *teu* (§ 355), *vacas* too becomes AMg. *vaū* (femin.): *itthivaū* = *strivacaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369); *puṇḍavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363), *puṇḍavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369), *nāpumsagavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369), *egavaū*, *bahuvaū* (Paṇṇav. 367).—In the case of words in -*as* the stem -*sa* is rare: AMg. *adīṇamaṇaso* = *adīṇamanāḥ* (Uttar. 51); JM. *viuso* = **viduṣaḥ* = Vedic *viduḥ* = *vidvān* (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. *apsaras* is declined in all the dialects as an **ā*-stem, which is found in Skt. too: sing. nom. AMg. JM. *Ś. accharā* (Paṇhāv. 229; Thāp. 269. 489; Nāyādh. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); *Ś. anaccharā* = *anapsarāḥ* (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMg. *Ś. accharāḥ* (Ovav. [§ 38], Paṇhāv. 288; Vivāhap. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMg. *Ś. accharāhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 245; Ratn. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to be read also at Vikr. 40,11 for *accharohiṃ*. On the suggested form *accharehiṃ*, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrīhi relative to *dharādharehiṃ*, see § 328. 376, on the stem *accharā°*, AMg. *acchara°* see § 97. 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem *accharasā* is also formed: nom. sing. *accharasā*, nom. plur. *accharasāḥ*. To it belongs the acc. M. *accharasam* R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in -*is* and -*us*. The old forms are: sing. ins. AMg. *cakkhusā* = *cakṣuṣā* (Paṇhāv. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMg. *viusā* = *viduṣā* (Hc. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. *Ś. āuso* = *āyuṣaḥ* (Vikr. 80,4), *dhanuho* = *dhanuṣaḥ* (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly?).—Plur. gen. AMg. *joisām* = *jyotiṣām* (Ovav. § 36; so to be read with the MSS. ABβD), also *joisām* in the combination *joisām ayaṇe* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in -*ū* may be tugged either with it or with the *ā*-stem: AMg. *viū* = Vedic *viduḥ*¹ (Sūyag. 89. 147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,5²), *dhammaviū* = *dhammaviduḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *egaviū* = *ekaviduḥ*, *dhammaviū* = *dhammaviduḥ*, *maggaviū* = *mārgaviduḥ*, *pāraviū* = *pāraviduḥ* (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), *ekkārasaṅgaviū* = *ekādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Nāyādh. 967), *bārasaṅgaviū* = *dvādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Uttar. 691), *cakkhū*, *ega°*, *bi°*, *ti°* = *cakṣuḥ*, *eka°*, *dvi°*, *tri°* (Thāp. 188); *dhaṇū* = *dhanuḥ* (Hc. 1,22); *Ś. āū* = *āyuh* (Vikr. 81,20; cf. *āuo* = **āyukaḥ* 82, 13); *Ś. dīhāū* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20; Mṛcch. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttarar. 71,8 etc.).—From the *i-* or *u-*stem are derived: sing. nom. AMg. *sappī* = *sarpīḥ* (Sūyag. 291; neuter), *joī* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.); cf. 358³; M. *haviṃ* = *haviḥ* (Bh. 5,25); M. *dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 603. 620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMg. *āum* = *āyuh* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2).—Acc. AMg. *joim* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), *sajoi* = *sajjyotiṣam* (Sūyag. 270), *sappim* = *sarpīḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. § 17; Ovav. § 73), *cakkhum* = *cakṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also *cakkhu* (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), *paramāum* (Ovav. § 53; Samav. 112); M. AMg. *Ś. dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 177. 631; Nirayāv. § 5; Venis. 62,17); *Ś. dīhāum* = *dirghāyusaṃ* (Uttarar. 132,9).—Ins. AMg. *joindā* = *jyotiṣā* (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460. 731), *accie* = *arcisā* from *arcis* has become feminine (Ovav. § 33. 56); *Ś. dīhāunā* (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMg. *cakkhūo* (Āyār. 2,15,5,2).—Gen. AMg. *āussa* (Sūyag. 504), *cakkhussa* (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMg. *āummi* (Sūyag. 212); JM. *cakkhummi* (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. nom. masc. AMg. *vejaviū joisāṅgaviū*, *viū* (Uttar. 743. 756), *dhammavidū* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), *anāū* = *anāyusaḥ* (Sūyag. 322); neuter *cakkhūim* (Hc. 1,33); AMg. *cakkhū* (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. *dhanūhiṃ* (Nirayāv. § 27).—The stem in -*sa* occurs: nom. *Ś. dīhāuso* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20;

Mālav. 55,13); M. *adiharāuso* (H. 950); *dhaṇuham* = *dhanuḥ* for **dhanuṣam* (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. *dhaṇuḥe* (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. *dhaṇuho*° (Prab. 65,5); JM. *cirāusā* (T. 7,8; femin.). *āsīs* forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. *āsī* = *āsīḥ*, or the form *āsīsā*, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in JM. the acc. *āsīsam* (Erz. 80,11) and *laddhāsīso* = *labdhāsīḥ* (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. *āsīsāe* (Venīś. 23,17), ins. plur. *āsīsāhiṃ* (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form *āsīsā* built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. *āsīsam* (Mālatīm. 351,7); gen. *āsīsāe* (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for *āsīśām* of the text); gen. plur. *āsīsāṇaṃ* (Mālatīm. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. BHĀṆḌĀRKAR p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,236.—2. The words *viā* [text *vidū*] *nae dhammopajam* *aṇuttaram* belong to verse 4. The conjecture of JACOBI with regard to the use of *vidūgate* in the meaning of *viduvataḥ* (SBE. XII, 212, note 2) is linguistically impossible. *nae* is a false form used for *nae* (§ 203) = *naet* (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where *sappī* is to be erased.

§ 412. From *puṃs* are found four stems: 1) *puṃ-* from *puṃs-* in M. AMg. JM. *puṃgava* (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. *puṃveya* (Samav. 62 [text °*veda*]; Bhag.), *puṃvaū* = **puṃvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363), *puṃmāns-*, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. *puṃam* = *puṃān* (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem *puṃa-* deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. *puṃe* (Thāṇ. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. *puṃam* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8. 9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. *puṃavau* = **puṃvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363 [text °*veū*]. 368. 369), *puṃaṇṇamaṇi* = **puṃā-jñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363 ff. 369), *puṃopannavaṇi* = **puṃprajñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 364), *puṃitthiveya* = *puṃstriveda* (Uttar. 960), *puṃattam* = *puṃstoam* (Uttar. 421), *puṃattāe* = *puṃstvāya* (Ovav. § 102; Thāṇ. 479. 482. 523), *puṃavajana* = *puṃvacana* (Paṇṇav. 370. 388; Thāṇ. 174 [text *puṃma*°]), 4) the stem *puṃsa-* extended from *puṃs-* in AMg. *puṃsakoilaga* = *puṃsa-kokilaka* (Thāṇ. 568), *naṃpuṃsaveya* (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the *s*-stem, is found only *bhūyo* (7,41).

8) THE REMAINING CONSONANTAL STEMS.

§ 413. In addition to those from *t-*, *n-*, and *s*-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the *ś*-stems only, particularly from *diś*, and that mostly in formular phrases, as AMg. *diśo diśam* (Āyār. 2,16, 6); AMg. JM. *diśo diśim* (Paṇṇāv. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyādh. 348; Erz. 13,6. 38,26; 63,25), M. JM. *diśi diśi* (Viddhaś. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. *padiso diśasu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. *puṃvādiso* = *pūrvādisaḥ* (Bālar. 179,2); Mg. *niśi* (Mṛcch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), *kāyaggirā* = *kāyagirā* (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the *a-*, the feminine ones to the *ā-* or *i-* declension. Thus *vāc*, through **vācā* becomes M. *vāā* (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. *vāyā* (Sūyag. 931. 936); acc. *vāām*, AMg. *vāyaṃ* (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mg. *vāāe* (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,22), M. *vāāi* (H. 572), AMg. *vāyāe* (Dasav. 631,34; Paṇṇāv. 134); gen. Mg. *vāāe* (Mṛcch. 163, 21); loc. M. *vāāi* (H. 32); plur. nom. M. *vāā* and *vāāo* (G. 93); acc. AMg. *vāyāo* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. *vāyāhi* (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. M. *vāāsu* (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has *vai* = **vaci* from **vaci*° with *a* according to § 81: sing. nom. *vai* (Āyār. p. 132,16. 17; Vivāhap. 70), acc. *vaiṃ* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132, 15. 17; Sūyag. 169 [read *vai*]. 866), *vai*° (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jīv. 25. 276; Vivāhap. 1431. 1453. 1462;

Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]).—*tvac* forms sing. nom. AMg. *taṣā* = **tvacā* (Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529); abl. AMg. *taṣāo* (Sūyag. 639); plur. gen. AMg. *taṣāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); nom. AMg. *taṣāni* (§ 358). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. *taṣappavāla*° = *tvakprabāla* (Paṇhāv. 408), *taṣāsuha* = *tvaksukha* (Nāyādh. § 34; Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *taṣāmanta* (Ovav. § 4. 15), *sarittayā* = *sadyktvacah* (Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur.). From *ṛc* is found the acc. plur. Ś. *ricāim* (§ 358). From *bhiṣaj* follows the nom. sing. *bhiṣao* (Hc. 1,18), from *yakṛt*, the gen. sing. AMg. *jagayassa* = **yakṛtasya* (Vivāhap. 869), from *sarad* the nom. sing. *sarao* (§ 355).—From *vid* AMg. forms nom. sing. *saḍaṅgavi* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77), *vejavi* = *vedavit* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742), from *pariṣad*, sing. nom. AMg. *parisā* from **pariṣadā* (Vivāgas. 4. 13. 15. 58. 138. 242; Ovav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10), its. gen. loc. AMg. *parisāe* (Kappas. § 113; Ovav. § 56); plur. nom. AMg. *parisāo* (Vivāhap. 303), ins. *parisāhim* (Nāyādh. 1026), gen. *parisāṇam* (Vivāgas. 201). From *sampad* the nom. is *sampāā*, from *pratipad*, nom. *paḍivāā* (Hc. 1,15), JM. *sampayā*, *āvayā* (Erz. 81,35); A. *sampai* = **sampadi*, likewise *āvai* = *āpad*, *vivai* = *vipad* (Hc. 4,335. 372. 400); cf. AMg. *āvaikālam* = *āpatkālam* (Ovav. § 86); acc. A. *sampaa* (Piṅgala 1,81°; GOLDSCHMIDT *maṅgala*), plur. nom. M. *sampāā*, AMg. *sampayā* (H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff.), *āvao* (G. 988). From *hṛd* the acc. is AMg. *hiyam* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5).—*kṣudh* forms nom. *chuhā*, *khuhā* (§ 318).—On *ā* see § 355.—*kakubh* builds nom. *kaūhā* (Hc. 1,21), *gir* forms nom. *girā*, likewise *dhur*, nom. *dhurā*, *pur*, nom. *purā* (Hc. 1,16); acc. D. *dhuram* (Mṛcch. 102, 2); plur. nom. AMg. *girāo* (Paṇhāv. 287), ins. *girāhim* (Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādh. § 23), gen. *girāṇam* (Uttar. 358).—In AMg. *aho* is the acc. from *ahar* (day; § 342), frequently in the combination *aho ja rāo* or *aho ja rāo ja* (§ 386).—The very frequent *dis* forms mostly in all the dialects *disā*, Mg. *disā* in compounds as in flexion: nom. *disā*, acc. *disam*, ins. gen. loc. *disāe*, abl. *disāo*, AMg. also *ahedisāo*, *anudisāo* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574), Ś. *puvvadisādo* (Ratn. 313,7); plur. nom. acc. *disāo*, ins. *disāhim*, gen. *disāṇam*, loc. *disāsu*, AMg. also *vidisāsu* (Thāp. 259 ff.). From **disi*, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. *disim*, particularly in the combination *diso disim* (see above), but elsewhere too (Vivāgas. 4. 38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. *disam*], *anudisim* (Kappas. S. § 61), *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 145), *paḍidisim* (Thāp. 135; commentary: *ikāras tu prākṛtatvāt*), and in the composition *disi*° (Vivāhap. 161; Ovav. § 2; Kappas. § 27. 63; Uvās. § 3. 7; Āv. 14,10) and *disi*° (Uvās. § 50); so also gen. plur. JŚ. *disiṇam* (Kattig. 402,367) beside *disāṇa* (401, 342), loc. JŚ. *disisu* (Kattig. 401,341), A. *disih* (Hc. 4,340,2).—*prāvṛṣ* becomes *pāuso* (§ 358); from *upānah* the stem is Ś. *uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. *pāhaṇāo*, *vāhaṇāo* (§ 141).

1. WEBER (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces *vai*° back to *vacas*.

B. COMPARISON

§ 414. Pkt. employs *-tara*, *-lama*, *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha*, as suffixes of the comparative and superlative wholly as Skt.: M. *tikkhaara* = *tikkṇatara* (H. 505); JM. *ujjalatara* = *ujjvalatara* (Āv. 40,6), *daḍhajara* = *dyḍhatara* (Erz. 9,35); AMg. *paḅḅahijātara* = *praḅḅhātara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,11), *thovātara* = *stokātara* (Jiyak. 92); Ś. *adhiadara* = *adhikātara* (Mṛcch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālatīm. 214,1; Vṛṣabh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5), *niḥudadara* = *niḥhātara* (Vikr. 28,8), femin. *diṇḍadarā* = *dviguṇatārā* (Mṛcch. 22,13), °*rī* (Priyad. 25,7); JM. Ś. *mahattara* (Erz.; Uttarar. 118,5), Mg. *mahattala* (Śak. 118, 5); *piāama* (H. R.), JM. *pija ama* (Dvār. 498,26; Erz.), Ś. *piadama* (Vikr.

28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2), A. *piāama* (Vikr. 66,16) = *priyatama*; AMg. *taratama* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kaṇiyasa* (§ 409), Ś. *kaṇiāsī* (femin.; Mālav. 78, 9); Ś. *kaṇiṭṭha* = *kaṇiṣṭha* (Mahāv. 3, 14; Kāleyak. 26, 20; Subhadr. 3,18), AMg. *kaṇiṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 622); AMg. *sejaṇ* = *śreyas* (§ 94), *sejaṇsa* (§ 409); PG. *bhūyo* (7,41), AMg. JM. *bhujjo* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 787. 789. 979; Uttar. 212.232.238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhap. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *bhūo* (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7), Ś. *bhūiṭṭha* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = *bhūyas*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside Ś. *bahudara* (Mṛcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,3; Uttarar. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11); AMg. *pejja-* = *preyas* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paṇṇav. 638; Vivāhap. 125. 1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also *pijja-* (Uttar. 822. 876); AMg. *pāviyaṇse* = *pāpiyān* (§ 409), JM. *pāviṭṭha* = *pāpiṣṭha* (Kk.); AMg. JM. Ś. *jeṭṭha* = *jyeṣṭha* (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhap. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [ji]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Dvār. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarar. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13); AMg. *dhammīṭṭha* = *dharmīṣṭha* (Sūyag. 757); JM. *dappiṭṭha* = *darpiṣṭha* (Kk. 270,9); Ś. *adiboliṭṭha* (Pras. 83,10). On AMg. *heṭṭhima* see § 107. Double formations are: AMg. *uttarātara* (Ovav.), *baliyātaraṇ* (Vivāhap. 839); *jeṭṭhajāra*, *kaṇiṭṭhajāra* (Hc. 2, 172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMg. *bhujjātara* and *bhujjajāro*, in which the comparative suffix *-tara* has been added to the comparative stem *bhujja* = *bhūyas*, and which have retained the ending *-o* of *bhujjo* = *bhūyas*. On their pattern¹, as in numerous other cases², are regulated *appātara*, *oppajāro* = *alpātaraṇ* in the combination *appātara vā bhujjātara vā* or *appajāro vā bhujjajāro vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhap. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. *ovaṇāhi vi lahuṇ* “quicker than downward rush” (R. 6,77), *seubandhalahuṇ* “smaller than a bridge” (R. 8, 15); Ś. *tatto vi...piā tti* “dearer than thou” (Śak. 9,10), *paḍhuma-damsaṇḍo vi savisesaṇ piadaṇsaṇo* “more charming than at the first view” (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *appātara*. — 2. § 355 on *āḥ*.

C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

- Nom. *ahaṇ*, *ahaṇ*, JM. *ahajāṇ*, *haṇ*, [*amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi*, *ahammi*]; Mg. *hage*, *hagge*, [*hake*, *ahake*]; A. *haḥ*.
 Acc. *maṇ*, *mamaṇ*, *mahaṇ*, *me*, [*mi*, *mimaṇ*, *ammi*, *amhaṇ*, *amha*, *mamha*, *ahaṇ*, *ahammi*, *ṇe*, *ṇaṇ*]; A. *maī*.
 Ins. *mae*, *maī*, [*mamae*, *mamāi*, *maāi*], *me*, [*mi*, *mamaṇ*, *ṇe*]; A. *maī*.
 Abl. [*matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *maḥitto*], *mamāo*, [*mamāu*, *mamāhi*], *mamāhinto* etc. (§ 416); P. [*mamāto*, *mamātu*]; A. [*mahu*, *majjhu*].
 Gen. *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṇ*, *mahaṇ*, *majjhaṇ*, *me*, *mi* [*maī*, *amha*, *amhaṇ*]; A. *mahu*, *majjhu*.
 Loc. [*mae*], *maī*, [*me*, *mi*, *mamāi*], *mamammi*, [*mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *amhammi*]; A. *maī*.

Plural.

- Nom. *amhe*, [*amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe*]; D. *vaṇ*; AMg. JM. *vajāṇ* too; Mg. [*hage*] too; P. *vayaṇ*, *ampha*, *amhe*; A. *amhe*, *amhaī*.
 Acc. *amhe*, *amha*, [*amho*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhe*, [*amhaī*].

- Ins. *amhehiṃ*, [*amhāhiṃ*, *amhe*, *amha*], *ṇe*; A. *amhekī*.
 Abl. [*amhatto*, *amhāhiṃto*, *amhāsuṃto*, *amhesuṃto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiṃto*, *mamāsuṃto*, *mamesuṃto*; A. *amhahā*]; J.M. *amhehiṃto*.
 Gen. *amhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *amhaṃ*, *amha*, *mha*, [*amhāhā*], *amhe*, [*amho*, *mamāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *mahāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjha*, *ṇe*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhahā*.
 Loc. *amhesu*, *amhāsu*, [*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *mahasu*, *majjhesu*, *majjhasu*]; A. *amhāsu*.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48.97.114; Mk. fol. 49.70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful¹. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in the abl. sing. of the all the stems given above the forms: *mamatto*, *mamāo*; *mamāu*, *mamāhi*, *mamāhiṃto*; *mahatto*, *mahāo*, *mahāu*, *mahāhi*, *mahāhiṃto*, *majjhatto*, *majjhāo*, *majjhāu*, *majjhāhi*, *majjhāhiṃto*; *maṭṭo*, *maṭṭo*, *maṭṭu*, *maṭṭhi*, *maṭṭhiṃto*; *mamā*, *mahā*, *majjhā*; but also the special feminine forms *mamāa*, *mamādā*, *mamāi*, *mamāe*, likewise from the stems *maha*, *majjha*, *maṭṭi*, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition *amhattha*, *amhassim*, *amhammi*, *amhahim*, *amhe*, further the feminine forms *amhāa*, *amhādā*, *amhāi*, *amhāe*, and all these forms also from the stems *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems *tuma*, *tava*, *tuha*, *tumha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tui*, *taṭṭhi*. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.

1. BLOCH goes too far, Vr. und Hc. 36. Cf. KONOW, GGA. 1894. 478.

§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. (Mṛcch. 102,23; 104,19; 106,1) employ *aham* = *aham*, Mg. *hage* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6.16; Sak. 113,5.9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also *hake* and *ahake*, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has *hake* too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also *hakke*, *hake*, *hagge*. In Mṛcch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, STENZLER has *hagge* elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4.8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Hāsy. 31,3; Prab. 32,6.14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. *hakke*) is to be read for *haggo*; so has the ed. P. 58,17; whilst at 55,15 it has *ham*; the ed. Bomb. has *aham* (55,15) and *hagge* (58,17); the ed. M. has *aham* in both the places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. l. *hage*); 187,1; 193,1 (v. l. *hage*), 267,2; Vāṇis. 35,4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛcch. in GÖPABOLE almost throughout have *hage*, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one **ahakādh* (§ 142. 194) i. e. *ahakām* (Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Aśoka *hakam* with so frequent change of gender in Mg. (§ 357). A. *hāi* (Hc. s. v. *hāim*; Piṅgala 1,104*; 2,121; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for *hāi*, *hāim*; cf. v. l. A]) and M. *ahaam* (H. R.), J.M. *ahāyaṃ* (Āv. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to *ahakām*. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. AMg. J.M. Mg. *ham* (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575.623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛcch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mk. have *ahammi* only, Ki. has *amhi*, Hc. alone has *mmi* too. All the four forms are rejected by BLOCH¹, as mistakes of the

grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. *asmi* is used in the sense of "I"², a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical *asmi* "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted *rāmo'smi sarvaṃ sahe*. One may compare this with the use of *asti* in B-R. s.v. 1 as p. 535, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. *atthi naṃ bhante gihipo...ohināṇe naṃ samuppajjāi* (Uvās. § 83); *atthi naṃ bhante jīṇavayaṇe...ālojjāi* (Uvās. § 85); *atthi naṃ bhante...siddhā parivasanti* (Ovav. § 162); *taṃ atthi jāṃ te kaṃ pi* [ed. vi] *devānuppiyā erisae orohe diṭṭhapuṇṇe* (Nāyādh. 1284); *taṃ atthi jāṃ* [ed. jā] *ittha kei bhe* [ed. te] *kaṃ pi* [ed. vi] *accheras diṭṭhapuṇṇe* (Nāyādh. 1376); Ś. *atthi ettha naare...tīṇi purisā...sirīṇ na saṃhanti* (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise *santi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585) and more often *siyā* = *syāt* (as in Pāli *siyā* and *assa*) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly *amhi* = *asmi* too is to be used. *ammi* and *mmi* are not made up forms, as AMg. *mī*, *mō*, *mu* (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.³ *ahammi* should be = *aham mī*.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 37.—2. Konow, GGA. 1894, 478; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz. (Bonn 1897), p. 62, note 2.—3. Bloch, Vr. und Hc. p. 37. In Hc. 3,105 we should with ed. Bomb. read *jeṇa haṃ viddhā for teṇa haṃ diṭṭhā* (WEBER on H. 441). Correct, however, is the analysis *jeṇ' ahaṃ* (§ 173). Cf. § 34.

§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is *maṃ* = *mām* (H. R.; Uvās. s. v. *mā*—; Erz. Kk. s. v. *aham*; Ṛṣabhap. s. v. *mā*¹; Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22, 25; Śak. 16, 10; Vikr. 16,6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5, 15). A. has *maṃ* (Hc. 4,377. 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also *mamaṃ* (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thāp. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for *mama*]. 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 129, 4) we should, in the verse, read *mamā*. After *mamaṃ*, AMg. has formed also a feminine *mamiṃ*; *mamaṃ vā mamiṃ vā* (Sūyag. 680). We should read *amhi ahammi* for *asmi asammi* in Kī. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. *mamaṃ* (R. 15, 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often *me* in AMg., as in the Veda², (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thāp. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16). — The ins. is *mae* in all the dialects, except in A., which has *maṃ* (Hc. 4,330, 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). *me* stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; *maṃ* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse.—In the abl. *mamāhimito* alone is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and *mamāo* in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23). — In the gen. *mama* is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read *mamaṃ ti* with the v. l. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. do not have *mama*, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Śak. 55,15). M. uses *maha*, *mamaṃ*, *majjha*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, JM. AMg. often in addition to *mama* also *mamaṃ* (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Ś. *mama* (Mṛcch. 9,7; Śak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), *maha* (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venis. 11,25), *me* (Mṛcch. 15,25; Śak. 27,9. 10; Vikr. 8,15); *majjha*, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for *mama* or *maha*; Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8. 12; 30,25), *maha* (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venis. 33,13), *me* (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3. 5; Venis. 34,22; 35,2. 8,14); Dh. *mama* (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); Ā. *maha* (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104,2. 11); A. *mahu* (Hc. 4,333. 370,2. 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13. 14), *majjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with *paṃ* also *maṃ* at Vikr. 63,4. — *maha* goes back likewise as *majjha*, to *mahyam*. For *me* stands *mī* metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. *mujjha*, *muha* (Erz.). We should read *yad imam* in the place of P.

yati mañ (Hc. 4,323).—Loc. M. JM. *mamammi* (R.; Erz.); Ś. *mañ* (Mālav. 41,18); A. *mañ* (Hc. 4,377).

1. These references hold good also for the rest of the cases in the sing.; besides one should also see Nāyādh. ed. STEINTHAL s.v. s.v. In places, where nothing has been noted, the old texts, like Āyār., Sūyag., Uttar., Āv., have the same forms. Only a few examples have been given from Ś. Mg., as most of the forms are very frequent. This holds good also for the remaining pronouns.—2. FISCHER, ZDMG. 35,714.

§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG. (6,41), is *amhe*, for which in Mg. *asme* is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic *asme*¹: M. (G. 1072; H. s. v. *amha*); AMg. (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāga. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); JM. (Erz. 3,28; 12,13. 19; Kk. 271,7); Ś. (Mṛcch. 20,18; Śak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 158,23; 161,14. 17; 168,11; Venṣ. 35,21); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. *vayam* = *vayam* too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 748; Vivāhap. 1180; Dasav. 613,11), which occurs in JM. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit *vaam̐*. It stands in Mṛcch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts (also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18)². For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too *hage*, as is attested by 4,302 (p. 148) in a quotation from Vikrāntabhīma; A. has also *amhañ* (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches *vayam̐*, *ampha* and *amhe*.—According to C. 2,27 *bhe* may be used in the plural in all the cases.—Acc. M. AMg. *ne* = *nas* with the ending -e of the nouns in -a (§ 367a) (R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ne]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239), but Ś. *no* (Śak. 26,12); JM. Ś. also *amhe* (T. 5, 3; Mālatīm. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venṣ. 70,5), Mg. *asme* (Venṣ. 36,5), M. *amha* (H. 356), A. *amhe* (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also *amhañ*.—Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *amhehiñ* (H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mṛcch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatīm. 283,2), M. also *amhehi* (H. R.), as also PG. has (6,29); Mg. *asmehiñ* (Mṛcch. 11,19; 21,11); in AMg. also *ne* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3); A. *amhehi* (Hc. 4,371).—Abl. JM. *amhehiñto* (Āv. 47,20).—Gen. M. JM. Ś. *amhāṇam* (H. 951 [ṇa]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mṛcch. 2,18. 19. 24), Mg. *asmāṇam* ([text *amhāṇam*]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mṛcch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2); M. AMg. JM. *amham* (H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhap. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34), M. JM. also *amha* (H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk.), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either *amhe* and which is to be considered as in the acc. (cf. *mañ* of the Dvāvid. recen.), or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 *amhāṇam*. In M. *mha* too (H.). *amham* is in AMg. JM. the prevalent form, which PG. too has (5,3; 7,42). It corresponds to one Skt. **asmām*, i. e. a gen. built from the stem *asma-* with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst *amhāṇam* presupposes one **asmānām*, and M. *amhāhā*, A. *amhahā* (Hc. 4,379. 380. 439) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one **asmāsām*, therefore, with the ending of the pronominal declension. On AMg. *asmākam* see § 314. AMg. JM. have also *amhe* (Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6), Ś. very frequently has *no* = *nañ* (Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3), AMg. *ne* (Vivāhap. 132 f.).—Loc. Ś. *amhesu* (Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venṣ. 70,2). *amhāsu*, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. FISCHER, ZDMG. 35,716 —2. FISCHER, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. *tumam̐*, *tuñ*, *tañ*, [tuha, tuvañ]; Dh. *tuham̐*; A. *tuhū*.

- Acc. *tumam*, [*tum*, *taṁ*], *te*, [*tuha*, *tuvaṁ*, *tume*, *tue*]; Ś. Mg. *de too*; Dh. *tuham*; A. *taī*, *paī*.
- Ins. *tae*, *taī*, *tue*, *tui*, [*tumam*], *tumae*, [*tumai*], *tumāi*, *tume*, *te*, *de*, [*dī*, *bhe*]; A. *taī*, *paī*.
- Abl. *tatto*, *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo*, [*tumāu*, *tumā*, *tumatto*, *taitto*, *tuitto*], *tuvaṁ*, [*tuhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tumhatto*, *tujjhatto*, further from all these stems with the endings -o, -u, (Ś. Mg. -do, -du), -hi, -hinto, then *tumā*, *tuva*, *tuhā*, *tubbhā*, *tumhā*, *tujjhā*, *tumha*, *tuyha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tahinto*]; P. [*tumāto*, *tumātu*]; A. *tujjhu*, *taū*, *tudhra*].
- Gen. *tava*, *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuham*, *tubbha*, *tubbham*, *tumha*, *tumham*, *te*, *de*, [*taī*], *tu*, [*tuva*, *tuma*], *tumam*, *tumma*, [*tume*, *tumo*, *tumāi*, *dī*, *i*, *e*, *ubbha*, *uyha*, *umha*, *ujjha*]; Ś. *tuhā*, *de*; Mg. *tava*, *tuhā*, *de*; A. *taū*, *tujjhu*, *tujjhaha*, *tudhra*, *tuhā*.
- Loc. *taī*, *tumammi*, *tume*, *tuvi*, *tui*, [*tue*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tumāi*, *tummi*, *tuva-mmi*, *tuhammi*, *tubbhammi*, *tumhammi*, *tujjhammi*]; AMg. *tumamsi*; Ś. *taī*, *tui*; A. *taī*, *paī*.

Plural.

- Nom. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*, [*tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjhe*, *tujjha*, *tuyhe*, *uyhe*, *bhe*]; AMg. *tubbhe*; JM. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*; A. [*tumhe*, *tumhaī*].
- Acc. as the nom., and *vo*, AMg. *bhe*.
- Ins. *tumhehim*, *tubbhehim*, [*tujjhehim*, *tuyhehim*, *tummehim*, *umhehim*, *ubbhehim*, *ujjhehim*, *uyhehim*], *bhe*; AMg. *tubbhehim*, *tumehim*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhehim*, *tubbhehim*; Ś. *tumhehim*; A. *tumhehi*.
- Abl. [*tumhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tujjhatto*, *tuyhatto*, *umhatto*, *ubbhatto*, *ujjhatto*, *uyhatto*]; from the same stems with the endings -e, -u (Ś. Mg. -do -du), -hi, -hinto, -sinto]; A. *tumhahā*.
- Gen. *tumhāṇam*,^o *ṇa*, [*tubbhāṇam*,^o *ṇa*, *tujjhāṇam*,^o *ṇa*, *tuhāṇam*,^o *ṇa*, *tuvaṇam*,^o *ṇa*, *tumāṇam*,^o *ṇa*], *tumham*, *tumha*, *tubbham*, [*tubbha*, *tujjham*, *tujjha*, *tu*], *bhe*, *vo*; AMg. *tubbham*, *tumhāṇam*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhāṇam*, *tubbham*, *tumha*, *tumham*; Ś. Mg. *tumhāṇam*; A. *tumhahā*.
- Loc. [*tumhesu*, *tubbhesu*, *tujjhesu*, *tuhesu*, *tuvesu*, *tumesu*, *tusu*, *tumhasu* etc., *tumhāsu* etc., *tujjhisuṁ*, *tumbhisuṁ*; A. *tumhāsu*].

Cf. Vr. 6,26—39; C. 1,18—25; 2,26; Hc. 3,90—104; 4,368—374; Kī. 3,59—71; 5,113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is *tumam* from the stem *tuma* in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: (M. G. H. R.; AMg. c. g. Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [read *tumam* si]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Āv. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mṛcch. 4. 5; Śāk. I2, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mṛcch. 19, 8; Prabh. 58, 1; Mudrār. 267, 1; Ā. Mṛcch. 99, 18. 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mṛcch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18)¹. In AMg. the nom. *tume too* appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against *tumam* § 70; p. 448. 450), which would be related to *tumam*, like Mg. *hage to ahakām* (§ 417). In M. *taṁ too* (G. H. R.), which AMg. (Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712) and JM. (R̥ṣabhap.; Erz.) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears *tum* (H.; Śāk. 78, 11 ed. BÖHTL.). Dh. *tuham* (Mṛcch. 34, 24; 35, 1. 3; 39, 8), A. *tuhū* (Hc. s. v. *tu*; Piṅgala 1,4^b) go back to *tvakām* (§ 206)². At Piṅgala 1,5^b *taī* (GOLDSCHMIDT *taīm*, text *taī*; cf. BOLLENSSEN or Vikr. p. 530) has been used as nom.—Acc. *tumam* as in the nom. in the same dialects (Ś. Mṛcch. 4, 9; Śāk. 51, 6; Vikr. 23, 1; Mg. Mṛcch. 12, 10; Mudrār. 183, 6); Dh. *tuham* (Mṛcch. 31, 12); A. *taī* (Hc. 4, 370) and *paī* (Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58, 8; 65, 3).

On *pa* see § 300. *te* is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368.677.696), likewise in Ś. (Mṛcch. 3,13) and *de* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 128,12. 14)³.—Ins. M. *taī*, *tae*, *tui*, *tue*, *tumae*, *tumāe* *tumāi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); JM. *tae*, *tumae*, *tume*; AMg. *tume* (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. *tae* (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1,2), *tue* (Mṛcch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. *tae* (Lalitav. 566,4), *tue* (Mṛcch. 13,23. 25; Venīs. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramas waver; Mṛcch. Vikr. Venīs., and most others have *tue* (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as *tue* with A), Śak. Ratn. have *tae*. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. Ā. has *tue* (Mṛcch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. *tue* (Mṛcch. 101,25) and *tae* (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly *tue*.—*te*, *de*, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mṛcch. 60,24 *na hu de...sāhasam karēntepa...ācaridam* = *na khalu tvayā...sāhasam kurvatā...ācaritam*, or very probably, as Ś. Mṛcch. 29,14 *suṭṭhu de jānidam* = *suṭṭhu tvayā jñātam*, compare with 27,21; 28,24 *suṭṭhu tue jānidam*. A. *taī*, *poī* (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc.—Abl. M. *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo* (G. H.); Ś. *tatto* = *tvattah* (Śak. 9,10), *tuvatto* (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, *tumāhinto* (Karp. 53,6; Viddhaś. 71,6; 113,6); P. *tumāto*, *tu* (Hc. 4,307. 321).—Gen. M. *tuha*, *tuham*, *tujjha*, *tujjham*, *tumham*, *tumma*, *tu*, *te*, *de* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tava*, *te*, *tubbham*⁴, *tuham* (Uttar. 444. 597 f.), *tumam* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. *tuha*, *tumha*, *tujjha*, *tava*, *tujjham* (Āv. 7,11; 22,5), *tuham* (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. *tuha* (Lalitav. 554,5; Mṛcch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); *te* in Ś. only Mṛcch. 3,16 (v. l. *de*); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always *de* (§ 185), hence *te* apparently false.⁵ Against the dialect are also *tava* and *tujjha*. In Vikr. *tava* stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have *tuha*, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mṛcch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śākāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where *tava* or *tua* stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads *tuha*, so that Ratn. has only *tuha* (294,21; 299,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313, 12. 27; 318,26) and *de*. We should read *tuha*, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for *tava*, *tua* in Prab. 37,14; 39,5 of the editions. *tujjha* correctly stands in the dramas, Mṛcch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Karpas. 52, 13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has *tava* (Mṛcch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), *te* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 113,1), for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often *de* (e.g. Mṛcch. 21,22; Śak. 113, 7; Mudrār. 184,2), false *tujjha* (Mṛcch. 176,6, for which we should read *tue* with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should we should read *te* [*de*] with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has *ujjha*, and for which, with the v.l., we should read *tuha*; Dh. *tuha* (Mṛcch. 39,5); A. *taū*, *tujjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372. 425), the noteworthy *tudhra* (Hc. 4,372), *tujjhaha* (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSSEN), *tuha* (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Piṅgala 1,123⁶), *tumha* (Piṅgala 1,60⁷), *tujjhe* in rhyme with *ujjhe* = *yudhi* (Piṅgala 2, 5). AMg. *tubbham* is = *tubhyam*; *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tuyha* presuppose one **tuyham* (cf. *mahyam*). From this are deduced the stems *tubbha*, *tuyha*, *uyha*, which appear in the plural.⁸ The stems *tuyha*, *uyha* must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331).—Loc. M. *taī*, *tui*, *tumammi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tumamsi* (Nirayāv. § 15); JM. *taī*, *tumammi*; Ś. *taī* (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), *tui* (Mālav. 41,19; Venīs. 13,8 [so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p. 26,5]);

A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM. 100 *paĩ* and *paĩm* have been used by Dhanapāla⁷.

1. See note 1 to § 418. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 528 reads *tūhū* and wants to derive it from *tumhām* at p. 529. — 3. FISCHER, GGA. 1877, 1066; BB. 3,250 note; ZDMG. 35, 714. — 4. HOERNLE on Uvās., Transl., note 262. — 5. Certainly false is *de* in the beginning of the sentence in Śak. ed. BÖHTL. 107,13, as already noted by BOLLESEN on Vikr. 176. — 6. Others KERN Jaartelling 102; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge 55, note 1. — 7. KLATT, ZDMG. 33,448.

§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg. the usable form, in all the dialects, is *tumhe* = **tusme*: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,15; 70,15; Śak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mṛcch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be **tusme* or even *tuyhe*; cf. *tusmā*^o, EI. 3,313,4, which KIELHORN has correctly equated as = *yusmat*. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *°mh*^o stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout *tubbhe* = Aśoka *tuphe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyag. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhap. 132. 332; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for *tumhe*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nīrayāv.). In contemptuous sense is used *tumāim* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside *tumhe*, also *tubbhe* (Āv. 14,28. 30; 41,22; Erz.; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also *tumhaĩ*, according to Kī. 5,113; P. has *tumpha*, *tuppha*, *tumhe* — Acc. *tumhe*: M. (R. 3,27); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13); JM. *tubbhe* (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and *tumhe* (T. 5,3); AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās.) and *bhe*¹, which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has *tumhe*, *tumhaĩ* according to Hc. 4,369. — Ins. M. *tumhehi* (H.420); AMg. *tubbhehim* (Vivāgas.17; Uttar.579 [°*bhbhe*]); Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359. 361. 363. 419 etc.), also *tumehim* (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct), *tubbhe* (Sūyag. 932) and *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284.1376 [text *te*]); JM. *tumhehim* (Erz.), *tubbhehim* (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz.); Ś. *tumhehim* (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhaś. 48,5); *tumhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Gen. in all the dialects *tumhāṇam*: M. (H. 676, °*ṇa*); AMg. (Sūyag. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mṛcch. 17,22; Vikr. 48,4; Mālatīm. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Śak. 118,4; Mudār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is *tumha* (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is *tubbham* (Sūyag. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhap. 1214; Vivāgas.20.21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v.l. for *tumhām* in also Kappas. § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās. § 68,153 [so to be read]) and often *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyag. 284. 734. 972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhap. 132), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also *vo* = *vaḥ* (G. H. R.; Śak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PG. (7,46), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mṛcch. At Āv. 41,18 we should read *keṇa bhe kiṁ gahijam*. A. has *tumhahā*. (Hc. 4,373). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. *tumhahā* too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Śākalya,² according to Mk. fol. 48 f., taught, without any strong justification, the forms *tujjhisum*, *tumbhisum*; A. has *tumhāsu* according to Hc. 4,374. According to C. 2,26 *bhe* is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the ecriture *hha* for *bbha* (*bhbha*) in the MSS. of Sr. see FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. MÜLLER (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that *bhe* is not = Skt. *bho* (WEBER, Bbhg. 1,404, note 4; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.). — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2 f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem *sa-*, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects³. Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JŚ. S. Ā. D. P. *so* (H. s. v. *sa-*; G. R. Erz. Rṣabhap. s. v.

ta-; Kk. s. v. *tad*; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mṛcch. 6,8; Śak. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,5. 9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323), seldom *sa* (Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [where, however, with G. we should read *a* = *ca*]); AMg. (Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [where *sa cceva* is to read]; Uttar. 361 [*sa eso* beside *eso hu so* 362]; JM. (Erz. 8, 36; Kk. 258, 4); Ś. Mṛcch. 42,11 [in A. only]; 63,18); AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. *ta*²); Mg. *śe* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 19,17; Śak. 114,2; A. *su* and *so* (Hc. s. v. s. v.). Falsely stands *so* in AMg. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose (cf. § 17). In conformity with the alteration of gender (§ 356 ff.) one says AMg. *se dīṣṭhaṁ ca ne* = *tad dṛṣṭaṁ ca naḥ*; *se duddīṣṭhaṁ ca bhe* = *tad durdṛṣṭaṁ ca vaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3. 4); Mg. *eśe śe daśanāmake* = *etat tad daśanāmakam* (Mṛcch. 11,1), *śe muṇḍe* = *tan muṇḍam* (Mṛcch. 122,7), *eśe śe śuṇṇake* = *etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 165,7), *śe kamma* = *tat karma* (Śak. 114,6); A. *so sukkhu* = *tat saukhyam* (Hc. 4,340. 1). — Acc. AMg. *se* corresponding to *me* (§ 418) and *te* (§ 421) in *se ś' evaṁ vajantaṁ* = *sa tam evaṁ vadantaṁ* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8. 9.6), whilst in *se s' evaṁ vajantassa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4. 7,5. 9,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,1,10) the second *se* gen. is = *sa tasyaivaṁ vadataḥ*; A. *su* (Hc. 4,383,3; masc.), *so* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; neuter.). — Inst. AMg. *se* (Sūyag. 838. 848. 854. 860). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *se*, Mg. *śe*, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to *me* and *te* (Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kl. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 12,24; Śak. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; fem. Lalitav. 561,9; Mṛcch. 25, 8; Śak. 21, 2; Vikr. 46, 1; Mg. masc. Mṛcch. 36, 10; 161, 7; fem. Mṛcch. 134,8; Venis. 34,12); AMg. JM. metri causa also *se* (Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Āv. 8,2,16) and AMg. *si* (Sūyag. 282)³. — Plural. nom. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ed. Calc. *te*]; Sūyag. 859); Mg. *śe* (Mṛcch. 167,1)⁴. — Acc. JŚ. *se* (Pav. 388,4; beside nom. *te*). — Gen. JM. *se* (C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 273,29; cf. § 34) and *siṁ* (Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22). — Voc. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1). As in the Atharvaveda 17, 1,20 f.⁵, in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (B.-R. s. v. *sa* p. 452), in Pāli *sace* (when) *sa*, in Pāli *seyyathā se*, so in AMg. *se* is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial *t* of the pronoun *ta-* and *j* of the pronoun *ya-* are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMg. *se ttaṁ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2. 4,4. 5,2. 5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7. 8; Jiv. 36ff. 316f.; Vivāhap. 160,596; Paṇṇav. 7 ff. 63,480); *se taṁ* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,5; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se teṇ' aṭṭheṇaṁ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff.); *se jjaṁ* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,1. 4. 11; 2,1,2,3. 3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,2 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff.); *se jjaṁ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,14. 2,2. 3,10; 2,5,1,4); *se jjaṇ' imāṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); *se jje ime* (Ovav. § 70. 71. 73 ff.); *se jjaṁ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. § 72); *se jaṁ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); *se kiṁ taṁ* (Anuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Paṇṇav. 62. 480; Ovav. § 30; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se ke ṇaṁ* (Nāyādh. § 138); *se kahaṁ ejaṁ* (Vivāhap. 142); *se kei* (Sūyag. 301); *se kiṁ tu hu* (Sūyag. 846). In contrast to Pāli *seyyathā* in AMg. *j* of *jahā* is never reduplicated after *se*: *se jahā* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134. 161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. § 12. 210; Ovav. § 54; Nāyādh. § 133). The scholiasts explain *se* with *tad*; e. g. Śilāṅka on Āyār. 230 *se tti tacchabdārthe*; p. 300 *seśabdas tacchabdārthe sa ca vākyaopanyāsārthaḥ*, an explanation, that is more correct than that by CHILDERS⁶ and WEBER⁷. The reduplication of *t* and *j* in Pkt. and of *y* in Pāli *seyyathā* shows that *se* should not be taken as the AMg. nom. *se*, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible⁸. *se* is rather = Vedic *se'd* i. e. *sā* = *id*, that is used almost as *sā*. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6 : *se'd ṛbhavo yām dvātha yūyām indrasca mātṛyam | sa' dhibhir astu sātītā medhāsātā so' droatā*, where *se'd yām...sa'*⁹

almost is = AMg. *sē jjam se*. Hence one writes in a better way *settām*, *sējjām*, etc., like Pāli *sēyyathā* and *sacē*⁹.

1. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. *sasmin*. — 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. *se* is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6, as also *de* (§ 421, note 5). — 4. *se* cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāṇḍālas speak. The Calc. editions (316,10 ed. Calc. 1829; 357,1 ed. Calc. Śak. 1792) and GOPABOLÉ p. 452,6 read *ete*, that is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPABOLÉ as *ete*, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DELBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. *sa*. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 f., where also additional examples from Vivāhap. are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9. — 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of *se* and reduplication according to § 196.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflected like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of *tad*, *etad*, *yad*, *kim*, *idam* in *-ā* or *-ī* (Hc. 3,32; Kī. 3,45): *tā-*, *tī-*; *eā-*, *eī-*; *jā-*, *jī-*; *kā-*, *kī-*; *imā-*, *imī-*. *yad*, *tad*, and *kim*, however, have only *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), Ś. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only *ā*. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Kī. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun *ta-*. Sing. nom. acc. neutr. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. *taṁ* (JŚ. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; Ś. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mṛcch. 2,18; Śak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mṛcch. 40,5; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,4; 32,3,8; 35,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 102,1; D. Mṛcch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of "therefore" also *taṁ* (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and *tu* in the combination *taṁ tu* (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to *ju* (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects *taṁ*. — Ins. *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇaṁ*, A. *teṁ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 3,69 also *tiṇā*; femin. M. *tīe*, *tīa*; AMg. JM. *tīe*, *tāe*; Ś. *tāe* (Lalitav. 555,1; Mṛcch. 79,3; Śak. 40,4 [so to be read for *tae*, as also Mṛcch. 77,10 with D]; Vikr. 45,21); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,21); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tāē* (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMg. JM. have *tāo* (e. g. Ovav. § 101; Uvās. § 90, 125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMg. also as femin. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms *tatto*, *tao*, Ś. Mg. *tado* (Kī. 3,50; where also *tadao*), *to*, *tamhā*, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9,10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66,67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, *tamhā* in AMg. and JŚ. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23,27; 384,36); *to*, that stands, except in M. AMg. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,11), is apparently = *dtas* (§ 142). In addition there comes AMg. *taohinto* (Vivāhap. 1047, 1189, 1240 f. 1283, 1288 f.; Nāyādh. 1178) and *tā* M. JM. JŚ. (Pav. 398,303); Ś. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mṛcch. 2,16, 18,22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8,15; 567,1; Mṛcch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mṛcch. 101,1,9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). *tā* = Vedic *tāt*¹, is wrongly translated as = *tāvat*. From A. Hc. gives also *tahām* (Hc. 4,355). — Gen. masc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa*, also PG. *tasa* (7,41,45); Mg. *tassā* (Mṛcch. 14,1,7; 19,10; 37,25) and *tāha* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also *tāsa* (Vr. 6,5,11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 15); A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, *tahō* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); femin. M. *tissā*, *tīe*, *tīa*, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also *tīā*, *tīi*; AMg. JM. *tīse* (also in Vr. Hc.), *tāe*, *tīe*; Ś. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 79,3; 88,20; Śak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9,15); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,19; 152,5); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tahē* (Hc. s. v. *tā*), *tāsu* (acc. in rhyme with *jāsu*; Piṅgala 1,109,115). — Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. *tammi*; AMg. *taṁsi*, *tammi*, *taṁmi* (also Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *tassim* (Mṛcch. 61,24; Śak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.

taṣṣim (Mṛcch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7); according to Hc. 3,11 also *taṁ*. False is JŚ. *taṁhi* (Kattig. 400,322) beside the correct *taṁmi*. A. h as, according to Kī. 5,50, also *tadru*, as in relation with *yadru* (§ 427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is *tahim* (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 3,60) in all the dialects. As *tatra* in Skt., so *taṭṭha* in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also *taha*, *tahi*). Femin. *tīe*, *tīa*, according to 3,60 also *tāhim*, *tāe*; AMg. *tise* (Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 1148). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMg. JM. *tāhe* for **tāse* (corresponding to *tise*, that mostly stands in correlation with *jāhe* and has the meaning "then" = *tadā* (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. *tāhe* and *jāhe*; Uvās. s. v. *ta-* and *ja-*; Nāyādh. § 143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc.). — Plural. Nom. *te*, femin. *tāo*, neuter. *tāim*, in all the dialects, AMg. JM. also *tāni*. Ś. Mg. have, beside *te*, also *de* behind other pronouns²: Ś. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 39,3; Uttarar. 68,8; Mālatīm. 243,3 [*edē kkhū de*]; 273,4); Mg. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 38,19), *ye de* (Mudrār. 183,2), elsewhere also Ś. *te* (Uttarar. 77,4,5; Mudrār. 260,1), as *tāo* (Mṛcch. 25,20; 29,7; Mālatīm. 80,1; Prab. 17,8) and *tāim* (Uttarar. 60,5). — Acc. *te*, also JŚ. (Pav. 379,3; 381,21) and A. (Hc. 4,336); falsely Ś. *de* in the beginning of the sentence (Uttarar. 72,5); femin. AMg. *tāo* (Nirayāv. 59). — Ins. *tehim*, femin. *tāhim*, in M. AMg. JM. also *tehi*, *tāhi* (Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 25, 14; Prab. 10,9; 12,11). — Abl. AMg. *tebbho* (Sūyag. 19; correct?); AMg. JM. *tehimto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.; Āv. 48,14) and JM. *tehim* (Erz. 22,5). — Gen. M. *tāṇaṁ*, *tāṇa*; Ś. *tāṇaṁ* (Uttarar. 73,10), also femin. (Prab. 39,1); AMg. *tesim*, *tesi*, femin. *tāsim*, *tāsi*; JM. *tesim*; femin. *tāsim* and *tāṇaṁ* for masc. and femin.; JŚ. masc. *tesim* (Pav. 379, 5; 383, 44); A. *tāṇa*, *tāhā*, *tahā* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 4,300 *tāhā* in M. too, according to 3,62 *tāsa* in the plural too. — Loc. *tesu* (Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JM. Erz. 4,3); Ś. *tesu* (Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2) and *tesum* (Śak. 162,13); femin. JM. Ś. *tāsu* (Erz. 15,14; Mālatīm. 105,1); A. *tahī* (Hc. 4,422,18). On AMg. *tām*, *teṇaṁ* see § 68, on AMg. *sē tām* § 423.

1. HOFFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; FISCHER, BB. 16,171 ff. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits *de*, when he permits it to stand only after *je*; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that *de* was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun *eta-* is essentially inflected like *ta-* (G. s. v. *etat*; H. R. s. v. *ea-*; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. *ēja-*). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā. D. *eso* (JŚ. Kattig. 398,314; Ś. Mṛcch. 6,10; Śak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mṛcch. 102,16), AMg. *ese*, in verses also *eso* (Uttar. 361 f.) Mg. *ese* (Lalitav. 565, 6. 8; 567,2; Mṛcch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Śak. 113,3; Venīs. 33,15), Dh. *esu* (Mṛcch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15), A. *ehō* (Hc. s. v. *eha*). Unlike *sa* (§ 423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, *esa* (Hc. 3,3), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: *esa*, *maḥi*, *esa siram*. *esa* does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŚ. Pav. 379,1; Ś. Mṛcch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In Mg. *esa* is seldom (Mṛcch. 139,17); in Dh. stands *esa* (Mṛcch. 36,23). The femin. is *esā* (Ś. Lalitav. 555,2; Mṛcch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Śak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. (Mṛcch. 102,23), Mg. *esā* 10,23.25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9), A. *eha* (Hc. s. v.; Piṅgala 2,64), the neut. PG. *etam* (6,30), M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*, Ś. Mg. Ā. D. *edam* Ś. (Lalitav. 555,18; Mṛcch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mṛcch. 49,8. 14; Śak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mṛcch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mṛcch. 29,24; 132,21; Ā. nom. Mṛcch. 100,18; D. acc. Mṛcch. 100,16); A. *chu* = **eṣam* (Hc. s. v. *eha*), also acc. *ehāṇ* = **eṣakam* (Hc. 4,362). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*. Ś. Mg. *edam*; A. masc. *ehu* (Piṅgala 1,81). — In the

ins. M. has *eeṇa* (H. R.), AMg. *eenam*, JM. beside *eeṇa* also *eiṇā*, Ś. Mg. beside *edeṇa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarar. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9) much more frequently *ediṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 5,5; 18,3; Śak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarar. 13,11; Mālatīm. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mṛcch. 39,25; 40,11; Venṣ. 36,1). See § 128. In the femin. beside *eyāye* JM. has also the form *ei*, from the femin. stem *ei-* = **eti-*, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Ś. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as *edāe*: ins. (Ś. Mṛcch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7); gen. (Mg. Mṛcch. 123,3); loc. (Ś. Mṛcch. 9,9; 42,11). — For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives *ētto*, *edādo*, *edādu*, *edāhi*; Hc. 3,82: *ētto*, *ēttāhe*, *eāo*, *eāu*, *eāhi*, *eāhimto*, *eā*; Kī. 3,51: *etto*, *edo* [sic], *edādu*, *edāhi*, *ētta*. From it is *ētto* = **etatah* (§ 197); it is used in AMg. M. JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: *ētto* *wasaggāo* = *etasmād upasargāt* (Nāyādh. 761); *ētto* *annajaram* = *etasmād anyataram* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4. 6,4. 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5). This use is wrong in Ś. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatīm, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read *imādo*, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHĀNDĀRKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. *itto* too (Sūyag. 360; Uttar. 599). *ēttāhe*, however, is derived from the stem *ēttā-* = *etā-*¹, and like *tāhe* (§ 425) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now” (Hc. 2,134; G. H. R.), in A. as *ēttahē* in the meaning “hence” (Hc. 4,419,6. 420,6) and of “hither” (Hc. 4,436). According to it is built A. *tēttahē* “thither” (Hc. 4,436). JM. *ejāo* (Dvār. 495,27). — Gen. M. *eassa*; AMg. JM. *ejassa*; Ś. *edassa* (Śak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarar. 67,6); Mg. *edaśsa* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 19,5; 79,19) and *edāha* (Mṛcch. 145,4; 164,4). — Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 *eassim*, according to 3,84 *eammi*; AMg. JM. *ejammi*, *ejammi*; in AMg. also *ejamsi* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 | text *eesi*, correctly in the commentary). 1119; Ś. *edassim* (Śak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1); Mg. *edaśsim* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1). On *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429. — Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. *ee*; JS. Ś. *ede* (Pav. 386,8; 389,1; Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; Mālatīm. 243,3; 284,10); Mg. *ede* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22); striking *ede akkhalu* Mṛcch. 40,2 (all editions) = *etāni akṣarāni*; A. *ei* (Hc. 4,330,4,363); femin. M. *eāo*; AMg. JM. *ejāo*, Ś. *edāo* (Candak. 28,10; Mallikām. 336. 8. 13), JM. also *ejā*; neut. M. *eāi*; AMg. JM. *ejāim*, AMg. JM. also *ejāpi* (Sūyag. 321; Erz.), Ś. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 128,4; 153,9. 13); Mg. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 132,16; 169,6). — Acc. masc. AMg. JM. *ee*, A. *ei* (Hc. 4,363). — Ins. masc. neuter. M. JM. *eehim*, *cehi*; Ś. Mg. *edehim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15); femin. AMg. JM. *ejāhim*. — Gen. masc. neut. M. *eāṇa* (Hc. 3,61; G.H.); PG. *etesi* (6,27); AMg. JM. *eesim*, *eesi*, JM. also *eyāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Mṛcch. 38,22; Uttarar. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10); femin. M. *eāṇa* (H. 89), according to Hc. 3,32 also *eiṇam*, *edāṇam*; AMg. JM. *eyāsim*, JM. also *eyāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3,4). — Loc. M. AMg. (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3); JM. *eesu*, *eesum*; Ś. *edesum* (Śak. 9,12,14) and *edesu* (Mudrār. 72,3).

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22.

§ 427. The relative pronoun *ja-*, Mg. *ya-* is inflected almost wholly like the demonstrative *ta-*. In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A. has *ju* too (Hc. 4,350,1; 418,2), beside the frequent *jam* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); both the forms stand beside one another in *jam ju* (Vikr. 53,19; cf. *taṁ tu* § 425). Besides A. uses *dhrum* too (Hc. 4,360; cf. *traṁ* § 425). According to Kī. 5,49 *jrūṁ* is used in the acc. sing. for the demonstrative *dhrum*. The example is: *jrūṁ*

cintesi druñ pāvasi = *yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi*. The old form *yad* has been retained in AMg. *jad atthi* and Mg. *yad iścaṣe* (§ 341).—In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also *jīñā*; A. has *jem* (Hc. 4,350,1) beside *jeṇa* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands *jīñi*, for which probably we have to read *jīṇa* = *jīñā*.—In the abl. is found also *jā* = Vedic *yāt* (BB. 16,172), in A. also *jahām* according to Hc. 4,355, beside *jāo*, *jao*, *jado*, *jatto*, *jamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good.—In the gen. Mg. has also *yāha* (Mṛech. 112,9), beside *yāśa* (Mṛech. 19,10; 165,7) also *yāha* (Mṛech. 112,9); A. *jāsu*, *jasu* (Hc. s. v. *jo*; Piṅgala 1,68.81^a.89^a etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109.111 ff.), for which are used *jāa*, *jīe* (G.H. s. v. *ja-*), *jissā* (Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp. 49,4.7; 84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also *jāā*, *jīi*, *jīse* in M.; A. has *jahē* for **jāse* (Hc. 4,359); Ś. *jāe* (Mṛech. 170,25; 172,5; Prab. 39,6).—In the loc. is used in AMg. *jañsi* = *yasmin*, in verses also *jañsi* (§ 75), sometimes for the femin. too: *jañsi guhāe* (Sūyag. 273) and in relation to *naī* = *nadi* (Sūyag. 297), in relation to *nāvā* = *nauh* (Uttar. 716); in A. stands *jassammi* = *yasyām* (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. *jassammi* in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside *jāe*, *jīe*, also *jāhim* is used in the femin., as *jāhim* in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also *jahi*, *jahi* (§ 75), according to Kī. 5,50 also *yadru*, as in the demonstrative *tadru* (§ 425). Presumably *yadru* is to be written. On *jāhe* see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even *jattha* is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also *jahi*, *jaha* in the sense of *yatra*. In the nom. plur. beside the usual *je* (Hc. s. v. *jo*) A. has also *ji* (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has *jāim* too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4. 5,5. 9,1; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10. 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450. 1248; cf. 1376), beside *jāim*; the adverbial *jāim* = *yad* stands, and may be comprehended as *āim* with the scholiasts on Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after *i* (*pi*, *avi*, *ii*, *atthi*), and *j* would be explained as that in *jāvi* (§ 335).—In the abl. plur. AMg. has *jehimto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. JM. *jāṇa*, *jāṇam*, JM. also, as always AMg. *jesim*, *jesi*, Ś. *jāṇam* (Uttarar. 68,9), A. *jāhā* (Hc. 4,353.409); in the fem. AMg. has *jāsīm* (Vivāgas. 189). On AMg. *jām*, *jeṇām* see § 68, on AMg. *se jām*, *se jāhā* § 423. In PG. we find only the nom. sing. *jo* (7,44).

§ 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: *ka-* and *ki-*.—The stem *ka-* is inflected like the stems *ta-* and *ja-* (§ 425. 427). The abl. *kāo*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,71; Kī. 3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of *ta-* and *ja-*. A. has also *kaū* (Hc. 4,416—418) and *kahām* (Hc. 4,355), AMg. also *kaohimto* (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇṇav. 304; Vivāhap. 1050 ff. 1340. 1433. 1522. 1526. 1528. 1603 ff.). In the gen. Vr. 6,5; Hc. 3,63; Kī. 3,47; Mk. fol. 46 give, beside *kassa*, also *kāsa* (Kī. ed. *kāso*), that occurs as *kāsu* in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as *kāha* in Mg. (Mṛech. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. *kammi*, AMg. *kañsi* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and *kamhi* (Uttar. 454; Paṇṇav. 637), Ś. *kassim* (Mṛech. 81,2; Mahāv. 98,14), Mg. *kassim* (Mṛech. 80,21; Prab. 50,13); in all the dialects *kahim*, *kattha* (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where?”, beside which Hc. 2,161 mentions also *kahi*, *kaha*, as *kāe* *kāhim* for the femin. 3,60. are frequent. AMg. *kāhe* “when?” (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kī. 3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as *tāhe jāhe* (§ 425. 427). As the gen. there occurs in A. *kahe* (Hc. 4,359). In the nom. plur. femin. is found many times in Ś. *kā* instead of *kāo* in the phrase *kā amhe* [*kā vaam*] with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12; 65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as *kāo* (§ 376)¹. The neuter A. *kāi* (Hc. s. v.) Prabandhac. 109,5) is used like *kim*, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”; likewise *kāi* (Hc. 4,426; Vikr. 62,11). The gen.

is M. *kāṇam*, *kāṇa* (G. s. v. *kim*); AMg. JM. *kesim*. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. *ko* in *ko ci* (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* = *kim* from the stem *ki-*. Ś. *kitti* (Lalitav. 555,4), that occurs as a v. l. also in Śak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with JOHANSSON² and KONOW³ to be considered as **kiddi*, but as an erroneous writing for *kiṃ ti*⁴. The ins. *kiṇā* (Hc. 3,69; Ki. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. *kiṇā vi* (G. 413), and as adverb "in which manner?", "by what means?" in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). *tiṇā*, *jiṇā* might be formed accordingly. — *kiṇo* and *kisa* are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, *kiṇo* as an interrogative particle also by Hc. 2,216; Ki. 4,83, as it is in M. (G. 182; H. s. v.), is used⁵. *kisa*, Mg. *kisa* occur in M. (H. R., but not G.), JM. (Āv. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Nirayāv. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially frequent in Ś. and Mg. (Ś. Mṛch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16; Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23.30; 305,24; 310,29; 314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mallikām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mṛch. 113,17; 114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Venis. 33,16), but not in Kālidāsa (PISCHEL on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg. *kisa kāṇādo* = *kasmāt kāṇāt* (Kāmsav. 49,6), nevertheless according to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli *kissa*, as also Ki. 3,46 mentions, and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning "why?", as Ki. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning "what?" in Mg. Mṛch. 112, 8. *kiṇo* too is to be interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. femin. Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Ki. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms *kissā*, *kise*, *kia*, *kiā*, *kii*, *kis*, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. *kia* stands at H. 604 and so we have to read for *kis* in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.—A. has as interrogative also *kavaṇa*, from which are formed the nom. sing. masc. *kavaṇu*, feminine *kavaṇā*, ins. sing. neut. *kavaṇeṇa*, gen. sing. masc. *kavaṇahē* (H. s. v. *kavaṇā*), acc. sing. neut. *kavaṇu* (Prabandhac. 70,11.13). Cf. therewith also Skt. *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṣṭa* and Pkt. *kavaṭṭhi* (§ 246).

I. So rightly LASSEN, Inst. p. 326; wrongly BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 191. — WEBER, IS. 14,262 ff. has overlooked that in the Devanāgarī-recension of Śakuntalā too, in all the places referred to by him at p. 263, the MSS. have only *-ā*, and that *-do* is just a conjecture of BÖHTLINGK.—2. Shāhbāzgarhl 1,176. — 3. GGA. 1894, 480. — 4. So rightly BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5. Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: *kiṇo iti kasmādarthe deśinipāteḥ*.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun *idam* in Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The *a*-stem is very much restricted in its use, the stem *ima-*, except in A., where it is almost completely wanting became prevalent. From the *a*- and *i*-stems are found to have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. *ayaṃ* (Uvās. Nāyādh. Nirayāv. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. *ima*); Ś. Dh. *aam* (Ś. Mṛch. 3,24; Śak. 13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dh. Mṛch. 34,9. 12). Whilst *aam* is very frequent in Ś., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 14, 44 *ahavāṇam kaakajjo* = *athavāyaṃ kṛtakāryaḥ*, a passage, that is cited as example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere *imo* occurs for it. It is completely wanting in Mg., where *eśe* is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites *ayaṃ dāva śe āgame* = Śak. 114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions read *aam*, as throughout, offending against the dialect. The Bengali recension has *ēttake*, the Kashmirian *ittake*. In AMg. *ayaṃ* in the combination *ayaṃ eṣārūve* = *ayam etadrūpaḥ* has become completely indeclinable, so that one says also *ayameṣārūvaṃ*, *ayameṣārūvaṣa*, *ayameṣārūvaṃsi* too¹. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, *ayaṃ* is used as fem. at the same time: *ayaṃ koṣi* = *iyam koṣi*, *ayaṃ araṇi* = *iyam araṇi* (Sūyag. 593. 594), and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also *ayaṃ aṭṭhi* =

idam asthi; *āyaṁ dahī* = *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. *āyaṁ tēllam* = *idam tailam* (Sūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the *aya-* stem. The femin. *īyaṁ* has been attested by Ś. only: *iam* (Mṛcch. 3,5,21; Śak. 14,1; Vikr. 48,12). Since Mg. employs elsewhere only *ēā*, *iam* is a false reading in Mṛcch. 39,20 (all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. *iam* in the same combination with *kalā*. The neut. *idam* has been retained in AMg M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6 [rightly?]; Sūyag. 847 [rightly?]; Mṛcch. 3,20 [so to be read with C for *imam*]; 7,8; 42,8; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used *imam* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 38,23; 39,14; 42,3; 61,24; 105,9; 147,18; Śak. 57,8; 58,13). For *idam* (Vikr. 40,20) we should read, with A *edam*, and for *idam* at Vikr. 47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. PANDIT 94,7, read *imam*. In Mg. *idam* appears in *taṁ nīdam* at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for *taṁ nedam*; Mg. has as nom. and acc. neut. only *imam* (Mṛcch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323). — Ins. M. *eṇa* (R. 14,47); A. *em* (Vikr. 58,11). — Abl. M. *ā* = Vedic *āt* in the sense of *tāvat*². — Gen. M. JM. *assa* = *asya* (Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvaṭip. 30,15; Kī. 4. 5); falsely assumed for *jassa* of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr. 21,1, where we have to read *°sūidassa* for *°sūidam assa* with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab. 8,7, where we should read *jado se* for *jado ssa* (so all the four editions). — Loc. *assim* = *asmin* (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Sūyag. 328. 537. 938. 941. 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,3; 2,1,2,2,9; Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 163; Jiv. 797,801), as already *casi* = *cāsmīn* in PG. 7,46³. For Ś. *kaṇiṭṭhamādāmaha assim* (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read *°mādāmahassa*. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvaṭip. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23. — Ins. plur. *ehi*, AMg. Dh. *ehim* (Rāyap. 249; Mṛcch. 32,7), femin. *āhi*, loc. JM. *esu* (Hc. 3,74; T. 7,16), gen. M. *esim* (H. 771). — Probably *aammi* and *īammi* are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from *etad*. For *īammi* Triv. 2,2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, *iammi*, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from *adas* both *aammi* and *īammi*. Therefore *aammi* is to be derived from *ada-* = *adas*, but also from *aa-* = *aya-* (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. *āyaṁsi* (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. *āyaṁ* (Sūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. *āa-*, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. *āeṇa* = *anena*, *āaho* = *asya*, *āahim* = *asmin*, *āāi* = *imāni* (Hc. 4,365. 383,3). *iammi*, however, belongs to *idam*, hence to the stem *ia-* = *ida-*. Loc. from one *i-* stem are *iha* “here”, “hither” = **itha* (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75. 76), A. as masc. and femin. = *asmin* and *asyām*, *ithī*, in all the dialects *ēṭtha* = Vedic *itthā* (§ 107), and M. AMg. JM. *ēṇhim* “now” (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. *iṇhim* (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as *ittha*, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read *ēṭtha*. In Mg. is used *ēṇhim* in verses only (Mṛcch. 29, 22; 40, 6), in Ś. not absolutely, but *idāṇim*, *dāṇim* (Hc. 4,277; § 144). Hence falsely in Hāsy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where *ēvāhi* stands in the sense of “now” (Hc. 4,420). Deśin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun *ajjho* (according to Droṇa), femin. *ajjhā*, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. *asya* through **ahya*.

1. STEDNTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. FISCHER, BB. 16,172. — 3. FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211 ff.

§ 430. The stem *ana-* has been retained in the ins. only and indeed

only in prose of AMg. (Āyār. 1,6,4,3), JM. (Erz. 30,14), in Ś. (Mṛcch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3); AMg. also *aṇaṇaṁ* (Uttar. 487).—The most usual stem is *ima-*, femin. *imā-* or *imī-* (Hc. 3,32), in Ś. Mg. only *imā-*, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s.v. *ima-*; Hc. s. v. *imaṁ*). Sing.: nom. *imo*, AMg. *ime*, in verses also *imo* (Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84), femin. *imā*, also *imiā* = **imikā* (Hc. 3,73), neut. *imaṁ*. In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter (§ 429), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas *imo* is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12. 18; 12,5. 9. 13; 14,9; 17,9; 34,6; 35,1; 45,1. 12. 14; 46, 1. 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15. 17; 19,14; 70,15; Unmattar. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26,5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. *imu*. In AMg. *ime*, like *ajam* (§ 429), in the combination *im' eyārūva*, has wholly weakened, so that one says also *im' eyārūvā* (nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113. 167 [so to be read; see v. 1.], 168), *im' eyārūveṇaṁ* (v. l. to Uvās. § 72). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the weakening of the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. *imaṁ* (masc. Ś. Mṛcch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mg. Mṛcch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mṛcch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429) A. neut. *imu* (Hc.; Kī. 5,10).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. *imeṇa*; AMg. *imeṇaṁ*, *imeṇa*; JM. *imeṇa*, *iminā*; Ś. Mg. only *iminā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venis. 35,1); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (also Śak. 101,13), Ś. *imāe* (Mṛcch. 90,15; Śak. 81,10; Ratn. 291,2). At Viddhaś. 96,8, where *imiā* stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read *imaṁ*, as *ṇijhādi* = *nirdhyāyati* shows.—Abl. AMg. (Sūyag. 630. 635), JM. *imāo*, Ś. Mg. *imādo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 12,25; 74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 565,8), also femin. (AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 162,23).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. *imāe* (Vikr. 17,1) holds good in this place too.—Gen. *imassa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4); Mg. *imassā* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 152,6; Śak. 118,2); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (Karp. 27,12); AMg. *imīse*; JM. *imīe*, *imāe*; Ś. *imāe* (Śak. 168,14).—Loc. masc. neut. M. *imammi*; AMg. *imammi* (in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12), *imaṁsi* (prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5,2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105); Ś. *imassim* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4); Mg. *imassim* (Venis. 33,7); femin. AMg. *imise* (Vivāhap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257; Thāp. 31. 79; Samav. 66); JM. *imāi* (Rṣabhap. 7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for *imāim*, as at Erz. 35,18 for *imāe*); Ś. *imassim* (Śak. 18,5), for which *imāe* would be expected. — Plural nom. masc. *ime* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatīm. 125,5; Mg. Mṛcch. 99,8); femin. *imāo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for *imā*); M. also *imā* (Karp. 101,4) and *imīu* (Karp. 100,6); neut. *imāim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,16; Mālatīm. 125,3), AMg. JM. also *imāpi* (Āyār. 2,2,10; Av. 31,21).—Acc. masc. *ime*; femin. JM. *imīo*; ins. masc. neut. M. *imehi*; AMg. Ś. *imehiṁ* (Sūyag. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296, 23), fem. AMg. *imāhiṁ* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,7,2,7). — Gen. masc. neut. *imāṇa*; AMg. *imesim* (Hc. 3,61); femin. M. *imāṇaṁ*, *imīṇaṁ* (Hc. 3,32); AMg. *imāsīm* (Uvās. § 238); Ś. *imāṇaṁ* (Śak. 119, 3; Vṛṣabh. 15, 8).— Loc. M. *imesu*; Ś. *imesuṁ* (Śak. 53, 9; Vikr. 52, 1) and *imesu* Mālatīm. 125,1).

§ 431. The stem *ena-* exists in the acc. sing. only, and indeed only in M.Ś. Mg., but even here it is seldom: masc. M. *enaṁ* (R. 5,6); Ś. (Mṛcch. 51,9); Mg. (Mudrār. 265,1); femin. *enaṁ* Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,2, in repetition

of the word of Śakāra in Mg.); Mg. (Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg. JM. either under the influence of accent (*end-*) or that of the early loss of accent *ena-* has become *ina-*, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *inaṃ* (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57), especially in AMg. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. *inaṃ*; Āyār. 1,1,2,2, 4; 1,1,3,4, 5,4, 6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. *inaṃ* is also acc. masc. (Sūyag. 142. 307). Perhaps *inaṃ* is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. *inaṃ* too is used as the nom. acc. neut. (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. *idam* and *etat*; Sūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Āv. 7,21, 29; 13,11). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: *inaṃ udāharaṇā*. LEUMANN writes in Āv. *inaṃ-o*, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through *ina-* the stem has been weakened further to *na-*, P. *na*, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. (Hc. 3,70. 77). Sing. acc. masc. *naṃ* (M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. *na*; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,2; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396); fem. *naṃ* (M. H. R. s. v. *na*; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23); neut. *naṃ* (M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. *neṇa* (R. Erz. s. v. *na*; Āv. 11,21; 45,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Piṅgala 1,17), P. *nena* (Hc. 4,322)¹; fem. *nāe* (Hc. 3,70; Erz. s. v. *na*); P. *nāe* (Hc. 4,322). — Plur. acc. *ne* (Hc. 3,77). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. *nehiṃ* (Āv. 18,4; Erz. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31. 35; 505, 27); fem. *nāhiṃ* (Hc. 3,70). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is *neṇa* Śak. BÖHTL. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For *tattha ca nena katasiṇā nena* we should read *tattha ca nena katasiṇānena* = *tatra ca tena kṛtasānena*. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun *adas* according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Kī. 3, 58; Mk. fol. 47 is inflected: sing. nom. masc. fem. *amū*, neut. *amum*; acc. *amum*; ins. *amuṇā*; abl. *amūo*, *amūu*, *amūhiṃto*; gen. *amuṇo*, *amussa*; loc. *amummi*; plur.: nom. *amuṇo*, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for *amūo* (cf. v. 1.); fem. *amūu*, *amūo*; neutr. *amūni*, *amūiṃ*; ins. *amūhi*; abl. *amūhiṃto*, *amūsuṃto*, gen. *amūṇa*; loc. *amūsu*. A few forms only have as yet been found in the text. Sing. nom. AMg. *aso* = *ascu* (Sūyag. 74) and *amuge* = **amukaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; Nandīs. 361.363.364), JM. *amugo* (Āv. 34,30); acc. masc. A. *amum* (Hc. 4,439,3); neutr. Ś. *amum* (Mṛcch. 70,24); ins. M. *amuṇā* (Karp. 27,4); loc. AMg. *amugammi* = **amukasmin* (Paṇhāv. 130); plur. nom. masc. M. *ami* (G. 246). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be *aha*: *aha puriso*, *aha mahilā*, *aha vaṇaṃ*. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) *aha* is = *atha*, likewise in all the places in G. (s.v. *etat*) and H. (s.v. *aha*), where the scholiasts assume it as = *ayam*, *iyam*, *eṣaḥ*, *eṣā*, *asau*, so that upto the present day the assumption for a pronoun *aha* is nowhere necessary. Kī. 3,58 has the nom. sing. *aho*, which may be = *asau* according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as *oi* (Hc. 4,364); it is = **ave* from the stem *ava-*, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. *parāhiṃto* = *parasmāt* (G. 973), AMg. *savvāo* = *sarvasmāt* (Sūyag. 743), and also in the

femin. (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); femin. AMg. *annajariō* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2, 4); in the loc. JM. *annammi* (Āv. 25,5; Sagara 10,15), *annassim* = *anyasmin* (Mahāv. 98, 14; Mālatim. 111, 7; Ratn. 298, 24); JŚ. *kadarassim* = *katarasmin* (Anarghar. 271,9), but AMg. *kajaramsi* (Vivāhap. 227) and *kajarammi* (Ovav. § 156 ff.); Ś. *kadamassim* = *katamasmin* (Vikr. 35,13); Ś. *avarassim* = *aparasmin* (Cait. 40,10); Ś. *parassim* = *parasmin* (Lalitav. 567,18), but AMg. *paramsi* (Sūyag. 750), JŚ. *parammi* (Pav. 387,25); AMg. *samsi* = *svasmin* (Vivāhap. 1257) beside abl. *sāo* = *svāt* (Vivāgas. 84); AMg. also *annajare* = *anyatarasmin* (Ovav. § 157). Plural: acc. PG. AMg. *anne*, JŚ. Ś. *anne* = *anyān* (PG. 5,6; 7,43; Āyār. 1,1,6,3; 1,1,7,2; Pav. 383,24; Bālar. 229,9); abl. AMg. *kajarehimito* = *katarebhyah* (Pannav. 160 ff.; Vivāhap. 260. 262. 460. 1057 f.), *sacim* = *svakebhyah*, *savvehim* = *sarvebhyah* (§ 369); gen. AMg. JM. *annesim* = *anyesām* (Āyār. 1,1,4. 7,1; 1,5,6,1; 1,7,2,3; 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 387. 663; Nāyādh. 1138. 1140; Kappas. § 14; Āv. 14,7); AMg. JM. *savvesim* = *sarvesām* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,3,4; 1,4,2,6; 1,6,5,3; Uttar. 625. 797; Āv. 14,18); AMg. JŚ. *paressim* = *pareśām* (Uttar. 625. 797; Pav. 385,65), but M. *anṇānam* (Mudrār. 83,3; Karp. 1,2), also femin. Ś. (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *savvānam* (Vikr. 83,8); *avarānam* = *aparesām* (Mṛcch. 69,10). According to Hc. 3,61 *anṇesim* and *savvesim* are used for the femin. too, and so JŚ. has *savvesim itthīnam* = *sarvāsām strīpām* (Kattig. 408,384). The regular forms in AMg. JM. are *anṇāsim*, *savvāsim*. I oc. plur. in A. is *anṇahī* (Hc. 4,422,9). On *kati* see § 449.

§ 434. Of the nouns *ātman* (§ 401) and *bhavat-* (§ 396) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives *-iya*, Hc. 2,147 mentions *maia madiya*. Besides, for it are used *kera*, *keraa*, *keraka* (§ 176). Without epenthesis *kārya* would become **kara*, and from it have originated in A. *mahāra*, *mahāraū* = **mahakāra* from the gen. *maha* (§ 418) + *kāra* (Hc. 4,351. 358,1. 434) in the sense of *madiya*, likewise *tuhāra* = *tvadiya* (Hc. 4,434), *amhāra* = *asmadiya* (Hc. 4,345. 434). A. *hamāra* (Piṅgala 2,121), metri causa also *hammāra* (Piṅgala 2,43) has originated through the line of development **mhāra* (§ 141), **mahāra* (§ 132), *hamāra* (§ 354). A. *tohāra* = *yuśmākam* (Piṅgala 2,25 stands metrically for **tohāra*, and has arisen from *tumhāra*, **tōmhāra* (§ 125), **t̃hāra*, *tohāra* (§ 76. 89. 127), exactly as *kohaṇḍi* from *kūsmāṇḍi* (§ 127). On the derivatives in *-drś*, *-drśa*, *-drykṣa* see § 121.122.245.262, on *ēttia*, *ittia*, *ēttila*, *ēttula*, *tēttia*, *tittia*, *ettila*, *tēttula*, *iēttia*, *jittia*, *jēttila*, *jēttia*, *jēttula*, *kēttia*, *kittia*, *keṭtula*, *kēttula* see § 153, on A. *sāha* = *śavvat* § 64. 262, on AMg. *evaiya*, *kevaiya* § 149. A. *evaḍu* in the sense of *iyat* (Hc. 4,408) is = **ayavaḍra* = JM. *evadda* (§ 149), as *kevaḍu* (Hc. 4,408) = **kayavaḍra*. Analogical formations are *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (Hc. 4,395,7. 407). At Mṛcch. 164,5 we should read *evaḍḍe* for Mg. *evaḍḍhe*.

D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is *ekka* = *eka* in all the dialects (§ 91), femin. *ekkā*, in AMg. JM. frequently *ega*. It is inflected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. *ekkammi* (G. 153. 441; H. 827), very seldom *ekke* according to the nominal declension (H. 846), AMg. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 1394 ff.); AMg. JM. *egammi* (Pannav. 521; Erz. 2,21), AMg. JM. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 922f. 928. 931. 1658. f. 1736. 1752; Āv. 10,22; 11,12.18; 17,22; 19,9.18; 22,10; etc.); JM. *ekkammi* (Āv. 27,19); Ś. *ekkasim* (Karp. 19,17); Mg. *ekkaśsim* (Mṛcch. 81,13); A. *ekkahī* (Hc. 4,357,2), also as femin. (Hc. 4,422,9); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. *ekke* (G. 721. 866. 909; Kk. 273,23); AMg. *ege*

(Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4. 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. *egesin* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2. 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.; Sūyag. 46. 81) and *egesi* (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. *ēkkenaṃ* (Vivāhap. 258 ff.), JM. *egenam* (Āv. 33,24); gen. Mg. *ēkkāha* (Mṛcch. 32,4). In JŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: *ēkkaṃ* (Kattig. 403. 370. 377; Mṛcch. 30,5). Before other numerals *ēkka°*, AMg. JM. also *ega°* appear as stems; but *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *egā°*; A. *eā°*, *eggā°* in *ēkkārasa*, AMg. JM. *egārasa* A. *eāraha*, *eggāraha* (11), *ēkkārasama* (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. *ēkkānāṇin* (91) (§ 446). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In PG. is found *aneka* (6,10), in which *k* is never duplicated: M. Ś. *aneā* (G. H.; Mṛcch. 28,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. *aneā* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285; Nāyadh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *aneja* (Erz.); AMg. *neja* (§ 171); Ś. *aneaso* = *anekaśaḥ* (Śak. 160,3); AMg. *negaso* (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is *do*, *duve*, *be*, neuter *dōṇṇi* *dunṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi* (Vr. 6,57, where *dōṇi*; C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,119. 120; Ki. 3,85. 86; Mk. fol. 49)¹. *do* = *doau* and *duve*, *be* = *dve* (neuter) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. *do* is frequent in M. (G.H.R.), AMg. Uvās. s. v. *du*; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424), JM. (Erz.)¹; traceable in A. too (Piṅgala 1,5), and in D. (Mṛcch. 101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. *do vi* (Pras. 84, 4; Bālar. 216,20; 246,5) is an error for *duve vi*, as at Śak. 106,1 stands. *do* is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands e. g. in M. *do tiṇṇi* [mahilāo] (H. 587), *do tiṇṇi rehā* = *dvitrā rekhāḥ* (H. 206); AMg. *do guhāo* = *dve*, *guhē*, *do devayāo* = *dve devate*, *do mahāṇāo* = *dve mahānadyau*, *do kattijāo*, *do rohiṇyāo*, *do migasirāo*, *do addāo* = *dve kārṭtikyau* *dve rohiṇyau* *dve mrgasīrasā* *dve ārdre* (Thāp. 73. 75. 76. 77. 79. 81); *do diṣāo* = *dve diṣau* (acc.; Thāp. 55); as neuter.: M. *do vi dukkhāi* = *dve api dukkhe* (H. 24); AMg. *do do paṇṇi* = *dve dve pade* (Thāp. 27), *do sayāim* = *dve śate* (Samav. 157), *do khuddāim bhavaggahaṇāim samajūṇāim* = *dve kṣudre bhavagrahaṇe samayone* (Jiv. 1027. 1110), *do nāmadhējjā* = *dve nāmadhēye* (Āyār. 2,15. 15). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. *doaṅgulaa* = *dvaṅgulaka* (H. 622); AMg. JM. *domāsīja* = *dvimāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhap. 166; T. 4,6); AMg. *dokiriyā* = *dvikriyā* (Vivāhap. 52; Ovav. § 122); M. JM. *dojīha* = *dvijīha* (Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17), *domuha* = *dvimukha* (Erz. 39,21), *dovayāna* = *dvivadana* (Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13). So also *dogaḥṭṭa* (elephant; Pāiṇal. 9; Prākṛtamañjarī on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1; 86,12), that is read as *dōggaḥṭṭa* in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as *dugghuṭṭa* in Deśin. 4,44 and as *dugghōṭṭa* in Triv. 2,1,30 from *ghaṭṭa-*, *ghuṭṭa-*, *ghōṭṭa-* (to drink)²; *dohada*, *dohaḥṭṭa* (§ 222. 244) = **dvihrā*³. Beside *do*, there occurs frequently in this case *du*, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. *duṇṇa* = *dviguṇḍ* (R. 11,47); AMg. *duguṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhap. 969); *duāi* = *dvijātīḥ* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79); AMg. JM. *dupaya* = *dvipada* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32); AMg. *duviha* = *dvividha* (Thāp. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2; 1,8,1,15; Uvās.), *dukhura* = *doikhura* (Uttar. 1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75), *dupakkha* = *dvipakṣa* (Sūyag. 456), *du-j-āheṇa* = *dvyahena* (Āyār. 2,5, 2,3. 4), *du-j-āham* = *dvyaham* (Jiv. 261. 286. 295), *duhattha* = *dvihasta* (Thāp. 208); JM. *dugāyā* = *dvigavyūta*, *du-j-āṅgula* = *dvaṅgula* (Erz. s. v. *du*). Beside M. *dohāia*, *dohāijjāi* = *dvīdhākṛta*, *dvīdhākriyate* (R. s. v. *duhā*), AMg. *dodhāra* = *dvīdhākāra* (Thāp. 401) stands AMg. *duhā* = *dvīdhā* (Sūyag. 351. 358); M. *duhāia* (R. 8,106); AMg. *duhākijjamāna* (Vivāhap. 137); AMg. *duhao* = **dvīdhātah* (twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;

1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Thāp. 186; Vivāhap. 181.282) etc. The regular successor of *doi* are *bi* (§ 300) and *di*, which always occurs in certain words like *dia*, JM. *diyā* = *doiya*, *diraa* = *doiṛada* (§ 298), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals (§ 449). Ś. *dudhā* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 78,8) is false, in the same way *duṇṇi* (Mallikām. 224,5) for *diṇṇi*.—The neut. *dōṇṇi*, sometimes also *duṇṇi*, is formed according to *tiṇṇi*⁴. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. *dōṇṇi vi bhinnasārūā* = *dvāvapi bhinnasārūpau* (G.450), *dōṇṇi vi bāhū* = *dvāv api bāhū* (Hc. 3.142); AMg. *dōṇṇi vi rāyāṇo* = *dvāvapi rājāṇau*, *dōṇṇi vi rājanām aṇiyā* = *dvāv api rājāṇām anīkau* (Nirayāv. § 26. 27), *dōṇṇi purisajāe* = *dvau *purisajātau* (Sūyag. 575); JM. *duṇṇi munisihā* = *dvau munisimhau* (T. 4,4), *te dōṇṇi vi* (Erz. 78,35); Ś. *dōṇṇi khattiakumārā* = *dvau kṣatriyakumārāu* (Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4); fem. AMg. *dōṇṇi saṅgahanagādhā* = *dve saṅgahanagāthe* (Kappas. § 118); Ś. *dōṇṇi kumārīo* = *dve kumāryau* (Pras. 48,5).—Of *do*, the ins. is *dohim*, *dohi* (in C. 1,7 p. 40), in the fem. too, as in M. *paṁtīhī dohim* = *paṁktibhyām dvābhyām* (Karp. 101,1); AMg. *dohim ukkhāhim* = *dvābhyām ukkhābhyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); JM. *dohi vi bāhāhim* = *dvābhyām bāhābhyām* (Dvār. 507,33).—The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119. 130, *dohimto*, *dosumto*, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 *dohimto*, according to Mk. fol. 49 *dosumto*.—In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also *kati*, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according and to Kī. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings *-ṇha*, *-ṇham*. So M. AMg. JM. *dōṇha*, *dōṇham* (also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Thāp. 47. 67. 68; Kī. 10), also in the fem. AMg. *tāsīh dōṇham* (so rightly in the commentary; text *duṇṇim*) = *tayor dvayoh* (Uttar. 661). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is *-ṇam*, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pālī⁵: *dōṇam* (Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venis. 60,16 [so to be read with v. l. for *dohiṇam*]; 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v. l. (H. s.v. *do*), and in Mk. fol. 49 the MSS. give. Whilst *dōṇam* has followed the analogy of *tiṇam* = *triṇam*, the ending *-ṇam* seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the pronominal forms **doṇam* and **dosam* respectively, since it presupposes one **dvauṇām*.—The loc. is *dosum*, *dosu* (in C. 1,3 p. 39), also JŚ. (Kattig. 402,359), and in the femin., as M. *dosum dokandalisum* = *dvayor doḥkandalayoh* (Karp. 95,12), A. *duhū* (Hc. 4,340,2).

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of Kī. there stands *dohi* (3,85), *dohi* (3,86); *be* is wanting.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,10; also Kī. 4,46.—3. LÜDER, GN. 1898,2 ff.—4. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144.—5. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144 f.

§ 437. *duve* = *dve* is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. (H. 846; neut.); AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc.); Sūyag. 293 (acc.). 620.853.972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. *du*), as fem. *bhājā duve* = *bhāryā dve* (Uttar. 660); JM. *due vi* (Āv. 8,49); *duve vi* (Erz. 21,6); *duve jaṇā* (Āv. 19,10); *duve corase ṇāvaiṇo* = *dvau corasenāpatī* (Erz. 13,4); A. *dui* (Piṅgala 1,31. 42). Whilst in comparison with *do*, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. (Mṛcch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatim. 358,1; Viddhaś. 66,1; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20), fem. (Viddhaś. 44,7), neut. (Mṛcch. 61,10; Mālav. 54,7), masc. or neut. (Mṛcch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3); Mg. (Mṛcch. 81,13; acc., neut.). From it builds Ś. also the ins. *duvehim* (Mṛcch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mudrār. 232, 7) = **dvebhiḥ*, the gen. *duveṇam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has *dōṇham*, the Bengali recension has *dōṇṇam*];

Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. *duvesu* (Mallikām. 335, 10).—*be* is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as *beindīya*, *bēndīya* = *dvīndriya* (§ 162), *bedonīya* = *dvidronika* (Uvās. § 235); in JŚ. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.); in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to *bi* (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is *biṇṇi* (C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39; 1,6 p.40; 1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 *be* is inflected as: ins. *behi*, abl. *behimto*, gen. *bēṇham*, loc. *besu*, *besum*. A. has ins. *bihi* (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. *bihū* (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. *behī* (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. *dvā*° stands *bā*° before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. *bārasa* (12), *bāvisam* (22), *bājālisam* (42), *bāvattarim* (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin. is *tao* = *trayaḥ*, neut. *tiṇṇi* = *trīṇi*, with *ṇṇ* according to the gen. *tiṇṇam*. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; *tao* is not mentioned by the grammarians (Vr. 6, 56; Hc. 3, 121; Ki. 3, 85 [text *tiṇṇi*]; Mk. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Thāp. 110. 112. 118. 197; Kappas. s. v. *ti*; Sūyag. 293 [acc.] and often); metrically *taū* too in *taū āyāṇā* = *trīṇy ādānāni* (Sūyag. 65); femin. *tao parisāo* = *tisraḥ pariśadaḥ* (Thāp. 138; Jiv. 905. 912. 914. 917); *tao kammabhūmīo* = *tisraḥ karmabhūmayah* (Thāp. 165; cf. 176); *tao antaraṇaṭo* = *tisro 'ntaranadyah* (Thāp. 177); *tao uccārappasavaṇabhūmīo* (Kappas. S. § 55; acc.); neut. *tao thāṇāni* = *trīṇi sthānāni* (Thāp. 143), beside *tao thāṇām* (158) and *tao thāṇā* (163. 165); *tao pāṇagāim* = *trīṇi pānakāni* (Thāp. 161. 162; Kappas. S. § 25); *tao vatthāim* = *trīṇi vastrāṇi*, *tao pāyāim* = *trīṇi pātrāṇi* (Thāp. 162). Likewise *tiṇṇi* is used in all the dialects: M. *tiṇṇi rehā* = *tisro rekhāḥ*, *tiṇṇi* [*mahilāo*] (H. 206. 587); neut. (R. 9,91); AMg. masc. *tiṇṇi purisajāe* = *trīṇi *purusajātān* (Sūyag. 575); *jāmā tinni* = *yāmās trayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4); *tinni ālāvagā* = *traya ālāpakāḥ* (Sūyag. 814. 815 [°ṇṇ°]); *ime tinni nāmadhējjā* = *imāni trīṇi nāmadheyāni* (Āyār. 2,15,15); *tiṇṇi vi uvasaggā* = *trayo 'py upasargāḥ* (Uvās. § 118); *tiṇṇi vaṇiyā* = *trayo vaṇijah* (Uttar. 233); femin. *eyāo tinni payaḍio* = *etās tisraḥ prakṛtayah* (Uttar. 970); *tinni lēssāo* = *tisro leśyāḥ* (Thāp. 26), *tinni sāgarovamakodākoḍio* = *tisraḥ sāgaropamakodākotyah* (Thāp. 133); neut. (Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhap. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1); JM. femin. *tinni dhūyāo* = *tisro duhitarah* (Āv. 12,1); *tinni bherio* = *tisro bheryah*, *tinni vi gosāsacandanamaṭio devajāpariggahiyāo* = *tisro 'pi gosīrśacandanamayyo devatāparigṛhītāḥ* (Āv. 34,7,8); neut. *tāṇi tiṇṇi vi* = *tāni trīṇy api* (Erz. 37,11); S. masc. *tiṇṇi purisā* = *trayaḥ puruṣāḥ*, *ede tiṇṇi vi* = *ete trayo 'pi*, *edē kkhū tiṇṇi alamkārasamjoā* = *ete khalu trayo 'lamkārasamyoḡāḥ*, *tiṇṇi rāāṇo* = *trayo rājānah* (Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 108,9; 204,4), *ime tiṇṇi miaṅgā* = *ete trayo mydaṅgāḥ*, *bālātaraṇo tiṇṇi* = *bālātaraṇas trayaḥ* (Karp. 3,2; 62,3); femin. *tiṇṇi ādio* = *tisra ākṛtayah* (Śak. 132,6); JŚ. neut. (Kattig. 402,363); A. *do tiṇṇi vi* = *dvau trayo 'pi*, *tiṇṇi rehāim* = *tisro rekhāḥ* (Piṅgala 1,5. 52).—The ins. is *tihim* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1, 7 p. 40; Hc. 3,118; Ki. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyādh. 1026; Uttar. 987), more often in AMg. JM. printed as *tihim* (Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Thāp. 114. 116. 117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49, 22), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodical requirement, as in A. (Hc. 4,347); cf., however, *caḥim* § 439. — Ablative *tihimto* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; Mk. fol. 49); according to Ki. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49 also *tisumto*.—For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3, 118. 123 teach *tiṇṇam*, *tiṇṇa*, and so *tiṇṇam* in AMg. JM. (Thāp. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhap. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114; Erz. 28,21); also as femin. AMg. *pasatthalesāṇa tiṇṇam pi* = *prasastalesyāṇāni tisṇām api* (Uttar. 986 f.); JM. *tiṇṇam parisāṇa* = *tisṇām pariśadām* (Kk. 275,31).

Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, *tiṇṇam* = *triṇḍm*, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. *tisu* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also *tisum* (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa *tisu* (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects *ti°*, in AMg. also *te°* = *traya-* in *teindiya*, *tēndiya* = *trindriya* (§ 162), and before other numerals, as *teraha* = *trayodaśa*, *tevisam* = *trayoviṃśati*, *tēttisa* = *trayastrimśat*, *teālisā* = *trayaścatvāriṃśat* etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also *tājattisā* (33; Kappas.; Thān. 125) and *tāvattisā* (Vivāhap. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called *tājattisagā*, *tāvattisagā*, *tāvattisagā* = *trayastrimśakāh* (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 215.218.223; Kk. 275,34). See § 254.

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. *cattāro* = *catvārah* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttarar. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. *caūro* = *catvārah* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttar. 768) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar. 1033; Vivāhap. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also *caūo*, *caūo* from the stem *caū-*. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. *catasso* (all editions) edited, for which at least *cadasso*=*catasrah* is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436.438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. *cattāri* = *catvāri* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. *cattāri patibhāgā* = *catvārah pratibhāgāh* (6,18); *addhikā cattāri* = *ārdhikāś catvārah* (6,39); M. *cattāri pakkalabaṭṭā* (H. 812); AMg. *cattāri ālavagā* = *catvārah ālavapakāh* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1,11; Sūyag. 812); *cattāri thānā* = *catvāri sthānāni* (Sūyag. 688); *cattāri purisajjā*=*catvārah *purusajjātāh* (Sūyag. 626); *ime cattāri therā*=*ime catvārah sthavirāh* (Kappas. Th. § 5. 11), *cattāri hatthi*=*catvāro hastināh* (Thān. 236); acc. *cattāri agapio* = *caturo 'gnin* (Sūyag. 274); *cattāri māse* = *caturo māsān* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *cattāri mahāsumiṇe* = *caturo mahāsvaṇṇān* (Kappas. § 77; Nāyādh. § 49); JM. *mahārājyāṇo cattāri* = *mahārājāś catvārah* (Erz. 4,36); Mg. *cattāti ime* (Mṛcch. 158,4); femin.: AMg. *imāo cattāri sāhāo* = *imāś catasrah sākhāh* (Kappas. Th. § 5); *cattāri kiriyaō*=*catasrah kriyāh* (Vivāhap. 47); *cattāri aggamahisio* = *catasro' grahamhiyāh* (Thān. 228 ff.); acc. *cattāri saṃghādio* = *catasrah saṃghātiḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1); *cattāri bhāsāo* = *catasro bhāṣāh* (Thān. 203); neutr. AMg. *cattāri samosaraṇāṇi* = *catvāri samanāsaraṇāni* (Sūyag. 445); *cattāri sayāim* = *catvāri satāni* (Samav. 158); JM. *cattāri aṅgulāni* (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. *caūhim* throughout in AMg. (Hc. 3,17; Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhap. 437; Thān. 207; Samav. 14; Uvās. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin. : *caūhim paḍimāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); *caūhim kiriyaḥim* = *catasrbhiḥ kriyābhiḥ* (Vivāhap. 120 ff.); *caūhim ukkhāhim* = *catasrbhir ukkhābhiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *caūhim hiraṇṇakoḍiḥim* °*paūttāhim* = *catasrbhir hiraṇṇakoṭibhiḥ* °*prayuktābhiḥ* (Uvās. § 17). In prose *caūhim*, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside *caūhi*, *caūhi*, *caūhim*, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions *caūhi* beside *caūhi*. Cf. *tihim* § 438.—Abl. *caūhimto* (Mk. fol. 49), *caūsumto* (Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), *caūsumto* (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. *caūṇham* (6,18); M. AMg. JM. *caūṇham* (Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also °*ṇha*]; Kī. 3,89; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10. 14; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Erz. 9,18], also feminine *eyāṇam* (°*eyāsim*) *caūṇham paḍimāṇam* = *etāsām catasṇām pratimāṇām* (Āyār. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), *porisīṇam caūṇham* = *pauruṣiṇām catasṇām* (Uttar. 893). According to the analogy of *doṇṇam*, *tiṇṇam*, expected is in Ś. Mg. *caduṇṇam*, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg. JM. *caūsū* (Uttar. 769; Vivāhap. 82; Erz. 41,35); *caūsūm* (Erz. 44,8), also as femin. *caūsū vidisāsū* = *catasṇū vidikṣū* (Thān. 259; Jiv. 228; Vivāhap. 925. 927); *caūsū vi gaisū* = *catasṇū opī gatiṣū*

(Uttar.996). The expected *caūsu* is mentioned by Hc.3,17 beside *caūsu* and by Sr. fol. 18 beside *caūsm̐*, *caūsm̐*, *caūsu*.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears *caūr°*, as AMg. *caūrāmsa* = *caturāśra* (Thāp. 20.493; Uvās. § 76), *caūraṅguli* (Thāp. 270), *caūrindiya* (Thāp. 25.122.275.322; Samav. 40.228; Vivāgas. 50 etc.); M. *caūrāṇaṇa* (G.); also before other numerals, as AMg. *caūrāsīm̐* (84; Kappas.). Before consonants partly appears *caūra°* with regular assimilation, as M. *caūddisaṁ* = *caturdiśam* (R.), AMg. JM. *caūmmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśālaka* (Mṛch. 6,6; 16,11 [°sāla]; 45,25), *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly *caūr°*, as M. *caūjāma* = *caturyāma* (H. R.), *caūmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (G.), AMg. *caūpaya* = *catuspada* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9) beside *caūppaya* (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. *caūmuḥa* (Hc. 4,331), *caūppa* (Piṅgala 1,118) D. *caūsāra* (verse; Mṛch. 101,12) = *catuḥsāgara*. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AMg. *caūddosa* = *caturdaśam* (Kappas. § 74), beside *caūdasa* in the verse (Kappas. § 46^b) and with contraction, *cōddasa* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.), M. *cōddaha*, *cōddasi*, as also *cōgguna* beside *caūgguna* = *caturguna*, *cōvōra* beside *caūvōra* = *caturvōra* etc. (§ 166.443 ff.). In A. *co* appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Piṅgala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. *cāri* (Piṅgala 1, 68. 87. 102) from *catvāri*, **cātāri* (§ 65), **cātāri* (§ 87), **cāāri* (§ 186), *cāri* (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: *cāripāa* = *catuspada*, *cāridahā* = *caturdaśa* (Piṅgala 1,102. 105. 118). as also *caūro* in AMg. *caūropañcindiya* = *catuspañcendriya* (Uttar.1059), A stem *caūra-* occurs in AMg. *caūrāsīm̐*, *corāsīm̐* = *caturāṣṭi*, *caūrāsīma*, *caturāṣṭi* (Kappas.; Samav. 139—142). On *cāur°* see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. Ś. *pañca* (Vivāhap. 138. 141; Thāp. 361; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AMg. *pañcahim̐* (Uttar. 374; Vivāhap.120 ff.; Thāp. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.), A. *pañcāhi* (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AMg. *pañcaṇam̐* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16), A. *pañcāhā* (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. JM. *pañcasu* (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AMg. *pañce* (Uttar. 704). Rāmatarakavāgīśa in LASSEN, Inst. p 319 note ** mentions also the abl. *pañcahim̐to*, *pañcasuṁto*, gen. *pañcaṇam̐*, loc. *pañcasuṁ* and a loc. femin. *pañcāsuṁ*, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. *pañcā*, ins. *pañcāhim̐*. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears *pañca°*, in AMg. JM. also *pañcā°* in *pañcāṇām̐* (95), Thāp. 261; Samav. 150. 151; Kk. 263, 11. 16. 17; many times false °*ṇaḥyām̐*); likewise in *pañcācōṇṇā* (55; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In combination with other words there appears *pañca* in AMg. JM. A. also as *pañṇa* (*panna*), *paṇa*, *paṇu* (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 *ṣaṣ* becomes *cha* according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *cha* (Kappas. § 122; Vivāhap. 54; Samav. 159. 163; Uvās.); ins. AMg. *chahim̐* (Sūyag. 380. 844; Samav. 232; Thāp. 194; Bhag.1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768. 778); gen. AMg. JŚ. *chaṇham̐* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Vivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Jiv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also *chaṇha* (Hc.3,123); loc. *chasu* (Thāp. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. *ṣaṣ* has been retained before enclitics: AMg. *chap pi* = *ṣaḍ api* (Āyār.1,8,4,6; Nirayāv. 81; Vivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.), *chac ceva* (Uttar. 1065), *chac ca* (Āṇuog. 399; Jiv. 914; Jiyak. 61; Vivāhap. 82.1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmatarakavāgīśa, according to LASSEN, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. *chā*, femin. *chāo*; ins. *chahim̐*; *chādhim̐*; abl. *chādhim̐to* (so to be read); gen. *chaṇnam̐* (read *chaṇnam̐*); loc. *chasu* (*chāsu*), *chisu*. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears *cha°*, as JM. *chakhaṇḍa* (Erz. 18,8;

probably a false reading for *chakkhaṇḍa*), mostly *ṣaṭ°*, before vowels as *chad°*, as *chadakkhara* = *ṣadakkṣara* (Skanda; Defin. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣad°* in *ṣaḍaṅgavi* = *ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas.; Ovav.), or *chaṭ°*, as *chafamśa* = *ṣadaśra* (Thāp. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (§ 270), as M. Ś. *chagguṇa*, *chagguṇa* = *ṣadguṇa*, *°guṇaka* (Mudrār. 233,9; Anarghar. 67,11); AMg. *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya* = *ṣadbbhāga* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [°ga]); M. *chappaa*, JM. *chappaṣa* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala* = *ṣattala* (Thāp. 495); M. A. *chammūha* = *ṣammukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25, 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. JM. *chammāsa* = *ṣammāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *chammāsīya* = *ṣammāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *chammāsia* = *ṣammāsika* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *chaccaraṇa* (Bālar. 66,7). Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chafasii* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhap. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chavvīsaṁ* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisam*, *°sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappañṇam* (56; § 273); AMg. *channāiim* (Samav. 151), JM. *channavai* (Kk. III, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā°*, with *ā* according to § 70; *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.), *chāvattim* (66; Samav. 123), *chāvattarim* (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chaha* = **ṣaṣa* (§ 263) in *chahavisa* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [GOLDSCHMIDT *chavvīsa*]. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *catvīsa*]) and *chaha* (6; Piṅgala 1,96). In agreement with Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* Pkt. has *soḥasa*, A. *soḥasa* (§ 443).

§ 442. 7 is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thāp. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *sattahim* (Thāp. 446); gen. AMg. JM. JS. *sattanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 26, 222; Thāp. 445; Kk. 275, 33; Kattig. 399,308), also *sattanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasu* (Thāp. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appear *satta°*, *sattā°*, Mg. *satta°* (Mṛcch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavanna*, *chattivanna* = *sattapanna* see § 103. - 8 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *aḍha* (Vivāhap. 82; verse; text *aṭṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭhā* (Piṅgala 1,9, 83) and *aṭṭhā* (1,116); ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahim* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhap. 447; Uttar. 768; Thāp. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhanham* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 416, 417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. *aṭṭhasu* (Vivāhap. 416, 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha°*: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha* = *aṭṭavidha* (Uttar. 895); Ś. *aṭṭhapoṭṭha* = *aṭṭaparakoṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,2) and *aṭṭha°*: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvaya* = *aṭṭapada* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha°* stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarim* (78; Samav. 134,135); JM. *aṭṭhatīsam* (38), *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi* (68); Erz. p. xli), against this *aṭṭhā°* in *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraka* (18; § 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvīsam* (28), *aṭṭhāvannaṁ* (58), *aṭṭhānāiim* (98; Samav. 78, 79, 117, 152, 153; Erz. xli), and *aḍha°* in AMg. *aḍhāyālisam* (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *aḍhāyāla* (Samav. 210), *aḍhasaṭṭhim* (68; Samav. 126; text. mostly *aḍa°*). So also A. *adhāisa* (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. 549, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa*]. 144 [text *aṭṭhāisa*, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisao* for *aṭṭhāisa pāa bho* of the text]), *aḍhāliisa* (text *aṭṭhā*°; 48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside *aṭṭhāisa* (28; Piṅgala 1,64, 86) and *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhā* (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. - 9 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navahim* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas.; Nāyādh.), also *navanha* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava°* enters: *navanavānana* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navanāiim* (99; Samav. 154). - 10 M. *dasa* or *daha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *dasa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162, 165, 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha* for *dasa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahim* (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasahi* (R. 11,31; 15,81). Mg. *daśehim* (Mṛcch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasanham* and *dasanha* (Hc.

3,123; Uvās. § 275; Erz. 28,22), Mg. *daśāṇam* (Mṛcch. 133,20). In AMg. *uvāsagadasāṇam* (Uvās. § 2. 91), the gen. in the femin. *daśā* = **daśā* occurs. Loc. M. AMg. *dasasu* (R. 4,58; Uvās. p. 168,7), CP. *tasasu* (Hc. 4,326). In compounds appears M. A. *dasa°* and *daha* AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa°*, Mg. *daśa* (§ 262); A. *daha°* is found also in combination with other numerals: *ēkkadaha* (11; Piṅgala 1,114), *cāridahā* and *dahacāri* (14; Piṅgala 1,105, 110), *dahapañca* and *dahapañcāi* (15; Piṅgala 1,49. 106. 113), *dahasatta* (17; Piṅgala 1,79. 123), *ṇavadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111).

§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are: 11 AMg. *ēkkārasa*, *īkkārasa* (Vivāhap. 82. 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. *ēdṛaha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,66. 109—112) and *ēggāraha* (Piṅgala 1,77. 78. 106. 134), also *gārahāi* (2,111) and *ēkkādaha* (§ 442); CP. *ekālasa* (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMg. JM. JŚ. *bārasa* (Āyār. 2,15,23.25; Paṇṇav. 52; Vivāhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,369; 403,371 [text *vā°*]), femin. JM. *bārasī* (T. 6,7), and AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244); M. A. *bāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,49. 69 etc.). —13 AMg. *terasa* (Sūyag. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. *terasī* (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. *teraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,9. 11. 58. 66). —14 *cōddaha* (Hc. 1,171), AMg. JM. *cōddasa* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.¹, and *cāuddasa* (Kappas.), metri causa also *cāudasa* (Kappas. § 46^b), A. *cāuddaha* (Piṅgala 1,133. 134), also *cāuddhā* (2,65) and *cāridahā*, *dahacāri* (§ 442). —15 AMg. JM. *pañṇarasa* (§ 273). A. *pañṇaraha*, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also *dahapañca*, *dahapañcāi* (§ 442). —16 AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, also AMg. *soḷasaya* (Jiv. 228), A. *soḷaha* (Piṅgala 1,103. 104. 105), also *soḷā* (2,67. 97). —17 AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *dahasatta* (§ 442). —18 AMg. JM. *aṭṭhārasa*, as also PG. 6,34, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (Piṅgala 1,79). On *ra* for *da* see § 245, on *la* for *da* § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of *daśan* (§ 442), e. g. ins. A. *ēarahahi* (Piṅgala 1,66 [°hi]. 109 ff.; BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 538 *eggārahahi*), AMg. *bārasahiṃ* (Sūyag. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. *bārahahi* (Piṅgala 1,113); AMg. *cōddasahiṃ* (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMg. *pañṇarasahiṃ* (Jiv. 228); gen. AMg. *duvālasaṇham* (Uvās.); AMg. *cāuddasasāṇham* (Vivāhap. 952), *cōddasasāṇham* (Kappas.); *pañṇarasasāṇham* (Hc. 3,123); AMg. JM. *soḷasasāṇham* (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28,20), *aṭṭhārasasāṇham* (Hc. 3,123) and *°ṇha* (Erz. 42,28); loc. *pañṇarasasu* (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11-100 are frequently found mostly in Mg., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JM.A. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMg. *egūṇavisam* = *ekonaviṃśati* (cf. § 445; Vivāhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. *egūṇaviṃśā* (Piṅgala 2,238) and *ṇavadaha* (§ 442). Beside it AMg. JM. have also *aiṇavisai* and *aiṇavisam* (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XLI). The same forms occur in AMg. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: *egūṇapañndsaiṃ* (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and *aiṇāpappa* (49; Ovav. § 163; Vivāhap. 158); *egūṇasattaiṃ* (59; Samav. 118) and *aiṇasattaiṃ* (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.); *egūṇasattarim* (69; Samav. 126) and *aiṇasattarim* (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMg. JM. *aiṇatisam*, *aiṇatīsam* (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMg. *egūṇāśiṃ* (79; Samav. 136), *egūṇaṇa-ūṃ* (89; Samav. 146). *aiṇa°*, *aiṇā°* (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. MÜLLER¹ and LEUMANN² from *ekona*, but is = *aguṇa*, corresponding to *dviguṇa*, *triguṇa* etc., M. *duṇa*, AMg. *duguṇa* (§ 436), AMg. *aṇataguṇa* (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindi. *agunīs*, *gunīs* (19), Gujarātī *oganīs*³, which is = **apagunaviṃśati*.

1. Beiträge p. 17.—2. Aup. S. s. v. *aiṇāpanna*.—3. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 257.

§ 445. The numerals for 19—58 form in AMg. JM. the nom. as the neut. in *-am* or as the fem. in *-ā*, in A. in *-a*, and those for 59—99 as the neuter in *-iṃ* or the femin. in *-ī*. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also *visaī=viṃśati* (Kappas.; Uvās.), nom. *visaī* and *visaīm* (Erz. XLI¹) AMg. *aūṇvisaī* (19), *visaī* (20), *e'kkavisaī* (21), *paṇavisaī* (25), it *sattavisaī* (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. *caūvisaī* (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, *visaīm* (Kappas.; Erz.) or *visā* (Hc. 1,28.92; Erz.), A. *visa* (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423,4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also *tisai=triṃśat* in AMg. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with *visaī=viṃśatiḥ*. If other numbers enter before it one says: AMg. JM. *e'kkavisaṃ*, *egavisa*, *igavisaṃ* (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.); *bāvisaṃ* (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *bāisa* (Piṅgala 1,68); *tevisaṃ* (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. *teisa* (Piṅgala 1,150); *caūvisaṃ* (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thān. 22), *caūvisaṃ* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *caūvisaha* (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT]), *covisa* (2,291) and *covisa* (2,279); *paṇavisaṃ*, *paṇuvisaṃ* and *paṇuvisā* in *paṇuvisāhi* (25; § 273), A. *paṇisa* (Piṅgala 1,120); *chavisaṃ* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. *chavisa* and *chhavisa* (§ 441); AMg. *sattavisaṃ* (27; Uttar. 1093), and *sattāvisaṃ* (Vivāhap. 85 ff.); *sattāvīsā* (Hc. 1,4); A. *sattāisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.52.58); *aṭṭhāvisaṃ*, *°visa* (Vivāhap. 82), A. *aṭṭhāisa*, *adhāisa* (28; § 442); *aūṇatisaṃ*, *aūṇattisaṃ* (29; § 444).—30 is *tisam* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.) and *tisā* (Hc. 1,28.92), A. *tisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.60), also in *tisakkharā=triṃśadaksarā* (1,52), *tisam* (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So *battisaṃ* (32; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.), *battisā* (Kappas.), A. *battisa* (Piṅgala 1,62.69), for which in M. also *doṣoḥaḥa=diviṣoḥaḥa* is said (Karp. 100,8); *tēttisaṃ*, *tittisaṃ* (33; Kappas.; Vivāhap. 18.33.391; Uttar. 909.994.1001.1094; Erz.), AMg. also *tāyattisā*, AMg. *tāvattisaga*, JM. *°ya* (§ 438); *cōttisaṃ* (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); *paṇattisaṃ* (35; Vivāhap. 200); *chattisaṃ*, *°sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.), *aṭṭhattisaṃ* (Kappas.) and *aṭṭhattisaṃ* (Erz.).—40 *cattālisam* (Kappas.; Vivāhap. 199; Erz.) and *cattālisā* (Vivāhap. 82), *cāyālisam* (Erz.) and contracted *cālisa* in JM. *cālisasāhasa=catoṣāriṇśatsāhasa* (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153.155), a form, which in AMg. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. *iālisa* (41; Piṅgala 1,125), AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42; Vivāhap. 158; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Thān. § 262; Erz.); *teālīsā* (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. *teyālisam* (Erz.); AMg. *caūyālisam* and *coyālisam*, *coyālīsā* (44; Samav. 108.109; Vivāhap. 218; Paṇnav. 105 f.). A. *caūālisa* (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT *pa[ñcatālīsā]*]. 97) and *coālīsaha* (2,238); AMg. *paṇayālīsā* (Paṇnav. 55), *paṇayālisam* (45; Vivāhap. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. *pacatālīsaha* (Piṅgala 1,93.95) we should read *pacaālīsahī*; AMg. *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.); AMg. *siyālisam* (47; Vivāhap. 653)²; AMg. JM. *adhayālisam*, A. *adhāālisa* (48; § 442), but AMg. also *aṭṭhacattālisam* (Vivāhap. 372); AMg. *e'kkūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AMg. even the abridged form *cālī* (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AMg. JM. *cattā* (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. *bicatta* (Erz.) and as *cāla* in AMg. *igayāla* (text *igu°*; Vivāhap. 199); JM. *bāyāla* (42; Erz.); A. *beḍla* (Piṅgala 1,95); AMg. *paṇayāla* (45; Samav. 109); *paṇayālasaṃśasahassā* (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AMg. *adhayāla* (48; Samav. 210; Paṇnav. 99 [aḍa°]); Vivāhap. 290 [aḍa°]).—50 *paṇṇāsam*, *paṇṇāsā*, *paṇṇā* in the rest of fifties *°paṇṇam*, *°vaṇṇam*

(§ 273). The shortened forms are derived probably from **pañcāśat*, **pañcaśat*, **pañśat*, **pañcat* (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of JACOBI are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they cannot generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. *śajāri* § 446.

§ 446. 60 AMg. *saṭṭhiṃ* (Samav. 118.119), in compound *saṭṭhiḥ*: *saṭṭhitanta* (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. *saṭṭhiṃ*, *saṭṭhi* (Erz.); Ś. *chaṭṭhiṃ* (acc.; Mṛch. 54.16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as *saṭṭhiṃ*; A. *saṭṭhi* (Piṅgala 1.105; in composition 1.61). In compounds with other numerals in AMg. JM. °*saṭṭhiṃ* alternates with °*vaṭṭhiṃ* and °*aṭṭhiṃ* (§ 265): *egūṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *aūṇaṭṭhiṃ* (59), *igasaṭṭhiṃ* and *egaṭṭhi*°; *bāsaṭṭhiṃ* and *bāvaṭṭhiṃ*; *tesaṭṭhiṃ* and *tevaṭṭhiṃ*; *caṭṭsaṭṭhiṃ* and *coṣaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82) and *caṭṭvaṭṭhi*°; *paṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *paṇṇaṭṭhiṃ* (Kappas.); *chāvaṭṭhiṃ*, *sattasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aḍhasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1.426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AMg. JM. *sattariṃ* and *sattari*°, JM. also °*sayari*°, *sayari*° (Samav. 127.128; Prabandhac. 279.12; Erz.). On the *r* see § 245. In combination with other numerals °*sattariṃ* alternates with °*hattariṃ*, °*vattariṃ* with °*attari*°; AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* with *aūṇattariṃ* (69; § 444), *ēkkasattariṃ* (Samav.; text *eka*°); *bāvattariṃ*, JM. also *bisattari*°; *tevattariṃ*; *covattariṃ*, JM. *caṭṭhattari*; AMg. *pañcāhattari* (instr.; Kappas. § 2), *paññattari* (so Samav. thrice; read °*riṃ*), JM. *paṇasaṭṭari* (Prabandhac. 279.12); *chāvattariṃ*; *sattahattariṃ*; *aṭṭahattariṃ*, JM. *aṭṭhattari*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1.426; 2.248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A. is found *ehattari* (71; Piṅgala 1.95.97.100) and *chāhattari* (76; text *che*°; 2, 238). — 80 AMg. *asiṃ*, JM. *asī*, *asī*° (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94.95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇāsiṃ* (79); JM. *ēkkāsī*; AMg. *bāsiṃ*; AMg. *tesīṃ*, ins. also *teyāsī* (Samav.), JM. *tesī*; AMg. *caūrāsīṃ*, *corāsīṃ*, *corāsī*, JM. *caūrāsī*°, *culāsī*°; AMg. *pañcāsīṃ*, *chaḷāsīṃ*, *sattāsīṃ*, *aṭṭhāsīṃ* (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A. are found *asi* (80), *beāsī* (82), *aṭṭhāsī* (88) (Piṅgala 1.81.98.2.238). — 90 AMg. *naṭṭhiṃ*, JM. *naṭṭhi* (Samav. 147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇaṇaṭṭhiṃ* (89); *ēkkāṇaṭṭhiṃ* (Samav.; text *ekā*°), *bā*°, *te*°, *caū*°, *pañcā*°, *chaṇṇaṭṭhiṃ* and *chaṇṇaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82), *sattāṇaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhā*°; JM. *bāṇaṭṭhi*, *te*°, *pañcā*° and *paṇa*°, *chaṇṇaṭṭhi* (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A. is found *chaṇṇavaṭṭhi* (96; Piṅgala 1.95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMg.: nom. *teṇisaṃ titthaḥkarā* = *trayaviṃśatis tirthaḥkarāḥ* (Samav. 66); *bāyālisam sumiṇā tisam mahāsumiṇā bāvattariṃ savvasumīṇā* = *dvācatvāriṃśat svapnās trīṃśan mahāsvapnā dvāsaptaṭiḥ sarvasvapnāḥ* (Vivāhap. 951 [where °*vi*°]; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *tāyattisā logapālā* = *trayastrīṃśat lokapālāḥ* (Thāp. 125).—Acc. *viṣam vāsāṃ* = *viṃśatiṃ varṣāṇi* (Uvās. § 89.124.266); *paññāsam joṇaṇasahasāṃ* = *pañcāśatam yajanasahasāṇi* (Thāp. 266); *pañcāṇaṭṭhiṃ* (text °*yaṃ*) *joṇaṇasahasāṃ* = *pañcanavatiṃ yajanasahasāṇi* (Thāp. 261).—Ins. *pañcāhattari* *vāsehiṃ*... *ēkka-visā* *titthajarehiṃ*... *teṇisā* *titthajarehiṃ* = *pañcāsaptaṭyā varṣaiḥ*... *ekaviṃśatyā tirthahakaraiḥ*; *tēṭṭisā* *sattāvannā* *dantisahashehiṃ* = *trayastrīṃśatā*, *saptapañcāśatā* *dantisahasraiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 24.26).—Gen. *eesiṃ tisā* *mahāsumiṇāṇam* = *eteṣāṃ trīṃśato mahāsvapnānām* (Vivāhap. 951; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *battisā* *°sayasāhasiṇam* *caūrāsīṇi* [to be read] *sāmāṇiyasāhasiṇam tāyattisā* *tāyattisagāṇam* *caūṇham* *logapālāṇam* = *dvātrīṃśataḥ* °*śatasāhasiṇāṇam* *caturāṣṭyāḥ* *sāmānikasāhasiṇāṇam* *trayastrīṃśatas* *trayastrīṃśakānām* *caturṇām* *lokapālānām* (Kappas. § 14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. *tisā* *nirayāvāsasaṇasahasēsu* = *trīṃśati nirayāvāsasatasahasreṣu* (Vivāhap. 83 ff.); *egavisā* *savalesu* *bāvisā* *parisahe* (metrically for °*hesu*) = *ekaviṃśatyām śabaleṣu dvāviṃśatyām* **pari-*

saheṣu (Uttar. 907).—JM. *pañcanañi rāṇam* and *rājāṇo* (Kk. 263, 11. 17). Seldom are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in *-ṇam*: *rīṣaṇham*, *tiṣaṇham*. AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāṇi pāvāduyasayāṇi* = *triṇi trayahṣaṣṭāṇi prāvādukaśatāṇi* (Sūyag. 778); *paṇuvīsāhi ya bhāvaṇāḥim* = *pañcaviṃśatyā ca bhāvaṇābhīḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 25); *pañcāhiṃ chaṭṭisehiṃ aṇagārasaḥim* = *pañcabhīḥ ṣaṭtriṃśair aṇagārasatāḥ* (Kappas. § 182); JM. *tiṇham tevaṭṭhāṇam naṇarasayāṇam* = *trayaṇāṇi trayahṣaṣṭāṇāṇi naṇarasatāṇāṇi* (Erz. 28, 21)¹; M. *caṭṭisaṭṭhiṣu suttisu* = *catuḥṣaṣṭyāṇi śukṭiṣu* (Karp. 72, 6). This flexion is usual in A.: *eāṣehi bāṣehi* (Piṅgala 1, 58. 69); *chahavīsāṇi* (P. 1, 97); *sattāṣāṇi* (P. 1, 60); *paṇāṭṭisāḥi* (P. 1, 93. 95; see § 445); *chattariṇi* (acc.), *chattarihiṃ* (P. 1, 95. 100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples *tinni tevaṭṭhāṇi pāṇi pañcāhiṃ chaṭṭisehiṃ aṇa tiṇham tevaṭṭhāṇam* might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the "wholly illogical construction" of the numerals in the Vedic language in WHITNEY¹ § 480, note; KIELHORN § 203. I owe the correct explanation to KIELHORN, who also is of the opinion, that at Erz. 28, 21 with the v.l. we should read **tthā* instead of **tthi*².

§ 448. 100 is M. *saa* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *sayā* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Erz.), Ś. *sada* (Mṛcch. 6, 6; 151, 22; Vikr. 11, 4), Mg. *śada* (Mṛcch. 12, 5; 116, 8; 122, 20; Venṣ. 33, 4). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units enter before the plural of 100: AMg. *do sayāṇi* (200), *tiṇṇi sayāṇi* (300), *cattāri sayāṇi* (400) (Samav. 157. 158); *pañca sayā* (500; Kappas. § 142), *cha sayāṇi* (600), also *cha sayā* (Samav. 159) and *chassayā* (Kappas. § 166); A. *caṭṭisa* (400; Piṅgala 1, 81). Substantive neuter is *sattasaa* (H.).—1000 is M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sahassa* (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380, 12; Mṛcch. 72, 22; Prab. 4, 4. 5), Mg. *śahassā* (Lalitav. 566, 10; Venṣ. 33, 3; 34, 21; 35, 8). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. In AMg. one says also *dasa sayāṇi* (Samav. 162) or *dasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), as for 1100 *ekkārasa sayāṇi* (Samav. 163) or *ekkārasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1200 *bārasa sayā*, for 1400 *cauddasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1721 *sattarasa ekkavise jōyāṇasae* (1721 yojanas; acc.; Vivāhap. 198). The rest of thousands are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMg. *do sahasāṇi* (Samav. 163), acc. *duve sahasse* (Sūyag. 940); *tiṇṇi, cattāri, cha, dasa sahasāṇi* (Samav. 163-165); *aññāṭṭhiṃ sahasā* (59000; Kappas. § 136); JM. *puttāṇam saṭṭhi sahasā* (60000; Sagarā 1, 13) and *saṭṭhiṃ pi tuha suya-sahasā* (7, 7; cf. 10, 4; 11, 5), gen. *saṭṭhiṃ puttasaahasāṇam* (8, 5); also with *sāhasi*=*sāhasri*, as AMg. *coddasa samaṇasāhassio, chaṭṭisam ajiyāsāhassio, tiṇṇi sa jaśāhassio* etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Vivāhap. 287). In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first, and are combined in a compound: *aṭṭhasayāṇi*=108 (Vivāhap. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.); *aṭṭhasahasāṇi*=1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following manner: *tiṣam ca sahasāṇi dōṇṇi ya aññāpanṇe jōyāṇasae*=30249 yojanas (Vivāhap. 158); *sattarasa ekkavise jōyāṇasae*=1721 y.; *cattāri tise jōyāṇasae*=430 y.; *dasa bāvise jō*=1022 y.; *cattāri caṭṭovise jō*=424 y., *satta teṇise jō*=723 y., *tiṇṇi iḡajāle jō*=1341 y., *dōṇṇi jōyāṇasahasāṇi dōṇṇi ya chajāsie jō*=2286 y. (Vivāhap. 198. 199), *siyāṭṭisam jōyāṇasahasāṇi dōṇṇi ya tevaṭṭhe jōyāṇasae*=47 263 y. (Vivāhap. 653), also with *uttara*, as *tiṇṇi jōyāṇasahasāṇi dōṇṇi ya baṭṭisuttare jō*=3232 y° (Vivāhap. 198); *bāvāṇṇutaram, aḍḍajāṭṭisuttaram, cattāṭṭisuttaram, aṭṭṭisuttaram, chaṭṭisuttaram, aṭṭhāvīsuttaram jōyāṇasajāsahasāṇi*=100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y. (Jiv. 243), and with *ca*, as *chakkoḍisae poṇavāṇṇam ca koḍio*=655 koṭi (Vivāhap. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. *satasahasā* (6, 11; 7, 42. 48), AMg. *egam sayasahasāṇi* (Samav. 165) or *egā sayasāhassā* (Kappas. § 136); cf. Ś. *suvaṇṇasadasāhassio*=*suvaṇṇasatasāhasirikaḥ*

(Mṛcch. 58,4); AMg. JM. also *lakṣham* = *lakṣam* (Kappas. § 187; Kī. 12; Erz.), Mg. *laṣkaṁ* (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. *dasasajasa-hassāṁ* (Samav. 166), Mg. *daha* (falsely for *daśa*) *laṣkāṁ* (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 *koḍi* = *koṭiḥ* (Samav. 167; Erz.). In AMg. *koḍākoḍi*, *paḷovamā*, *sāgarovamā*, *sāgarovamākoḍākoḍi* etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).

§ 449. The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in -ā, when not noted below, are: 1. *paḍhama*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* (§ 104. 221). AMg. also *paḍhamilla* (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix -illa (§ 595), A. also *paḥilla*, femin. *paḥilī* (Kī. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here *paḥilī*]), as in the new Indian dialects (BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,142; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from **prathara* neither with BEAMES, nor from AMg. *paḍhamilla*, **paḍhaḥilla* with HOERNLE, but it presupposes one **prathila*.—2. M. *duia*, *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*; JM *duiṃa*, AMg. JM. *biijja*, *biija*; A. *bia*; AMg. also *ducca*, *docca*; Ś. Mg. *dudia*, in verses also *dudīa* (§ 52. 91. 165. 300).—3. M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taijja*; Ś. *tadia*; AMg. also *tacca*; A. *tia*, *taijjī* (fem.) (§ 82. 91. 165. 300). Kī. 2,36 knows also *tijja*, which occurs in AMg. *aḍḍhāijja* (§ 450).—4. M. AMg. JM. A. *caūṭṭha* (Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Āyār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1,105), according to Hc. 2,33 also *caūṭṭha*; M. also *cōṭṭha* (§ 166; Hc. 1,171; H.); Ś. Mg. *caduttha* (Mṛcch. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. l.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere *caū*), D. *caūṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 100,6), Ś. also *caduttha* (Śak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM. *caūṭṭhī*, *cōṭṭhī* (Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII), AMg. *caūṭṭhā* (Āyār. p. 132 ff.). In *aḍḍhuṭṭha* (3¹/₂; § 450) there is one **tuṭṭha* = **turtha* (cf. *turya*, *turiya*).—5. *pañcama* occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,5,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,7; A. Piṅgala 1,59). The feminine ends in -ī, in AMg. in -ā too (Āyār. p. 132 ff.).—6. in all the dialects *chaṭṭha*, femin. -ī (Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Kī. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,22. 23; Śak. 40,9; D. Mṛcch. 100,7. 8; A. Piṅgala 1,50), in AMg. femin. also *chaṭṭhā* (Āyār 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. *saṭṭha* [sic!] Prab. 28,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands *saṭṭha* and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads *saṭṭa*, is to be corrected as *chaṭṭha*. By *pañcabbhahia* = *pañcābhyadhika* the numeral is expressed in M. in Śak. 120,7.—7. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *sattama* (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,11. 12; Piṅgala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. Ś. D. *aṭṭhama* (Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM. *navama* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), D. *navama* (Mṛcch. 100,8).—10. M. AMg. JM. *dasama* (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *dasamī* (Kappas.).—The ordinals 11.—19. are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending -ma, feminine -mī. Hitherto they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. *ekkārasama* (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. *bārasama* (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. *terasama* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. *caūdasama* (Sūyag. 758) and *cōddasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—15. *pañnarasama* (Vivāhap. 168).—16. *soḷasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—18. AMg. *aṭṭhārasama* (Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451) and *aḍḍhārasama* (Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404).—19. *egūṇavīsama* (Nāyādh. § 11), and *egūṇavīsaima* (Vivāhap. 1606). On *khodasama* (16.) see § 265.—20. *viśaima* or *viśa*; 30. *tisaima* or *tisa*; 40. *cattālīsaima*; 49. *aṭṭāpanna*; 55. *pañnapannaima* (Kappas.); 72. *bāvattara*, 80. *asiima*; 97. *sattānāijja*. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms

are used, as 23. JM. *tevīsaīma* (T.4,2); 24. AMg. *caūvisaīma* (Vivāhap.167) and *caūvīsa* (Thāp. 31); 84. *caūrāsīm*, 85. *pañcōsīma* (Kappas.). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1.426.—*kati* is inflected: AMg. JM. A. *kaī* (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17,21; Hc. 4,376,1.420,3); ins. AMg. *kaīhim* (Paṇṇav. 662; Vivāhap. 74.332); gen. *kaīṇham* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. JM. *kaīsu* (Paṇṇav. 521.530; Vivāhap. 736 f. 1536; Erz. 66,16).

§ 450. As the expression of $1/2$ enters in AMg. *addha* or *addha* = *ardha*, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): *addhāijja* from *addha* + **tijja*, **tijja*, **tijja* = *ardhatītiya* (§ 449) ($2^{1/2}$; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270.660.917.982; Nāyādh. 347; Paṇṇav. 51.55.81.611 f.; Vivāhap. 199.202.734.1786; Nandis. 198.200; Kappas.); *addhutttha* from *ardha* + **turtha* = *ardhacaturtha* ($3^{1/2}$; Kappas.); *addhattama* = *ardhāstama* ($7^{1/2}$; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas.; Ovav.); *addhanavama* ($8^{1/2}$; Kappas.); *addhachatthehim bhikkhāsahim* (550); *addhāijjāim* °*sayāim* (250), *addhuttthāim* °*sayāim* (350), *addhapañcamāim* °*sayāim* (450) (Samav. 156—158); *addhaehattthāim* °*yojanāim* ($5^{1/2}$ yojanas; Jiv. 231). $1^{1/2}$, on the contrary, is expressed by *divaddha* (Vivāhap. 137.1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Paṇṇav. 685 f. 692.698), which is neither = *adhyardha*¹, nor, as the position of the members of the compound shows, = *dviitiya* + *ardha*², but is = *dvikārdha* (§ 230). So also: *divaddham* °*sayam* (150; Samav. 157).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398. 409. 411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS S.V.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451. $1 \times$ is in AMg. *saim* = *sakrt* (§ 181), in JM. *ēkkavāram* = *ekavāram* (Kk. 266,25; 274,21) and *ēkkasim* (Sagara 4,4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as *ēkkasi* and *ēkkasiam* and is equated as = *ekadā*. For the purpose of numeration AMg. uses *khutto* = *ktvāh* (§ 206); *dukkhutto*, *dukhutto* = *dvikrtvāh* (Thāp. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6); *tikhutto*, *tikkhutto* = *trikrtvāh* (Thāp. 5.11.17.41.60.364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5.11.17.41.60; Vivāhap. 12.156.161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.); *sattakkhutto*, °*kh*° (Nāyādh. 910.925.941; Jiv. 260.621), *tisattakkhutto* = *trisaptakrtvāh* (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap.230 [°*kh*°]. 411); *anegasajāsahassakkhutto* = *anekasatasahasrakrtvāh* (Vivāhap. 145.1285); *anantakkhutto* (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177.414.416.418); *evāikkhutto* = °*evatikrtvāh* (Kappas.). In M. the word is spelt as *huttam*: *saahuttam*, *sahassahuttam* (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52,6). For 'for the second time' AMg. uses *doceam*, *duccam* (Āyār.2,15,21; Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas.), 'for the third time' is *taceam* (Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Uvās.). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses °*viha* = °*vidha*, in the case of adjectives and °*hā* = °*dhā* in the case of adverbs: AMg. *duviha*, *tiviha*, *caūviha*, *pañcaviha*, *chavviha*, *sattaviha*, *aṭṭhaviha*, *navaviha*, *dasaviha* (Uttar. 885—990), *duvālasaviha* (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), *soḷasaviha* (Uttar. 971; Thāp. 593 [°*dhā*]), *aṭṭhāvīsaiviha* (Uttar. 877), *battisaiviha* (Vivāhap. 234); JŚ. *tiviha* (Katiig. 402, 360) etc.; AMg. *duhā*, *pañcahā*, *dasahā* (Uttar. 1046.889.704), *duhā*, *tihā*, *caūhā*, *pañcahā*, *chahā*, *sattahā*, *aṭṭhahā*, *navahā*, *dasahā*, *samkhējjahā*, *asamkhējjahā*, *anantahā* (Vivāhap. 997—1012). — AMg. JM. *egao* (Vivāhap. 277.282.950; Āv. 46,24) is = *ekataḥ*, the more frequent *egayao* (Vivāhap. 137—141.187.510.513.970.983.996 ff. 1430.1434) = °*ekakataḥ*; *duhao* see § 436.—As in Skt., in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, one says *duga* (Thāp. 568.569; Erz.; Katiig. 403,371), *duya* (Uttar. 903) = *dvika*; AMg. JM. *tiya* = *trika* (Uttar. 902; Erz.); *chakka* = *śaṣka* (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. *sahassa* so = *sahasraśaḥ* (Sagar. 6,5); Ś. *aneaso*, AMg. °*negaso* = *anekasāḥ* (§ 435).

E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the *a*-stems prevail on phonetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The *ātmanepada* is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usable only in M. AMg. JM. JŚ., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in Ś., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in Ś. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the *ātmanepada* only, have in Pkt. the endings of the *parasmaip.*, as mostly in the passive too. Further *āsi*, *āsī*=*āsīt*, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. Ś., in addition to *abhavī* in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and *s*-aorists, including stray *ātmanepada* forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb *as* or *bhū* or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the *parasmaip.*, *ātmanep.* and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the *parasmaipada*, the *ātmanepada* and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. *necessitatis*, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precative too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

a) PRESENT.

1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigm of the first conjugation *vaṣṭa-* = *varta-*, in Skt. in *ātmanepada* only.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṣṭāmi</i>	<i>vaṣṭāmo</i> <i>vaṣṭaha</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh.
2. <i>vaṣṭasi</i>	<i>vaṣṭadha</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṣṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṣṭai</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṣṭadi</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṣṭati</i>	<i>vaṣṭanti</i>

In A. the common flexion is :—

1. <i>vaṣṭāñ</i>	<i>vaṣṭahū</i>
2. <i>vaṣṭasi</i> , <i>vaṣṭahi</i>	<i>vaṣṭahu</i>
3. <i>vaṣṭai</i>	<i>vaṣṭahi</i>

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also *-āmi*, beside *-āmi*, that is the common ending in all the

dialects, excluding A.: *jānami* = *jānāmi*; *lihami* = *likhāmi*; *sahami* = *sahe*; *hasami* = *hasāmi*. It is attested in A. too: *kaḍḍhami* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4, 385); *pāvami* = **prāpāmi* = *prāpnomi*; *bhāmami* = *bhramāmi* (Vikr. 71, 7, 8), *bhaṇami* = *bhaṇāmi* (Piṅgala I, 153). The vowel has been regulated according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the first person plur. (§ 455), *i* has entered for *a*: M. *jānimi* = *jānāmi* (H. 902), *anuṇijjimi* = *anuniye* (H. 930); A. *pucchimi* = *pucchāmi*, *karimi* = **karāmi* = *karomi* (Vikr. 65, 3; 71, 9). Forms in *-mhi* and *-mmi*, sometimes found in the Mss. and editions¹, are false², as *ṇivedēmhi* for *ṇivedemi* (Nāg. 20, 3; cf. 20, 10), *pasādēmhi* for *pasādemī* (Nāg. 44, 8), *gacchamhi*, *gacchahmi* for *gacchāmi* (Mālav. 5, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 17).—In A. the usual ending is *-āū*: *kaḍḍhāū* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4, 385), *kijjāū* = *kriye* in the sense of *karisyāmi* (Hc. 4, 385; 445, 3); *jāṇāū* = *jānāmi* (Hc. 4, 391. 439, 4), *joiijjāū* = *vilokye*, *dēkkhāū* = *drakṣyāmi*, *jhiijjāū* = *kṣiye* (Hc. 4, 356. 357, 4. 425); *pāvāū* = *prāpnomi*, *pakāvaū* = **pavāpayāmi* = *pacāmi*, *jivāū* = *jivāmi*, *cajāū* (text *tajāū*) = *tyajāmi* (Piṅgala I, 104^a; 2, 64); *piāvāū* (text *piyāvāū*) = **pibāpayāmi* = *pāyayāmi* (Prabandhac. 70, 11. 13). According to the phonetic laws of A., *jānoli* has to be traced to **jānakam* only (§ 352). The verbal forms with infixed *ak*, such as *pacataki*, *jalpataki*, *svapitaki*, *paṭhataki*, *addhaki*, *ehaki*, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing. *yāmaki* = *yāmi*, discovered by AUFRECHT in Kauṣitakibrāhmaṇa 27, 1³, are to be compared with **jānakam*. It is to be admitted that, as in the future (§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place that of the principal tenses⁴.

1. BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 47. AMg. *anusāsāmi* for **anusāsāmi* = *anusāmi* Uttar. 790 is hardly correct.—3. ZDMG. 34, 175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending *-si* also *-hi* (§ 264): *marahi* = **marasi* = *mriyase*, *ruahi* = Vedic *ruvasi* = *roḍiṣi*, *lahahi* = *labhase*, *visūrahi* = *khidyase*, *ṇisarahi* = *ṇiṣarasi* (Hc. 4, 368. 383, 1. 422, 2. 439, 4). In Mg. the ending is naturally *-si*: *yāsi*, *dhāvāsi*, *palāāsi*, *malīhiṣi*, *gacasi* (Mṛcch. 9, 23. 24; 10, 3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMg. and A. do not rarely contract the ending *-āi* to *-e* (§ 166); in Ś. Mg. Dh. the ending is *-di*, in P. CP. *-ti*: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, but JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi* (§ 289); M. *vaḍḍhaṭ* = *vardhate*, but Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 291); Mg. *cilāadi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115, 9); Dh. *vajjadi* = *vrajati* (Mṛcch. 30, 10); P. *lapati*, *gacchati* (Hc. 4, 319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A., ends in *-mo*, in verses in *-mu* and *-ma* too, the ending of the subsidiary tense (Vr. 7, 4; Hc. 3, 144. 167; Ki. 4, 7; Mk. fol. 51); *hasāmo*, *hasāmu*, *hasāma*. Except in PG. *vitārāma* (5, 7), M. future *dacchāma* = *drakṣyāmaḥ* (R. 3, 50) and in *-mha* = *smah* (§ 498), *-ma* has, up to this time, been seen merely as v. l.¹ and for prose it is not correct. M. *tajjāmo*, *vaccāmo*, *ramāmo* (H. 267. 590. 888), *kāmemo* = *kāmayāmaḥ* (H. 417), in the passive *muṣijjāmo* = *muṣyāmahe* (H. 335); AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo* = *vardhāmahe* (Kappas. § 91. 106), *jivāmo* (Nāyādh. § 137), *āciṭṭhāmo* = *ātiṣṭhāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *uvaremo* = *upanayāmaḥ*, *āhāremo* = *āhārayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *icchāmu* (Uttar. 376), *accemo* beside *accimo* = *arcayāmaḥ*, *arcāmaḥ* (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future *dāhāmu* = *dāsyāmaḥ* (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. *vucchāmu* = *avātsma* (Uttar. 410); JM. *tāḷemo* = *tāḍayāmaḥ* (Dvār. 497, 1), *pēcchāmo* = *prekṣāmahe* (Āv. 33, 15), *vaccāmo* = *vrajāmaḥ* (Kk. 263, 16; 272, 18), *pajjosavemo* (Kk. 271, 7); Ś. *pavisāmo* = *praviśāmaḥ* (Śak. 92, 1), *jāṇāmo* = *jānīmaḥ* (§ 510), *sumarāmo* = *smarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 113, 9), *uvacarāmo* = *upacarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 232, 2; text *tuvarāma*; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91, 17),

vaḍḍhāmo = *vardhāmahe* (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]), *cintemo* = *cintayāmaḥ* (Mahāv. 134,11), *vandāmo* = *vandāmahe*, *uvaharāmo* = *upaharāmaḥ* (Pārvatip. 27,11; 29,13); D. *boḷlāmo* (Mṛcch. 105,16). The forms in *-mha*, which are sometimes found in the text, as *ciṭṭhamha* (Ratn. 315,1), *viṇṇavē mha*, *sampāde mha*, *pāre mha*, *karē mha* (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5), are false. They belong to the imperative (§ 470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable *ā* often becomes *i*, so that the ending, then, is *-imo* (§ 108); M. *jāmpimo* = *jālpāmaḥ* (H. 651); M. JM. *ṇamimo* = *ṇāmāmaḥ* (G. 35. 969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. *bhaṇimo* = *bhāṇāmaḥ* (Hc. 3,155; H.; Prabandhac. 100,8; Kk. 266,14) beside *bhaṇāmo* (H.); M. AMg. *vandimo* = *vandāmahe* (H. 659; Nandis. 81); *pacimo* = *pācāmaḥ* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *savimo* = *sāpāmaḥ* (G. 240); M. *sahimo* = *sāhāmahe* in *viśahimo* (H. 376); *hasimo* = *hāsāmaḥ* (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. *gamimo* = **gāmāmaḥ* (H. 892), *jāṇimo*, *ṇa āṇimo* = **jānāmāmaḥ*, *na *jānāmaḥ* (H.), *bharimo* = **bhārāmāmaḥ* and *saṃbharimo* (we remember; H. s. v. smar; G. 219), *ālakkhimo* = *āloksāmahe* (G. 188), and on its analogy: *pucchimo* = *pucchāmāmaḥ* (H. 453), *lihimo* = *likhāmāmaḥ* (H. 244), *suṇimo* = **sruṇāmāmaḥ* (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4. 31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in *-āmu*, *-āma*, *-imu*, *-ima*: *paḍhamu*, *paḍhama*, *pacimu*, *bhaṇamu*, *bhaṇama*, *bhaṇimu*, *bhaṇima*, *sohamu*, *sahama*, *sahimu*, *hasamu*, *hasama*, *hasimu*, *hasimo*.—In A. the usual ending is *-hū*: *lahahū* = *labhāmahe*, *cadāhū* = *ārohamāmaḥ*, *marāhū* = *mriyāmahe* (Hc. 4,386. 439,1). The abl. plur. of the *a*-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from *-bhyām* (§ 369). Here the origin is completely obscure². Beside this there is found *lahimu* too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as *vaṣṭāma* Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69^a reads *vasaṃma*, the ed. M. p. 84,15, *vasaṃma*, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, *ahivaṣṭāma*. One emends *vaṣṭāmo* or *vasāmo*; *viraama* = *viraacyāmaḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGKE 49,17; *tuvāraṃma* (Mālatīm. 232.2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M. JM. AMg. is *-ha*, in Ś. Mg. Ā. *-dha*, in A. *-hu* or *-ha*: *ramaha*, *paḍhaha*, *hasaha* (Vr. 7,4); *hasaha*, *uvaha*, (Hc. 3,143); *pacaha*, *saṅkaha* (Kī. 4,6); *hoha* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *ṇa āṇaha* = *na jānītha*, *dēcchiha* = *drakṣyatha* (R. 3,13. 23), *teraha* (you know; H. 897); JM. *jāṇaha* (Kk. 273,44); *kuppaha* = *kupyatha*, *paṇacchaha* (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMg. *āikkaha*, *bhāsaha*, *pannaveha* (Āyār. 1.4,2,4); *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194); *vajaha* = *vadatha* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *ādhāha*, *pariyāṇaha*, *agghājaha*, *uvanīmanteha* (Nāyādh. § 83); Ś. *pēkkhadha* = *prekṣadhoe* (Mṛcch. 40,25; Śak. 14,8), *nedha* = *noyatha* (Mṛcch. 161,9)¹; Mg. *pēskadha* (Mṛcch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6), *pattīāadha* = *pratyayadhoe* (Mṛcch. 165,9); Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *pucchaha* and *pucchahu* (Hc. 4,364. 422,9), *icchahu* and *icchaha* (Hc. 4,384), *paampaha* = *prajāpatha* (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably **hu* should be read throughout. On the ending *-itthā* see § 517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-nti*. M. *miṇanti* = **mucanti*, *ruanti* = *rudanti*, *hōnti* = *bhavanti*, *dēnti* = *dayante* (Erz. 3,14. 15); AMg. *caṇanti* = *tyajanti*, *thananti* = *stananti*, *labhanti* = *labhante* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); Ś. *gacchanti*, *pasidanti*, *saṃcaranti* (Mṛcch. 8,4; 9,1. 11); Mg. *aṇṇesanti* = *anveṣanti*, *pianti* = *pibanti* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. *ucchallanti*, *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326); A. *vihasanti* = *vikasanti*, *karanti* = *kurvanti* (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is *-hī*, of which the origin is obscure²: *maḍḍiahī* = *mukulayanti*, *anuharahī* = *anuharanti*, *lahahī* = *labhante*, *ṇavahī* = *ṇamanti*, *gaṇjahī* = *garjante*, *dharahī* = *dharanti*, *kerahī* = *kurvanti*, *sahahī* = *sobhante* etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the

passive *ghēppahi* = *grhyante* (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. *acchahim* = *tiṣṭhanti* (Uttar. 667)³ in the verse, and in *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 223. 500. 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268. 302 *-ha* too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also PISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337.—3. So to be read with JACOBI, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary *atthihim*; the commentary explains *atthahi* (sic?) *iti tiṣṭhanti*. Cf. *assāsi* § 461.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is :

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaffe</i>	is wanting
2. <i>vaffase</i>	is wanting
3. <i>vaffae</i> , JŚ. <i>vaffade</i>	<i>vaffante</i>

Cf. Vr. 7,1. 2. 5; Hc. 3,139. 140. 145; 4,274. 302. 319; Kī. 4,2. 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vr. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings *-se*, *-e* explicitly to the *a*-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending *-de*=*-te* would be permissible with the *a*-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Venis.35,17;36,3, read *śuṇiade*=*śrūyate* and the text has *śuṇiadi*. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vr.12,17 and Mk.fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are: 1. M. *jāne* (H. 902), *na āne* (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: *jāne* (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anarghar. 66,5; Uttarar. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and *na āne*, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text *na jāne* (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 30,8; 34,9; Venis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. *manne* = *manye* (G. H. [delete 546]; R.), in Ś. too (Mṛech. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anarghar. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś.20,6), and *anumanne* (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. *manne* (Uttar. 571), in M. also according to the l. class *mane* (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used *vane* (Hc. 2,206), originally a l. sing. ātmanep., if it be = *mane* (§ 251) or = *vane* (cf. Dhātupāṭha in B.-R. s. v. *van*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vr. 9,12 *vale* stands. AMg. *rame* (Uttar. 445); Ś. *lahe* = *labhe* (Vikr.42,7), *icche* (Mṛech. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. *vāe* = *vāmi* and *vādayāmi*, *gāe* = *gāyāmi* (Mṛech. 79, 12. 13).—2. M. *maggase*, *jānase*, *vijjhase*, *lajjase*, *jaṃpase* (H. 6.181.441.634. 943), *sohase* (G. 316); AMg. *pubhāsase* = *prabhāsase*, *avabujjhase* = *avabudhyase* (Uttar. 358. 503); AMg. *iccate* = *icchase* (Mṛech. 123,5; P. *payacchase* = *prayacchase* (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. *tanuṇāe*, *padicchae*, *vaccae*, *peccae*, *dāvae*, *niacchae*, *palambae*, *andolae*, *laggae*, *parisakkae*, *vikuppae* (H. 59. 701; 140.169.397.489.507.582.855.951.967), in the passive *tīrae* = *tiryate* (H. 195.801.932), *jujjae*=*yujyate*, *jhijjae*=*ksiyate*, *nivarijjae*=*niroriyate*, *khijjae*=*ksiyate* (H. 12. 141. 204. 362); JM. *bhuñjae*=*bhunkte*, *nirikkhae*=*nirikgate* (Erz. 25,30; 70,7); *cintae* (Āv. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); *ciṭṭhae*=*tiṣṭhate*, *viuvvāe* = **vikurvate* = *vikurute* (Āv. 36,26. 27); passive *muccae* = *mucyate* (Erz. 71,7); *tīrae* = *tiryate*, *ḍajjhae* = *dahyate* (Dvār. 498,21. 22); AMg. *lahae*, *kīḷae*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 438. 570. 789); *titikkhae*=*titikgate*, *sampavevāe*=*sampravēdate* (Āyār. 2,16,3); JŚ *manṇade* = *manyate*, *bandhade* = *bandhnīte*,

jāṇjade = *jāyate*, *bhāsade* = *bhāṣate*, *bhuñjade* = *bhuñkte*, *kuvade* = **kurvate* = *kurute* (Kattig. 399,314; 400,327. 332. 333; 403,382. 384; 404,309); passive *ādiṇjade* (Pav. 384,60); *thuvade* = *stūyate*, *jujjade* = *yuyate*, *sakkade* = *śakyate* (Kattig. 401,351; 403,380; 404,387); D. *jāac* = *jāyate*, *vaṣṣae* = *vartate* (Mroch. 100,3. 6). For Ś. Hc. 4,274 mentions *acchade*, *gacchade*, *ramade*, for P. 4,319 *lapate*, *acchate*, *gacchate*, *ramate*, for the passive Ś. *kijjade* = *kriyate* (4,274), P. *giyyate*, *tiyyate* (so to be read), *ramiyyate*, *paḍhiyyate* (4,315); at 4,316 stands *kirate* = *kriyate*.—In the 1. plur. sometimes the forms, such as *kāmamhe* = *kāmayāmahe*, which, however, are not attested by good manuscripts, are also found (WEBER on H. 417).—3. plur. M. *gajjante* = *garjante* (Hc. 1,187 [see the translation]; 3,142), *biḥante* = **bhiṣante*, *upḍajjante* = *utpadyante* (Hc. 3,142), *ucchāhante* = *utsāhayante* (H. 638); AMg. *uvalabhante* (Sūyag. 755), *riyante* (Āyār. 1,8,2,16; Dasav. 613, 12), *cittḥante* = *tiṣṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4. 10). The examples from AMg., on the whole, and from JM. in the largest measure are from verses.

§ 458. Beside the ending *-nte*, Pkt. has also the ending *-ire*, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli¹: *pahuppire* = **prabhutvire* (§ 286) in *dōṇṇi vī na pahuppire bāhū* = *doṇv api na prabhavato bāhū*; *vicchuhire* = **vikṣubhire* (Hc. 3, 142); *hasaire*, *hasaire*, *hasire* = *hasante*; *saheire*, *sahaire*, *sahire* = *sahante*; *hueire*, *huaire*, *huire*, *hoeire*, *hoaire*, *hoire* = *bhavante* (Sr. fol. 46. 47). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too: *hujjāire*, *hujjāire*, *huējjāire*, *huējjāire* = *bhaveran* and fol. 51 for the future: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire* = *hasiyyante*. According to Hc. 3,142 *-ire* is used in the 3. sing. too: *sūsaire gāmacikkhallo* = *śusyati grāmaccikkhallo*. Triv. 2,2,4, who gives as examples *sūsaire tāṇa tāriso kaṇṭho* = *śusyati tāsāṃ tādrīṣaṇ kaṇṭhaḥ*, teaches the same.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 94; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 97; WINDSCH, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Arischen Italischen und Celtischen. Leipzig, 1887 (AKSGW. X, No. vi), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the SA. 478 f.

3. OPTATIVE

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāmi</i> | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāma</i> |
| 2. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāhi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjahi</i> ,
<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> . | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāha</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjaha</i> |
| 3. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , [<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāi</i>] | <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> |

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ś. <i>vaṭṭeam</i> , <i>vaṭṭe</i> | is wanting |
| 2. AMg. A. <i>vaṭṭe</i> , A. <i>vaṭṭi</i> | is wanting |
| 3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. <i>vaṭṭe</i> | AMg. Ś. <i>vaṭṭe</i> |

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in *-eyam*, as assumed by JACOB¹, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in *-e* has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in *-eṭṭjā* and *-eṭṭja* become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The

shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: *āgacchējjā vā eṣṭhējjā vā niṣṭhējjā vā tuṣṭhējjā vā ullāṅghējjā vā palāṅghējjā vā* = *āgacched vā tiṣṭhed vā niṣṭhed vā tuṣṭhed vā ullāṅghed vā palāṅghed vā* (Ovav. § 150; cf. Vivāhap. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as *avaharējjā vā vikṣirējjā vā bhindhējjā vā acchindhējjā vā pariṣṭhāvējjā vā* = *apahared vā viṣkired vā bhindyād vā acchindyād vā pariṣṭhāpayē vā* (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. *kujjā* = *kurydt* (§ 464), *dejjā* = *deydt*, *hojjā* = *bhūydt* (§ 466), thus it is clear that even *kuvvējjā* presupposes one **kurydt*, *karējjā* one **karydt* and *havējjā* one **bhavydt*, that is to say the optative in -ējjā goes back to the optative formed with -yā- of the second conjugation². For ē, very often the MSS. give i, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the 1. sing., hence -*eya-* was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather ē, according to § 119, has originated from i, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. *bhuñjējjā* = **bhuñjydt*, *bhuñjydt*, *karējjā* = **karydt* = **karydt*, likewise *jāñijjā* *jāñējjā* = *jāñiydt*. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent e-colouring. It is only in this manner that ā and the reduplication of j are explained³. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precativē see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ. 36, 377.—2. Whether one will derive *karyā't* from the present stem *kar* with JACOBI or take it as = precativē *kriyā't* with FISCHER, KZ. 35, 143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as JACOBI, is shown by the suffix of the passive **karyā'te* KZ. 35, 141, what JACOBI has overlooked. The question is only about the equation *karijjai*: *kriyā'te* = *karējjā*: *kriyā't* (KZ. 35, 143).—3. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. *āosējjā vā haṇējjā vā bandhējjā vā mahejjā vā tajjējjā vā tālējjā vā nicchoḍējjā vā nibbhacchejjā vā... varovējjā* = *ākroṣeyam vā hanyām vā badhniyām vā* (mathniyām vā) *tarjayeyam vā tāḍayeyam vā niśchotayeyam vā nirbhartsayeyam vā... vyāparopeyam* (Uvās. § 200), *pāssiijā* = *paṣyeyam* (Nirayāv. § 3), *muccejjā* = *mucyeyā* (passive; Uttar. 624), *aiṇāējjā, aiṇājāvējjā* = *atipātayeyam, samañujāñējjā* = *samanujāñiyām* (Hc. 3, 177); JM. *laṅghējjā* (Āv. 8, 18); M. *kuppejjā* = *kupyeyam* (H. 17); Ś. *bhaveam* (Vikr. 40, 21; Pārvaṭip. 29, 9) and *bhave* (Śak. 65, 10; Mālav. 67, 10) = *bhaveyam, pahave* = *prabhavyeyam* (Śak. 25, 1), *laheam* (Śak. 13, 9; 30, 9; Pārvaṭip. 27, 16; 29, 8) and *lake* (Mudrār. 38, 2; cf. Vikr. 42, 7 ?) = *labheyā, jiveam* = *jiveyam* (Mālav. 55, 11), *kuppe* = *kupyeyam* (Mālav. 67, 10)¹. Seldom -mi is the ending of the primary tense: M. *nejjāmi* = *nayeyam* (R. 3, 55); AMg. *karējjāmi* = *kuryām* (Vivāhap. 1281).—2. In the 2. sing. the form ends in -ijjā, seldom in -ējjā: AMg. *udāharijjā* = *udāhareh* (Sūyag. 932); *uvadamsejjā* = *upadarśayeh* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 4); *vināējjā* = *vinayeh* (Dasav. 613, 27). In AMg. the ending -si comes in generally: *payāējjāsi* = *prajāyethāh* (Nāyādb. 420); *nivedijjāsi* = *nivedayeh* (Ovav. § 21); *samañuvāsejjāsi* = *samañupāsayeh, uvalimpijjāsi* = *upalimpēh, parakkamejjāsi* = *parākrāmeh* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 4, 4; 5, 3; 6, 2 etc.); *vatṭējjāsi* = *vartethāh* (Uvās. § 200).—Beside that stands the form in -e: *dāve* = *dāpayeh, paḍigāhe* = *pratigrāhayeh* (Kappas. S. § 14–16), almost always in verses only: *gacche* = *gaccheh* (Sūyag. 178); *pamāyae* = *pramādayeh, āie* = **ādriyeh* = *ādriyethāh, sambhare* = *samsmareh* (cf. § 267. 313), *care* = *careh* (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in -ējjāsi is used in place of that in -e or in -ējjā at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre². Thus *āmo'kkhāe, parivvāējjāsi* metrically false for *parivvāe* (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); *ārambham ca susamoude carejjāsi*, metrically false for *care* (Sūyag. 117); *no pañiṇaṁ paṇe samārabhejjāsi*, metrically false for *samarābhejjā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 4, 4; 5, 3; 6, 2; 1, 3, 1, 4; 1, 4, 1, 3; 3, 3; 1, 5, 2, 5; 4, 5; 6, 1 etc. The

2. sing. in *-ējjāsi* occurs in JM. too: *vilaggējjāsi* = **vilagyeh* (Erz. 29,12), *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1), *vaṭṭējjāsi* (Āv. 11,11), *pe'عهējjāsi* (Āv. 23,18).

1. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 22 f.; BOLLSENEN ON Mālav. p. 228.

—2. JACOBI, who has not recognized the forms in *-ējjāsi* in his edition of Āyār., thinks that *si* is to be separated and may stand for *se=asau* (SBE, 22,17, note 1). The scholiasts give the correct direction.

§ 461. Besides *-ējjāsi* there occurs in AMg. also *-ējjasi*: *-āosējjasi* = *ākrośeh*, *haṇējjasi* = *hanyāh*, *vavarovējjasi* = *vyaparopayeh* (Uvās. § 200). Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative *-hi* and in M.JM. A. especially *-su* (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long: M. *hasējjahi* = *haseh* (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. *vandējjāhi* = *vandethāh*, *paijuvāsejjāhi* = *pariyupāsithāh*, *upanimanāsejjāhi* = *upanimantrayeh* (Uvās. 187); JM. *vaccējjasu* = *vrajeh* (Āv. 25,20), *bhaṇējjasu* = *bhaneh* (Āv. 25,31. 43); M. JM. *karējjāsu* (H. 154. 181. 634; Erz. 81,10), JM. *karējjasu* (Sagara 7,5), M. *kuṇijjāsu* (Śukasaptati 48,4) = *kuryāh*, A. *karijjāsu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. *sāhijjāsu* = *sādhaya* in the sense of *kathaya* (Kk. 272,19); M. *galijjāsu* = *galeh*, *paṃhasijjāsu* = *prasmareh*, *pariharijjāsu* = *parihareh* (H. 103. 348. 521); A. *salahijjāsu* = *ślāghasva*, *bhaṇijjāsu* = *bhaṇa*, *ṭhavijjāsu* = *sthāpaya* (Piṅgala 1,95. 109. 144). Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as *muṇijjāsu* beside *muṇiāsu* (§ 467), *dijjāsu* (§ 466) on account of *i* by the side of *dējjāhi*. A critical edition of the Piṅgala may some day make the disclosure whether *i* or *ē* is to be read. The forms in *-ē*, *-i* in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of the imperative, likewise are of the optative: *karē* = *kare* = **kareh* = *kuryāh* (Hc. 4,387) and thence *kari* (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according to § 85. So: A. *viāri* = *vicārayeh*, *ṭhavi* = *sthāpayeh*, *dhari* = *dhārayeh*, properly = **vicāreh*, **sthāpeh*, **dhāreh*, (Piṅgala 1,68. 71. 72); *joi* = **dyoteh* = *paṭya* (Hc. 4,364. 368), *ruṇujhūni*, *roi* = **rodeh* = *rudyāh*, *cari* = *careh*, *mēlli* in the sense of *tyajeh*, *kari* = **kareh* = *kuryāh*, *kahi* = **katheh* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,368. 387. 1. 3. 422,14). The same formation is found in AMg. in the verse in *assāsi* (text *asāsi*, correctly in the commentary): *evam assāsi appāṇam* (Uttar. 113), explained by the commentator with *evam ātmānam āśvāsaya*. Cf. also *acchahim*, *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (§ 456). So is explained also *punde* = *vraja* (Deśin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also *puda utsarge* Dhātupāṭha 28,90. *hassējje* = *haseh*, that is taught by Hc. 3,175 and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative character of both the conjugations. Sr. teaches also *hasejjahi*, *hasejjasu*, *hasejje*.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. *karēyya*, *kāravējjā* (6,40); M. *jivējjā* = *jivet* (H. 588), *paavējja* = *pratāpet*, *dharejjā* = *dhriyeta*, *viharejjā* = *vihareh*, *namējja* = *namet* (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. *vivajjējjā* = *vipadyeta*, *nirakkhijjā* = *nirikṣeta*, *sakkējja* = *śakyet* (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), *āikkamijjā* = *atikrāmet* (Kk. 271,7); AMg. *kuppējjā* = *kupyet*, *pariharejjā* = *pariharet* (Āyār. 1,2. 4,4; 5,3), *karējjā* = **karyāt* = *kuryāt* (Āyār. 2,5,2. 2. 4. 5; Paṇṇav. 573; Vivāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), *karējja* (Āyār. 2,2,1), *labhējjā* = *labheta* (Kappas. S. § 18), passive: *ghēppejjā* = *grhyeta* (Paṇḥāv. 400); in verses often with a short final vowel: *rakkhējja* = *rakṣet*, *viṇaējja* = *vināyet*, *sevējja* = *seveta*, passive: *muccējja* = *mucyeta* (Uttar. 198. 199. 247); P. *huṇēyya* = *bhavet* (Hc. 4,320. 323); A. *caejjā* = *tyajet*, *bhaṇējjā* = *bhramet* (Hc. 4,418. 6). Sr. fol. 51 gives also *hasejjāi*. Beside those in *-ējjā*, *-ējja* AMg. JM. often have the form in *-e* = *-et*: *gijjhe* = *grdhyet*, *harise* = *harṣet*, *kujjhe* = *krudhyet*

(Āyār 1,2,3,1.2), *kiṇe*, *kiṇāvae* = **krīṇet*, **krīṇāpayet* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), especially in verses: *care* = *caret* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4; Uttar. 190. 567), *ciṭṭhe* = *tiṣṭhet*, *uvaciṭṭhe* = *upatiṣṭhet* (Uttar. 29. 30) beside *uvaciṭṭhejjā*, *ciṭṭhejjā* (Uttar. 34. 35), *labhe* = *labheta* (Uttar. 180); sometimes both the forms occur in the same verse: *acchīm pi no pamajjijā no vi ja kaṇḍujae munī gāyaṃ = akṣi api no pramāṛjāyen no api ca kaṇḍūyāyen munir gātram* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19); JM. *parikkhae* = *parikṣeta*, *dahe* = *dahet*, *vināṣae* = *vināṣayet* (Erz. 31,21; 38,18). In Ś. Mg. is found only -e: Ś. very frequently *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 2,23; 51,23; 52,13; Śak. 20,3,4; 50,3; 53,4; Vikr. 9,3; 23, 5. 16 etc.), *pūrae* = *pūrayet* (Mālav. 73,18), *uddhare* = *uddhavet* (Vikr. 6, 16)¹; Mg. *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 164,6; 170,18. 19), *mūṣe* = *mūṣet*, *khayye* = **khādyet* = *khādet* (Mṛcch. 119,16. 17)². With the exception of *hojjā* (§ 466) JM. too hitherto has the only opt. in -e: *have* = *bhavet* (Pav. 387, 25; Kattig. 398,302. 309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 343. 345 ff. etc.), *nāṣae* = *nāṣayet* (Kattig. 401,341).

1. So we should read for *uddhareḍi* with the v.l., ed. Calc. 1830, LENZ, Sh.P. PAṆḌIT (6,7 *saṃ uddhare*), since *avi nāma* is joined with the optative only (Śak. 13,9; Vikr. 13, 18; 40,21; Mālav. 44,1; Mahāv. 17,9; Mālatīm. 56,2; 289,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,18) or future (Mālatīm. 74,3; 100,1; 284,9) when a wish will have to be expressed. The indicative (Vepīs. 58,7) and imperative (Mg.; Mṛcch. 114,16) denote an interrogation.—
2. Cf. Mṛcch. 121,3, where for *khaṭṭe* we should read *khayyedi* beside *mūṣedi*.

§ 463. The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. *karējjāma* (7,41). For JM. JACOBI (Erz. XLVII) suggests (*puccējjāmo*) and (*kaḥējjāmo*). Forms such as *rakkhemo* (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *rakkhaī*), but indicative (§ 472). In the 2. plur. as in the 2. sing. the ending of the imp. enters: AMg. *bhavejjāha* = *bhaveta* (Nāyādh. 912.915.918.920), *viḥarejjāha* = *viḥareta* (915. 918), *gacchejjāha* = *gaccheta* (916. 918), *ciṭṭhejjāha* = *tiṣṭheta*, *uvāga-cchejjāha* = *upāgaccheta* (921); JM. *pāējjāha* = *pāyayeta* (Erz. 38,1), and with *ā*: *khamējjāha* = *kṣamedhvam*, *dhoejjāha* = *dhaukedhvam*, *duḥējjāha* = *duhyāta* (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), *kaḥējjāha* = *kathayeta* (Āv. 47,23), *bharijjāha* = **bhareta* (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. *karējjāha* (Mṛcch. 99,24); A. *rakkhejjāhu* (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. *āgacchejjā* (Tṭhān. 125: *loganti yadevā...ā*); Ś. *bhave* = *bhaveyaḥ* (Vikr. 26,2; *akkharā...visajjidā bhave*; Raṅganātha: *bhave ity atra bahuvacana ekavacanam ca*); AMg. *manne* = *manyeran* (Sūyag. 575. 576. 578; *jahā nam ee purisā* [text *purise*] *manne*; uncertain, since beforehand 575 *jahā nam esa purise manne*), *samabhiḥloe* = *samabhiḥlokayeyuḥ* (Vivāhap. 929; *te pecchāgā tam naṭṭijān...samabhiḥloe* tti i *hanta bhante samabhiḥloe*).

§ 464. The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been retained in a few verbs in AMg. JM. So particularly the very frequent AMg. *siyā* = *syāt* (c.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vivāhap. 39.40. 146f. etc.; Kappas.), also *asiyā* = *na syāt* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (c. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28. 29. 198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas. etc.), also in *pāukujjā* = *prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474); AMg. *būyā* = *brūyāt* (c. g. Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination *kevalī būyā* (Āyār. p. 72. 77 f. 132 ff.); besides AMg. *hañijā* = *hanyāt* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), found sporadically in verses, beside *hañijā* (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), *hañējjā* (Paṇḥāv. 396. 397), JM. *āhañējjāsi* (Āv. 11.1) and AMg. *hañe* (Āyār. 1,2, 6,5; 1,3,2,3). A 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMg. *ējjāhi* = *eyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

§ 465. An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMg. JM. *sakkā*. CHILDERS¹ wished to take it as past passive participle = *śakta*,

which became an indeclinable, PISCHEL² considered it as a shortened dative sing., and FRANKE³, with whom JOHANSSON agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic *śakyāt* and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. *na sakkā na soum saddā sojavisayaṃ āgajjā* "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136,14); *na sakkā rūvām adaṭṭhūṃ cakkhuvisayaṃ āgajjāṃ* "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136,31; 137,7. 18); *egassa dōṇha tiṇha va saṃkhējjāṇa va pāsum sakkā disanti sarirāṇi ṇoṇajjivāṇ' anantāṇaṃ* "one can see one, two or three or numerable (ṇoṇa- being), they see bodies of unending number of many ṇoṇa- being"; *kiṃ sakkā kāṃṃ je jaṃ neccaha osahaṃ muhā pāṃṃ* "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paṇhāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644,28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. *kiṃ sakkā kāṃṃ* "what can one do" (Āv. 30,10); *na sakkā eṇa uvāṇaṃ* "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35,11); *na jā sakkā pāṃṃ so vā ane vā* "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42,8; cf. 42,28 *na vi appaṇa pivaṃ na vi annaṃ sakkei jūhaṃ pāṃṃ*). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with *sakkā*=*śakyate* the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: *no khalu se sakkā keṇā subāhūṇa vi uraṃ ureṇaṃ giṇhittae* "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); *no khalu se sakkā keṇā ... nigganṭhāo pāvayaṇāo cālistae vā khobhittae vā vipariṇāmittae vā* "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in *no khalu ahaṃ sakkā...cālistae...* (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636,25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. *cakkiyā*, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: *eyamsi ṇaṃ bhante dhammatthikāyaṃsi...cakkiyā kei āsittae vā ciṭṭhittae vā...* "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119. 1120. 1346. 1389); *erāvai kuṇālāe jatttha cakkiyā siyā egaṃ pāyaṃ jale kiccā egaṃ pāyaṃ thale kiccā evaṃ cakkiā* "when there (is a stream) like the Airāvati in Kuṇālā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dryland" (Kappas. S. § 12; cf. § 13). *cakkiyā* standing for **cakkiyā*=**cakyāt* according to § 195 belongs to M. *caai* (can; is capable; Vr. 8,70 [so to read for *vaai*]; Hc. 4,86; Ki. 4,60; R.)=**cakati*, to which Aśoka *caghati* for **cakhati* with aspiration belongs according to § 206⁴. I derive *caai*=**takati* from *taki sahaṇe* (Dhātupāṭha 5,2; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3,1,97, ed. KIELHORN 2,82) with palatal for dental according to § 216.—Accordingly Pāli AMg. *labbhā*=**labhyāt*, like AMg. *savve pāṇā...na bhayaḍukkhaṃ ca kiṃci labbhā pāveṃṃ*, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paṇhāv. 363; Abhayadeva: *labhyā yogyo* [sic; read *yogyāḥ*]); *na tāṃ samaṇeṇa labbhā daṭṭhūṃ na kaheṃṃ na vi ja sumareṃṃ* "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paṇhāv. 466; Abhayadeva; *labbhā tti labhyāni ucitāni*); *dugaṇichāvattiyā vi labbhā uppāveṃṃ* (ed. *uppāteu*; Paṇhāv. 526; Abhayadeva: *labhyā ucitā yogyety urthaḥ*), for which at 537 f. stands: *na dugaṇichāvattiyaṇaṃ labbhā uppāveṃṃ* "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. *sakko* p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1,328.—3. BB. 17,256.—4. BB. 20,91.—5. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4,86, *caai*=*tyajati*, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated *caai* from its other synonyms.

4. IMPERATIVE.

§ 467. The paradigm is:

Sing.	Plur.
1. [vaṭṭāmu, vaṭṭamu]	AMg. JM. vaṭṭāmo; M. Ś. Mg. Dh., also JM. vaṭṭamha, vaṭṭe'mha
2. vaṭṭa, vaṭṭasu, vaṭṭesu, vaṭṭehi, AMg. also vaṭṭāhi, A. vaṭṭu, vaṭṭahi	vaṭṭaha; Ś. Mg. [Dh] vaṭṭadha, vaṭṭedha; A. vaṭṭahu, vaṭṭehu; CP. vaṭṭatha
3. vaṭṭaū, Ś. Mg. Dh. vaṭṭadu	vaṭṭantu, A. also vaṭṭahi

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention *hasāmu*, *peṇchāmu* (Hc. 3,173), *hasamu* (Bh. 7,18; Ki. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be doubted, as the 2. sing. in *-su* is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered to be in the ātmanepada and the ending *-su*, we have been equating as = Skt. *-sva*, hence *rakkhasu* = *rakṣasva*¹. The circumstance, that this ending is found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmanepada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that otherwise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* correspond to the endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-i* of the indicative. M. *viramasu* = *virama*, *rajjasu* = *rajjasva* (H. 149), *rakkhasu* = *rakṣa* (H. 297), *parirakkhasu* = *parirakṣa* (R. 6,15), *osarasu* = *apasara* (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. *karesu* = *kuru* (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. *apunesu* = *anunaya* (H. 152. 946); Ś. *ānesu* = *ānaya* (Śak. 125,8²; Kārṇas. 51,17), *avanesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhuñjasu* = *bhuñgḍhi* (H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛcch. 70,12); AMg. *jāsu* = *yāhi* (Sūyag. 177); AMg. *kahasu* (Uttar. 700. 703), Ś. *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16; Kārṇas. 37,7. 12) = *kathaya*, AMg. *saddhasu* = *śraddehi* (Sūyag. 151); JM. *khamasu* = *kṣamasva* (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13), *varasu* = *varṇasva* (Sagara 1,15), *sarasu* = *smara* (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. *kupasu* = *kuru* (H. 607. 771; Sagara 6, 2. 11. 12; Kk. 266, 16; 274, 27); Mg. *lakkaṣu* = *rakṣa* (Caṇḍak. 69,1), *āgaṣṇesu* (Mṛcch. 116,5) = *āgaṣṇa*, *deṣu* (Prab. 58,8; B. *dessu*, P. M. Bb. *dehi*), *dikkaṣu* (Prab. 58,18; B. *dikkhassu*, P. *dikkhassa*, M. *dikkhehi*, Bb. *dikkhaya*) = *dikṣaya*, *dhāḷeṣu* (Prab. 60,10; B. *dhāḷeṣsu*, P. Bb. *dhāḷesu*, M. *dāva*) = *dhāraya*; A. *kijjasu* = *kuru* (passive in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119. 120), *muñiāsu*, metrically for *muñiasu*, passive of *muñ* (§ 489) in the sense of the active (Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside *muñijjasu* (2,119), *bujjhasu* = *budhyasva* (Piṅgala 2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms in *-ssa*, as *uvālahassa* (Śak. 11,4), *avalambassa* (Śak. 119,13; 133,8), *peṇkhassa* (Prab. 56,14), *paḍivajjassa* (Venis. 72,19), also *parirambhassu* (Viddhaś. 128,6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l. has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in *-su* is traceable only in verses.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 179. 338; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 61; JACOBI, Erz. § 54; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. BLOCH l. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending *-hi* enters in. In AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg. sometimes, the *a*-stems take the ending *-hi*, before which *a* is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,

however, *ā* is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending *-āhi* appears beside *-a* in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in *-ādu*. In Dh. and A. final *a* becomes *u* (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *bhaṇa*, A. *bhaṇu* (H. 163, 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Śāk. 50,9; 114,5; Piṅgala 1,62; Hc. 4,401,4), but D. Ś. Mg. also *bhaṇāhi* (D. Mṛcch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514); A. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 63,4); Ā. *ciṭṭha* = *tiṣṭha*, *ehi*, *vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 99,18, 20; 100, 18); AMg. Ś. *gaccha* (Uvās. § 58, 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śāk. 18,2; Mṛcch. 38,22; 58,2), Mg. *gaśca* (Mṛcch. 38,22; 79,14), but AMg. also *gacchāhi* (Uvās. § 204); M. JM. *peṇcha* (H. 725; Āv. 18,12); Ś. D. *peṅkha* (Śāk. 58,7; Mṛcch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14), Mg. *peṇska* (Mṛcch. 12,16; 13,6; 21, 15), A. *peṅkku* (Hc. 4,419,6) and *peṅkhaḥi* (Piṅgala 1,61); M. Ś. *hasa* (H. 818; Nāgān. 33,5), Mg. *haśa* (Mṛcch. 21,4); Mg. *piva* = *piba* (Prab. 60,9) and *pivāhi* (Veṇis. 34,2, 15), *palittāāhi* = *paritrāyasva* (Mṛcch. 175, 22; 176,5, 10); M. *rua* (H. 895) beside *ruēhi* (784) and *ruasu* (143, 885, 909), Ś. *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,15; Nāgān. 24,8, 12) = *rudihi*; AMg. *vigiñca* = **vikṇtya* = *vikṇta* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170), *jāṇāhi* = *jānihi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *bujjhāhi* = *budhyasva*, *vasāhi* = *vasa*, *harāhi* = *hara*, *vandāhi* = *vandasva*, *akkamāhi* = *ākrāma* (Kappas. § 111, 114; Ovav. § 53; Uvās. § 58, 204; Nirayāv. § 22); JM. *viharāhi* = *vihara* (Āv. 11,6); M. JM. AMg. Ś. *karehi* (H. 225, 900; Āv. 11,4; Kk. s. v. *kar*; Ovav. § 40; Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10; Śāk. 78,14; 153,13), Mg. *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5); A. *karāhi*, *karahi* (Piṅgala 1,149; Hc. 4,385) and *karu* (Hc. 4,330, 2); D. *oṇāmehi* = *avanāmaya* (Mṛcch. 102,2); AMg. *paḍikappehi* = *pratikalpaya*, *saṁnāhehi* = *saṁnāhaya*, *upaṭṭhāvehi* = *upasthāpaya*, *kāravehi* = *kāraya* (Ovav. § 40), *roehi* = *rocaya* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *pucchehi* = *precha* (Kk. 272,31), *maggehi* = *mārgaya*, *viṇāhehi* = *viṇānihi* (Erz. 59,6; 71,12); Ś. *manthehi* = *mantraya*, *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15), *siḍhilehi* = *siṭhila* (Śāk. 11,1; Veṇis. 76,4), *jālehi* = *jvālaya* (Mṛcch. 23,18); Mg. *mālehi* = *māraya* (Mṛcch. 123,15; 165,24), *ghoṣehi* = *ghoṣaya* (Mṛcch. 162, 9); Dh. *pasalu* = *prasara* (text **ru*; Mṛcch. 32,16), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give *-a* in the final syllable: *geṇha* (29,16; 30,2), *paaccha* (31,4, 7, 9; 32,3, 8, 12, 14; 34,24; 35,7), *āaccha* (39,17); *dehi* (32,23; 36,15); A. *suṇehi* = *śṇu* (Piṅgala 1,62); M. JM. Ś. *hohi* = **bhodhi* = Vedic *bodhi* = *bhava* (H. 259, 372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mṛcch. 54,12; Śāk. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc). On the assumptive imp. in *-e*, *-i* in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in *-u*, Ś. Mg. D. Dh. *-du* = *-tu*: M. *marau* = *mriyatām* (H. s. v. *mar*), *paṣṭau* = *pravartatām* (R. 3,58), *deu* = **dayatu* (G. 58); AMg. *pāsaū* = *paśyatu* (Kappas. § 16), *āpucchaū* = *āprechatu* (Uvās. § 68), *viṇeu* = *vinayatu* (Nāyādh. § 97, 98); JM. *kiraū* = *kriyatām*, *suvaū* = *śrūyatām* (Erz. 15,9; 17,14); *deu* = **dayatu* (Kk. II, 508,29), *suṇau* = *śvapitu* (Dvār. 503,3); Ś. *pasidadu* = *prasidatu* (Lalitav. 561,9; Śāk. 120,11), *āruhadu* = *ārohatu* (Uttarar. 32,6,7), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Śāk. 121,10), *suṇādu* = *śṇotu* (Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Veṇis. 12,5; 59,23 etc); D. *gacchadu* (Mṛcch. 101,1); Mg. *muñcadu* = *muñcatu*, *suṇādu* = *śṇotu*, *pisidadu* = *niśidatu* (Mṛcch. 31,18, 21; 37,3; 38,9); A. *pandaū* = *nandatu* (Hc. 4,422,14), *dijjaū* = *dīyatām*, *kijjaū* = *kriyatām* (Piṅgala 1, 81^a); M. JM. AMg. A. *hou*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodu* = *bhavatu* (M. H. R.; Hc. s. v. *bhū*; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. *ho*; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. *ho*; Ś. Mṛcch. 4,23; Śāk. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,14, 18; 31,19, 22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the

1. plur. indicative: AMg. *gacchāmo...vandāmo namasāmo sakkāremo sammāñemo...pajjuvāsāmo* = *gacchāma...vandāmahai namasyāma satkārayāma sammāñayāma...paryupāsāmahai* (Vivāhap. 187. 263; Ovav. § 38), *giṇhāmo* = *grhāma*, *sāijjāmo* = **svādyāmahai* = *svāddāmahai* (Ovav. § 86), *jujjhāmo* = *yudhyāmahai* (Nirayāv. § 25); JM. *harāmo* = *harāma* (Erz. 37,11), *gacchāmo* = *gacchāma*, *pavisāmo* = *praviśāma* (Sagara 5,1. 6). Vr. 7. 19 and Hc. 3,176 know only the ending -āmo: *hasāmo*, *tuvarāmo*, Sr. fol. 51 also *hasimo*, *hasemo*, *hasamo*, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. *bhuñjimo* = *bhuñjāma* (verse; Uttar. 675); JM. *nijjhāmemo* = *niḥkṣāmayāma* (Dvār. 505, 9), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35), *pūremo* = *pūrayāma* (Sagara 3,17); AMg. *homo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,34). The special ending of the imp. is -mha, which has not been found in AMg., in M. JM. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.¹, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Ś. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś. A rich collection from Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by BLOCH². M. *abbhatthē'mha* = *abhyarthayāma* (R. 4,48); JM. *ciṭṭhamha* = *tiṣṭhāma*, *gacchamha* = *gacchāma* (Erz. 14,33; 60,21)³; Ś. *gacchamha* (Mṛcch. 75,3; Śak. 67,10; 79,8; 115,3; Vikr. 6,14; 18,13; Mālav. 30,12; 32,13; Ratn. 294,8; 295,11; 303,20; 312,24 etc.), *uvavisamha* = *upaviśāma* (Śak. 18,9), *uvasappamha* = *upasarṇāma* (Śak. 79,11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41,14; Nāgān. 13,8; Bālar. 216,1), *pe'kkhamha* = *prekṣāmahai* (Mṛcch. 42,14; Vikr. 31,14; 32,5; Ratn. 303,25 etc.), *karē'mha* = *karavāma* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Ratn. 303,21; Prab. 63,11; Venis. 9,23 etc.), *nivedē'mha* = *nivedayāma* (Śak. 160,7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45,15; 293,29; 309,26), *adivāhē'mha* = *ativāhayāma* (Ratn. 299,32), *hō'mha* = *bhavāma* (Śak. 26,14; Vikr. 36,12); Mg. *añṇesamha*⁴ = *anveṣayāma* (Mṛcch. 171,18), *piamha* = *piśāma* (Venis. 35,22), *palāamha* = *palāyāmahai* (Caṇḍak. 72,2), *kalē'mha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Caṇḍak. 68,15; Venis. 36, 6); Dh. *aṇusalē'mha* = *anudarāma* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,19), Dh. Mg. Ś. *kiḷē'mha* = *kriḍāma* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Dh. Mg. *nivedē'mha* (Mṛcch. 36,22; 171,11). Forms in -mo and -ma that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as *pe'kkhāmo* (Mālav. 15,17), Mg. *pe'skāmo* (Mṛcch. 119,1), *pavisāmo* (Mālav. 39,19; v.l. *pavissamha*; Sh. P. PANDIT 75,2 correctly *pavisamha*; cf. Ratn. 294,17; 302,29; Nāgān. 27,7; Mahāv. 35, 17), *avakkāmāma* (Mālav. 48,18; correctly *avakkamamha* Mṛcch. 22,2), *nivārema* (Mālav. 62,13; v.l. *nivārehmi*), Mg. *naccāmo* (Prab. 61,7; ed. M. 75,22 correctly *naccamha*)⁵ are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in -mha for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, -mha is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from *smah* (we are)⁶ is false. -mha is = -sma of the aorist and one *nēmha* = **neṣma* (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic *jeṣma*, *geṣma*, *deṣma*, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. *neṣa*, *parṣa* (WHITNEY § 894c. 896: cf. also NEISSER, BB. 20,70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: *jāhū* = *yāma* (Hc. 4,386).

1. Ś. Mg., in which the imp. in -mha is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is, therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43 has severely criticised—2. l.c. p. 44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by JACOBI, Erz. p. XLVII.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *añṇesama*, *piama*, *kalē'sma* etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in BLOCH, l. c. p. 45.—6. BOPP, Vgl. Grammatik 11, 120; BURNOUF et LASSEN, Essai sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 180 f.; HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto § 187 nota III; LASSEN, Inst. § 117,2; BRUGMANN, Grundriss II¹, 1334, note 1; BLOCH, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. *namaha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 1,7), A. *namahu* (Hc. 4,446), CP. *namatha* (Hc. 4,326);

M. *rañjeḥa* = *rañjayata*, *raeḥa* = *racayata*, *deḥa* = **dayata* (H. 780); M. *uaha* = **upata*¹ = *paśyata* (Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak 2,14); also *uwaḥa* (Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. l. to H.); AMg. *haṇaḥa khaṇaḥa chaṇaḥa dahaha, paḥaḥa ālumpaha vilumpaha sahasakkāreḥa viparāṃsaha* = *hata khanata kṣaṇuta dahata pacata ālumpata vilumpata sahasāikārayata viparāṃśata* (Sūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), *khamāḥa* = *kṣamadhvam* (Uttar. 366. 367), *tāḥa* = *tādayata* (Nāyādh. 1305); JM. *acchaha* = *ṛcchata* (Āv. 14,30), *kaṇḍūyaha* (Erz. 36,21), *ciṭṭhaha, āisaha, giṇhaha* = *tiṣṭhata, ādiśata, grhṇāta* (Kk. 264,11. 12), *ṭhaveḥa, daṃseḥa* = *sthāpayata, darśayata* (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. *parittāadha* = *paritrāyadhvam* (Śak. 16, 10; 17, 6; Vikr. 3, 17; 5, 2; Mālatīm. 130,3), Mg. *palittāadha* (Mṛcch. 32,25); AMg. JM. *kareḥa* (Kappas.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270, 45), AMg. also *kuvvāḥa* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. *kareḥu* (Piṅgala 1,122), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107), *kuṇḥu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118), *kuṇahu* (text **ha*; Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79), Mg. *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23); Ś. *paattadha* = *prayatadhvam* (Śak. 52,15), *samassasadha* = *samāśasita* (Vikr. 7,1), *avanedha* = *apanayata*, *hodha* = *bhavata*, *māredha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); Mg. *ośaladha* = *apasarata* (Mṛcch. 96,21. 23; 97,1; 134,24. 25; 157,4. 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Caṇḍak. 64,5), *ṣuṇādhā* = *śṛṇuta* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14. 16), *māledha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 165,123; 166,1)². Dh. *ramaha* (Mṛcch. 39,17) is to be emended as *ramamha* with BLOCH³; A. *piahu* = *pibata* (Hc. 4,422. 20), *ṭhavahu* = *sthāpayata*, *kaḥehu* = *kathayata* (Piṅgala 1,119. 122). D. has *āacchadha* = *āgacchata* beside *jatteḥa* = *yata-dhvam*, *karējjāḥa* = *kuruta*, *johaha* (Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3). — The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ntu : M. *dēntu* = **dayantu* (G. 44), *ṇandantu*, *vilihantu* (Karp. 1,1. 4); AMg. *bhavantu* (Vivāhap. 508), *nijjantu* = *niryāntu*, *phusantu* = *spṛśantu* (Ovav. § 47. 87), *suṇantu* = *śṛṇvantu* (Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. *paśidantu* = *prasidantu* (Mudrār. 253,4), *peḥkhantu* = *prekṣantām* (Mṛcch. 4,3), *hoṇtu* = *bhavantu* (Vikr. 87,21); Mg. *paśidantu* = *prasidantu* (Śak. 113,5); A. *pīdantu* (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. *leḥi* (Hc. 4,387,3)⁴.

1. FISCHEL on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29, note 4 and on Hāla² 4.—

2. On Ś. cf. FISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff.—3 Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads *jam* for *je* here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the *a*-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the *e*-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr. 7,34 and Kī. 4,37—39 permit *e* in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mk. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples *hasēi, hasāi, padḥei, padḥāi, hasēnti, hosanti, haseu, hasaū*; Hc. has *hasēi, hasāi, hasema, hasemu, hasemo; hoseu, hasaū; suṇeu, suṇaū, hasēnto, hasanto*, Kī. *hasāi, hasēi, caai, caei*, Mk. *bhaṇai, bhaṇei, bhaṇasi, bhaṇesi*. These forms in -e are found in a large number in all c'asses, beside those in -a, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives¹. From *kṛ* one forms *karaī* and *karei*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *karedi*, the causative, however, *kārei*, Ś. Mg. *kāredī*, JŚ. *kārayadi* (Katig. 403,385). One says *hasāi* and *hasēi*, but in the caus. *hāsei*, Ś. *muñcaḍi, muñcedi*, but in the caus. *moāvedi* etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character -e from -aya of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.² too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. *gaccheṃha* (Mṛcch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. *gēṇḥēṃha* (Mṛcch. 36,24), *aṇusalēṃha* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,

19), Dh. Ś. Mg. *kiḷmha* (Mṛcch. 30,18;94,15;131,18), Ś. *suṇmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9) are to be explained as false with BLOCH².

1. JACOBI, *Erz.* § 53, II, where *nemi*, *deṃi* are to be deleted completely (§ 474).—2. LASSEN, *Inst.* § 120,3.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.

§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in *-i*, *-u* are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: *ji* forms *jaai* (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. *ji*; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. *jayai* (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Ś. *jaadi* (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Ś. *jaadu* (Śak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1;305,15;320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form *jedu*, which is often found beside *jaadu*, pro ex. Venis. 59,13 beside *jaadu* 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. *yedu* beside Ś. *jaadu* 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Śak. (ed. BÖHTLINGK 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited¹. In M. JM. AMg. Dh. A. *ji* is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. *jinādi* (Mṛcch. 34,22); AMg. *jināmi* (Uttar. 704); M. *jinai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. *parāinai* (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. *jinai* (Piṅgala 1,123^a); M. *jinanti* (R. 3,40); AMg. *jinējja* (Uttar. 291), *jināhi* (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), *jinantassa* = *jayatah* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *jinium* (absol.; Āv. 36,42); A. *jinia* (Piṅgala 1,102^a). On the passive *jinijjai*, *jinvaī* see § 536. For Ś. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid *jinādi*. From the absolute Ś. *samassaia* (Śak.2,8) follows a present **samassai* = *samāstrayati*. In AMg. *śri* too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like *ji*: *samussināmi*, *samussināsi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of *ci* and *mi* are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in *-u*, *-ā* Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: *nihavaī*, *nihavaī* = *nihute*, *cavaī* = *cyavate*, *ravaī* = *rauti*, *kavaī* = *kavate*, *savaī* = *sūte*, *pasavaī* = *prasūte*. So AMg. *pasavaī* (Uttar. 641), *nīpaavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *nīphave* (Dasav. 631,31), *anīphavamāna* (Nāyādh. § 83); whilst the passive M. *nīphuviṇṇanti* (H. 657), Ś. *nīphuviādi* (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Ś. *nīphuvido* (Śak. 137,6) = **nīphuvaī* presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. *pañhaai* = *pañnati* (H. 409,462 v. l. *pañhuaī*); AMg. A. *ravaī* (Thāp. 450; Piṅgala 2,146). Beside *ravaī*, *ru* is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: *ruvaī* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ruvaī*, *ruvanti*, *ruvasu* (H. s. v. *rud*), *paḍiruvanti* (R.), passive *ruvvaī* and *ruvijjai* (Hc. 4,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root *ruv*, which, like *dhau*, *svap* (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: *rovaī* (Hc. 4,238); M. *rovaī* (H. 494); JM. *rovāmi* (Dvār. 503,17), inf. *rovium* (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle *roviya* (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from *rud* (Vr. 8,42; Hc. 4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy *ruvāva*, *rovāva* "to weep" and English *to cry* "to weep" and "to howl"².—AMg. *luējjā* = **luējjā* = *luniyāt* (Vivāhap. 1186), *puvanti* = *plavante* (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503. 511.

1. CAPPELLER on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. *jaadu*, beside *jedu*, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—2. WEBER on Hāla 141; FISCHER on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in *-i* tend to change *-aya* into *-e* through *saṃprasāraṇa*: M. *ṇesi*, *ṇei* = *nayasi*, *nayati* (H. 553. 939. 647), *āṇei* (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. *nīnei* = *nirṇayati* (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. *nei* (Erz. 11,11), M. *pariṇei* (Karp. 7,4), Ś. *pariṇedi* (Viddhaś. 50,1), *āṇedi* (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. *nemi* (Sagara 9,6), M. *āṇemi* (Karp. 26,1), Ś. *avaṇemi* = *apaṇayāmi*, *aṇuṇemi*, *parāṇemi*

(Mṛcch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. *ñēnti* (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. JM. *Ś. ñehi* (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMg. *Ś. uvañehi* = *upanaya* (Vivāgas. 121,122; Mṛcch. 61,10; 64,20. 25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), *Ś. āñehi* (Vikr. 41,1) and *āñesu* (Śak. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17), *avañesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10), *Ś. ñedu* (Mṛcch. 65,19; 67,7); *Ś. Mg. ñēmha* (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, that have *ñēmā*]; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,12), JM. *ñiñeha* (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. *Ś. ñedha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 161,9). In verses are found JM. *āñasu* (Erz. 78,9) and A. *āñahi* (Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from **āñasu*, **āñāsu*, **āñāhi*, **āñāhi*. The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. *ñāi* (Viddhaś. 7,2), *ñānti* (G. 803), *Ś. pariñāadu* (Śak. 39,3), *ñāia* = **nayiya* = *nivā* (Mṛcch. 155,4) and in the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. *ñāante* = *nayan* (Mṛcch. 169,12). — *ñi* with *ud* forms *udñēi*, 3. plur. *udñēnti* (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G. 232 [to be read *udñinti* with J]. 770; Mg. Mṛcch. 120,12), particip. parasmaip. *udñēnta* (G. 543; so to be read with P). — *lei* = *layati* from *li* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ahilei* (G.R.), *ahileñti* (H.), *parileñta* (R.), whilst M. *alliañi* (G.H.R.), JM. *alliyāñi* (Āv. 47,16), AMg. *uvalliyāñi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), M. *samalliañi* (R.), JM. *samalliyāñi* (Āv. 47,17) presuppose a flexion **liyāte*, the participia M. *āliamāñā* (G.), *Ś. nīliamāñā* (Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected *daya-* (to give; Hc. s. v. *dā*; Kī. 4,34): M. JM. *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehi*, *desu*, *deu*, *deha*, particip. *dēnta-* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *dei* (Nirayāv. § 21, 22), *demo* (Vivāhap. 819); JŚ. *dedi* (Kattig. 399,319. 320; 402,360. 365. 366); *Ś. demi* (Ratn. 312,30; Mṛcch. 105,9), *desi* (Mālav. 5,8), *dedi* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), *dehi* (as in Skt.) very frequently (pro ex. Mṛcch. 38,4. 23; 44,24; 94,17; Śak. 95,11; 111,6 etc.), *dedu* (Karp. 38,1); D. *deu* (Mṛcch. 105,21); particip. *Ś. dēnta-* (Mṛcch. 44,19); Mg. *demi* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9. 10. 13), *dehi* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 97,2; 132,4), *deśu* (Prab. 58,8), *dedha* (Mṛcch. 160,11; 164,14. 16; 170,6); Dh. *dehi* (Mṛcch. 32,23; 36,15); P. *teti* (Hc. 4,318), *tiyyate* (to be read so; Hc. 4,315); A. *desi*, *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehu*, *dēntahō* = *dadatah*, *dēntihim* = *dadatibhiḥ* (Hc. s. v. *dā*), absol. *dēppinū* (Hc. 4,440) and *devam* (Hc. 4,441). The flexion **dañi* = **dāyati* presupposes the future *Ś. dāissam* = *dayisye* (Mṛcch. 80,20), false *dāissam* (Śak. ed. BÖHLINGK 25,6; Karp. 112,5), *dāissāmo* (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. l.); cf. Vr. 12,14; Mg. *dāissam* (Mṛcch. 31,6. 8. 15; 32,9. 24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5. 9), and the absol. *Ś. Mg. dāia* = **dayiya* = *dayitvā* (Mṛcch. 32,19 [a°]; 37,12; 51,12; 168,2). The root *dā* has retained only in M. JM. *dāñā*, *dāum*, *dijjāñi* (G. H. R.; Erz.), AMg. inf. *dāum* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *Ś. diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6; so to be read also at Mṛcch. 49,7 for *dijjadi*), *diadu* (Karp. 103,7), *dādavva* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jivān. 43,12. 15); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); in the fut. M. JM. AMg. *dāham*, *dāsam* (§ 530), past participle *dijñā*, *datta* (§ 566). AMg. mostly uses *dalañi* (§ 490), for which we often find *dalañi* as v. l. (HOERNLE, Uvās.; Translation, note 287).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms *hoi*, *huvāñi*, *havañi*, *bhavañi*, in compounds *pabhavañi*, *paribhavañi*, *sambhavañi* and *ubbhavañi*, which presupposes a simplex **bhuvāñi* from *bhū*. This occurs in *bhuvadi*, that is taught by Hc. 4,269 beside *huvadi*, *bhavadī*, *havadi*, *bhodi*, *hodi* as *Ś.*; further in the aorist AMg. *bhuvi* (§ 516) and in P. *phuvati* (Kī. 5,115). Vr. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; Mk. fol. 53 teach *hoi*, *huvāñi* and Vr. 8,3; Mk. fol. 53 in compounds *bhavañi*, as *pabhavañi*, *ubbhavañi*, *sambhavañi*, *paribhavañi*, Kī. 4,58, *havañi* as *pahavañi*. Vr.'s rule 12,12 is not clear on *Ś.*, for which Kī. 5,81 and Mk. fol. 71 prescribe *bhodi*, while Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits *hodi* too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches *bhodi*, *hodi*, *bhuvadi*, *huvadi* etc. (*ityādi*). *bhavañi*, the form that exactly corresponds

to Skt. *bhavati* is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff; Thāp. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff.; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. S. § 14—16), *bhavasi* (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), *bhavanti* (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff.; Kappas.), *bhavaū* (Kappas.); also in JM. it is not seldom: *bhavaī* (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), *bhavanti* (Erz. 3,14), *bhavasū* (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. JM. have also the forms with initial *ha*: JM. *havāmi* (Erz. 35,15), AMg. JM. *havaī* (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside *hoi*); Āv. 36,44); AMg. *havanti* (Sūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106. 115 etc.; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130); likewise in the optative beside *bhavējjā* (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. *bhavējjāha* (Nāyādh. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also *bhavējja* (Sūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), *bhavējjā* (Uttar. 459), JM. *haviija* (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read *hōjjā*, with the v. l. for *bhavējjā*. AMg. JM. have also the opt. *bhave* (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is *bhaveam*, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are *bhave*, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. *pahave* (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. *have* (Mālav. 44,1. 3)¹. In JŚ. the form that is very usual is *havadi* (Pav. 380,9; 381, 16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398, 303; 400, 334), also *havedi* (Kattig. 401,341; MS. *havei*), beside *hodi* (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402, 368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404,391), *homi* (Pav. 385. 65), *hunti* (Kattig. 401, 352), *hōnti* (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. *hodum* (Kattig. 402,357); MS. *houni*). The opt. is *have* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. *havadi*, *hodi* (§ 21. 22). Of the stem *bhava-*, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: Mg. *bhavāmi* (Mṛch. 117,6); Ś. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Śak. 32, 6; Karp. 61, 11), which is supported by JŚ. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Kattig. 404,388; MS. °*viya*°) and Ś. *bhavidavvadā* (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52, 13); inf. *bhaviṃ* (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. *bhavidum* (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading¹). Very frequent is the absolute *bhavia* in Ś. (Mṛch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160, 1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11), JŚ. *bhaviya* (Pav. 380,12; 387,12), AMg. *bhaviitā* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *pāubbhaviitānam* (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). M. *aggabhavantiō* in G. 588 is a false reading for *aggabharantiū* (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. JM. JŚ. the stem *hava-* is found also in M. *havanti* (G. 901.936.976). The stem *bhava-* is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add Bloch's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. *anubhavanto* = *anubhavan* (Vikr. 41,9), *anubhavida* (Karp. 33,6). The stem *hava-* is usual only after the prefix *pra-*, further in the substantive *vihava*³; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after *anu-* in M. *anuhavaī* (H. 211), Ś. *anubhavanti* (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. *anuhoṃti*, in Prab. *anubhavanti*, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read *vibhāvedī* for *vihāvedī*. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires *bhava-* for the composita.

1. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 41, who has compiled a plentiful collection for Ś. Mg. from Mṛch. Śak. Vikr. Mālav. Ratn. on *bhū*, should be supplemented for completing the list.—2. l. c. p. 39. 40.—3. BLOCH, l. c. p. 40.

§ 476. *huva-*, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. *huvanti* (G.988; H.285), in the opt. *huvia* (§ 466) and P. *huvējya* (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. *huviadi* (Venis.33,6.7; 35,8; in the sense

of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. *bhaviādi* § 475) and especially in the future in Ś. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is Ś. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. *huvanti* and probably also Mg. particip. necessitatis *huvīdavaṃ* (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13). — In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is *ho-* from *hava-*, which AMg. too has more seldom and JŚ. has frequently: *homi*, *hosi*, *hoi*, *hōnti* and *hunti*; imp. *hohi*, *hosu*, *hou*, *homo*, *hōntu*; indic. pres. pass. *hoīai*, *hoijjai*; parasmaip. pres. particip. *hōntu*, *hunto*, *ātmanep. homāno*; inf. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*; absol. *hoūna*; particip. nec. AMg. JM. *hojavva*¹. On *hōjjā*, *hōjja* see § 466. Besides this, the precativ in AMg. are *hoi*, *hou* only, especially in the combination *hoū nam*, and the preterite *hōtthā* in frequent use. In Ś. one says *homi*, *hosi*, *hōnti*, imp. *hohi*, *hōmha*, *hodha*, *hōntu*, Mg. imp. *hodha*², but Ś. Mg. Dh. only *bhodi*, *bhodu*³. False forms in the texts are *bhomi*, *hodi*, *bhohi*, *hodu*, *bhōntu*⁴. P. has *photi* (Ki. 5,115). The particip. nec. is Ś. Mg. *hodavva*⁵; on Ś. JŚ. *bhavidavva* see § 475, on Mg. *huvīdava* see above. The particip. pret. is M. *hūa* (Hc. 4,64; Ki. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in *maṇḍanīhūam* (H. 8), *aṇuhūa* (Hc. 4,64; H. 29), *parihūeṇa* (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), *pahūa* (Hc. 4,64), A. *hūā* (Hc. 4,384) and *huā* (Hc. 4,351), Ś. Dh. D. *bhūda* (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Śak. 43,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read °*bhūdo*]; Dh. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13), Mg. *kiappahūda* = *kiyatprabhūta* (Vepī. 34,16). — Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion *hoai*, *hoi*, *huai*, *hwei*, exactly according to the type of the *a*-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on *hou* and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also WEBER, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882,811 f.; IS. 16,393. — 2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41. — 3. PUSCHL, KB. 8,141 and above § 469; Mg. *bhodi* e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6; 168,3. 4. 5, false *hodi* 168,6. — 4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae p. 20 f. — 5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of *bhū* cf. also DELIUS, Radices Prācriticae s. v.

§ 477. The roots in *-r* and *-ṛ* form the stem in *-ara*: *dharai*, *varai*, *sarai*, *harai*, *jarai*, *tarai* (Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Ki. 4,32). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of *jṛ*, *dhṛ*, *mṛ*, *vṛ*, *stṛ*, in Pkt. this is the rule. Beside it the flexion with the *e*-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. *dharai* and *dharemi*, *dharei*, *dharēnti*, particip. pres. *dharanta* and *dharēnta* (G. H. R.; Erz.); Ś. *dharāmi* = *dhriye* (Uttar. 83,9); A. *dharai* (Hc. 4,334; 438,3) and *dharei* (Hc. 4,336), *dharahi* (Hc. 4,382), imp. *dharahi* (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgala 1,149). — M. *osarai* = *apasarati*, *osaranta* = *apasarat*, *osaria* = *apasṛta* (G. H. R.), imp. *osara*, *osarasu* (H.); JM. *osarai* (Erz. 37,30); Mg. °*osaladi* (Mṛcch. 115,23), *osalia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. *osara* = *apasara* (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. *osala* (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6), Ś. *osaramha* (Uttar. 66,7), JM. *osaraha* = *apasarata* (Kk. 265,6; II, 507,1), Mg. °*osaladha* (§ 471); M. *samosarai*, *samosaranta* etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. *samosaraha* (Nāyādh. 1233. 1235); Ś. *ṇisaradi* (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. *pasarai* (R.; Vivāhap. 908), Ś. *pasaradi* (Śak. 31,10), Mg. *paśalaśi* (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dh. imp. *pasalu* (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. *aṇusalēmha* (§ 472) beside Ś. *aṇusaramha* Viddhaś. 105,5). Cf. § 235. — M. JM. *marāmi* = *mriye*, *marai*, *maranti*, imp. *mara*, *marasu*, *marau*, particip. pres. *maranta* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *mara* (Śūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhap. 363 f.), *maranti* (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhap. 1434), *maramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1385); Ś. *maradi* (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. *malāmi* (Mṛcch. 118,13), but also *maledu*, *malēnti* (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. *marahi*, *marai* (Hc. 4,368. 420,5). M. *marijjai* = *mriyatām* (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. *marijjium*

(Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580) in the sense of the active. AMg. *mijjāi*, *mijjanti* (Sūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = *miyate*, *miyante*. — JM. *varasu* = *vr̥ṣuṣva* (Sāgara 1,15). — M. JM. *harai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), JŚ. *haradi* (Kattig. 400,336), M. also *haremi* (H. 705), AMg. opt. *harējjāha* (Nāyādh. 915. 918), Mg. *halāmi*, *haladi* (Mṛcch. 11,8; 30,21. 24); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. *ahiharai*, *paharai* (G.), JM. *pariharāmi* (Kk. 272,16), AMg. *sāharanti* = *saṃharanti* (Thāp. 155), *paḍisāharai* = *pratisaṃharati* (Vivāhap. 239), *viharai* (Kappas.; Uvās. etc.), Ś. *uvahara*, *uvaharantu* (Śak. 18,3; 40,9); *avaharadi* = *apaharati* (Mṛcch. 45,24), Mg. *palihalāmi* = *pariharāmi* (Mṛcch. 125,10), *śamudāhalāmi* (Mṛcch. 129,2), also *vihaledi* = *viharati* (Mṛcch. 40,9), A. *aṇuharahi*, *aṇuharai* (Hc. 4,367,4; 418,8). — M. *tarai* (G. H.); AMg. *taranti* (Uttar. 567), *uttarai* (Nāyādh. 1060), *paccuttarai* (Vivāhap. 909); Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatīm. 265,6), imp. *odaramha* = *avatarāma* (Mālatīm. 100,3; Privad. 12,4); Mg. imp. *odala* = *avatara* (Mṛcch. 122,14. 15. 16), absol. *odalā* (Mṛcch. 122, 11) = Ś. *odaria* (Vikr. 23,17); A. *uttarai* (Hc. 4,339). — *kī* forms, corresponding to Skt. *kirāti*, M. *ukkirai* (H. 119), *kiranta-* (G. R.).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 *sm̐* may form *sarai*, so stands JM. *sarāmi* (Āv. 41,20), AMg. *sarai* (Uttar. 277) in the verse, JM. *sarai* (Āv. 47, 27), *sarasu* (Āv. 7,34) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is *sumara-* for *smara-* with a separation-vowel (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53). Beside it the prose very frequently has the *e*-stem *sumare-*. So M. *sumarāmi* (R. 4,20 [so to be read]. 22); JM. absol. *sumariṇa* and *sumariya*, past passive particip. *sumariya* (Erz.); AMg. imp. *sumaraha* (Vivāhap. 234); Ś. *sumarāmi* (Mṛcch. 134,15; Uttarar. 118,1), *sumarasi* (Uttarar. 126,6), better accredited *sumaresi* (Mṛcch. 66,15. 18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9), as *sumaredi* (Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatīm. 184, 4; Viddhaś. 125,11) and in the imp. *sumarehi* (Ratn. 137,17), *sumaresu* (Vikr. 13,4), *sumaredha* (Śak. 52,16), yet *sumara* (Mālatīm. 251,2; all texts) and A. *suvarahi* (Hc. 4,387), opt. *sumari* = *smarehi* (Hc. 4,387,1); Ś. *sumarāma* (Mālatīm. 113,9); Mg. *śumalāmi*, *śumaleśi*, *śumaledi* (Mṛcch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13), imp. *śumala* and *śumalehi* (Mṛcch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8); particip. praet. pass. Ś. *sumarida* (Mālatīm. 249,6; Prab. 41,7), Mg. *śumalida* (Mṛcch. 136,19); particip. nec. Ś. *sumaridavva* (Vikr. 48,14; Mālatīm. 184,3), Mg. *śumalidavva* (Mṛcch. 170,9). In conjunction with *vi* Hc. 4,75 teaches *vimharai* and *visarai*, whence M. *visaria* = *vismṛta* (H. 361; Śak. 96,2), JM. *visariya* (Āv. 7,34); JŚ. *visarida* (Kattig. 400,335; text °ya). Mk. fol. 54 teaches *visarai*, *visurai* and *visarai*, which occurs in M. *visaria* (R. 11,58) and in the modern Indian dialects¹. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. *visumarāmi* (Śak. 126,8), *visumaresi* (Vikr. 49,1); Mg. *viśumaledi* (Mṛcch. 37,12). Ś. *vimharida mhi* of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by BOLLENSSEN; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has *visumarida mhi*², as *visumarida* stands also at Śak. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On *bharai* see § 313.

1. PICHSEL on Hc. 4,75. — 2. Wrongly BÖHTLINGER on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read *vimharie* with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in *-ai* are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. (Vr. 8,21. 25. 26), Hc. 4,6; Kī. 4,65. 75); M. *gāanti* (Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181, 6), *uggāanti* = *udgāyanti* (Dhūrtas. 4,14), *gāanta-* (Karp. 23,4); JM. *gāyai* (Āv. 8,29), *gāyanti* (Dvār. 496,36), *gāyantehim*, *gāium* (Erz. 1,29; 2,10); AMg. *gāyanti* (Jīv. 593; Rāyap. 96. 181), *gāyantiā* (Ovav. § 49 V),

gāyamāṇe (Vivāhap. 1253); *Ś. gāmi* (Mudrār. 35,1), *gādi* (Nāgān. 9,6), *gādha* (Viddhaś. 12,4), imp. also of the *e*-stem *gāedho* (Viddhaś. 122,10; 128,4), *gāanteṇa*, *gāanto* (Mṛcch. 44,2. 4); Mg. *gāe*, *gāidam* (Mṛcch. 79,14; 117,4).—*Ś. parittādi* = *paritrāyate* (Mṛcch. 128,7), *parittāsu* (Mahāv. 30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhaś. 85,5), *parittāhi* (Uttarar. 63,13), *parittādu* (Ratn. 325,9. 32), *parittāadha* (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatim. 130,3); Mg. *palittāadha*, *palittādu* (Mṛcch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. *jhāyasi* = *dhyāyasi* (Erz. 85,23), *jhāyamāṇi* (Erz. 11,19); AMg. *jhīyāyāmi*, *jhīyāyasi*, *jhīyāyāi*, *jhīyāyaha*, *jhīyāyamāṇa* (Nāyādh.); M. *ñijjhāi* = *nirdhyāyati* (H. 73. 413); *Ś. ñijjhādi* (Mṛcch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatim. 258,4), *ñijjhānti* (Mṛcch. 69,2), *ñijjhāido* (Mṛcch. 93,15), *ñijjhāidā* (Vikr. 52,11), *sañjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12).—*Ś. niddādi* = *nidrāyati* (Mṛcch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālav. 65, 8).—*Ś. parimilādi* = *parimlāyati* (Mālatim. 120,2; so to be read with ed. Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in *-ā* may be a inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely the roots in *-ai* follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots in *ā*: M. *gāi* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; H. 128.691), *gāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ganta*- (H. 547); JM. *uggāi* (Āv. 8,28); M. *jhāi* = Epic *dhyāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61), JS. *jhādi* (Pav. 385,68) beside *jhāyādi* (Pav. 385,65; 403, 372); *jhāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ñijjhāi* (Hc. 4,6); AMg. *jhīyāi* (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *jhīyāmi* (Vivāgas. 114. 220; Nāyādh.), *jhīyāsi* (Vivāgas. 114), *jhāijja* (verse; Uitar. 14). Likewise AMg. *jhīyāi* = *kṣāyati* beside *jhīyāyanti* (§ 326); AMg. *gilāi* = Epic *glāti* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1. 2), beside *vigilā-ējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28); M. *niddāi*, *mlāi* (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which Epic *mlānti*.—In Ś. is found several times *parittāhi* (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11, 13); Uttarar. 60,4,5; Mālatim. 357,11), in Mg. *palittāhi* (Mṛcch. 175,19). The v. l. almost everywhere has in Ś. the correct *parittāhi*. On *palāya*- see § 567.

§ 480. The verbs *iṣ*, *gam*, *yam*, of the old *-ska*-class are conjugated in all the dialects as in Skt.: *icchaī*, *gacchaī*, *jacchaī*. Isolated is Mg. *śāmyammadha* (§ 488) and AMg. *uggamamāṇa* (Pannav. 41). Hc. 4,215, besides derives *acchaī* from *ās*, Ki. 4,10 from *as* (to be), the scholiasts mostly equate it with *tiṣṭhati*. ASCOLI will like to trace it back to the corresponding Pāli *acchati*, from a hypothetical future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*¹ of *ās*, CHILDERS² and FISCHER³ to **āssakadi* from *ās*, as Hc., E. MÜLLER to *gam* with dropping out of *g*⁴, later with TRENCKNER and TORP to an aorist **ātsit* from *āś*⁵; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from *as*⁶, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future **assyati*, **atsyati* from **as*⁷. However, it strictly corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to *rechat* from *r* “to come into”, “to knock at”, of the *-ska*-conjugation, and which the Indian grammarians post as *rch* and B.-R. as *arch*. The meaning “to remain”, “to stand” is proved from the statement, that it is used in the sense of *indriyapralaya* as well as of *mūrtibhāva*, given in the Dhātupāṭha at 28,15. One compares also the use of *rechat*, *archat* in the Brāhmaṇa⁸. Examples are: M. *acchasi*, *acchanti*, *acchaū*, *acchijjāi* (G. H.); JM. *acchaī*, *acchae*, *acchāmo*, *acchasu*, *acchaha*, *acchantassa*, *acchiūm*, *acchiya*, *acchiyavam* (Erz.; Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25. 30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22); AMg. *acchaī* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff.), *acchāhi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap. 807. 817), *acchejjā* (Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovav. § 185), Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16)⁹; P. *acchati*, *acchate* (Hc. 4,319); A. *acchaū* (Hc. 4,406,3). On *acchia* see § 466.

1. Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft p. 265, note 49.—2. Dictionary s. v. *acchati*.—3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215.—4. Beiträge p. 36.—5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.—6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.—7. Shāhbzgarhi II, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. *arch*; FISCHER, GGA. 1890, 532. JOHANSSON

l. c. note 3 wrongly rejects this derivation, since he thinks of $\xi\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$.—g. On Vr. 12,19 see FISCHER, KB. 8,143 f.

§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. *kram* retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmaip. : M. *kamanta-*, *akkamasi*, *akkamanta-*, *nikkamai*, *nikkhamai*, *vinikkamai*, *vinikkhamai*, *saṃkkamai* (G. H.); JM. *kamai* (Rṣabhap. 38), *akkamāmo* (Erz. 35,36), *aikkamai*, *aikkamejja* (Āv. 47,23; Kk. 271,2.7); AMg. *kamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *aikkamai* (Vivāhap. 136. 137), *aikkamanti* (Kappas. S § 63), *avakkamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 845. 1252), *avakkamejja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *nikkhamai*, *nikkhamanti* (Vivāhap. 146; Nīrayāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19), *nikkhamējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2), *nikkhamamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2), *paṇṇikkhamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṇṇikamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *vaṇṇikamai*, **anti* (Vivāhap. 111. 465; Paṇṇav. 28. 29. 41. 43; Kappas. § 19. 46^b), *viṇṇikamanti* (Vivāhap. 465), metrically also *kammāi* = *krāmyati* (Uttar. 209); Ś. *adikkamasi* (Ratn. 297,29); Ś. D. *avakkamadi* (Mṛcch. 97,24; 103,15); *nikkamāmi* (Śak. 115,6), *nikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1), *nikkama* (Mṛcch. 16,10; Śak. 36,12), *nikkamamha* (Priyad. 17,16; Nāgān. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7). In Mālatīm. 188,2 *parikkāmadi* is a false reading for *paribbhamadi* or *paribbhamanti*, as the ed. Bomb. 1892 and the ed. Madras (both **mandi*) have, at 285,2 stands *parikkamedha*; Mg. *adikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 43,10), *avakkamamha*, *ṇiskamadi*, *ṇiskama* (Mṛcch. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. *jiai* = **jivāti* for *jīvati*, *jianti*, *jiaū*, *jianta-*, but also *jiasi*, *jivējja*, *jianta* (Hc. 1,101; G. H. R.), Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. *jīāmi* (Uttarar. 132, 7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10), *jivadi* (Mṛcch. 172,6; 325,18), *jīāmo* (Mudrār. 34,10), *jiveam* (Mālav. 55,11), *jiva* (Mṛcch. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7), *jiadu* (Mṛcch. 154,15); Mg. *yīadi*, *yīaśi*, *yīva*, *yīanta-* (Mṛcch. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8.9), also *yīveśi* (Mṛcch. 119,21) = **ghisai* = **ghasati* for *ghāsati* = *ghasti* (Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]; Hc. 4,204; Ki. 4,46 [text *gha*]; Mk. fol. 55).—*jimai* beside *jemai*, *jimmai* (§ 488).—AMg. *bhisanta-* (Ovav.), *bhisamīṇa* (Nāyādh.), *bhisamāṇa* (Rāyap. 47. 105), intensive *bhibbhisamīṇa*, **māṇa* (§ 556) from *bhisai* = **bhāsati* for *bhāsati* (§ 109; Hc. 4,203).—*uvivai* = **udvipdte* for *udvīpate* (§ 236).—The doubling of *l* in M. *alliai*, *ualliai*, *samalliai* = *ālīyate*, *upā-*, *samā-* (§ 196. 474), AMg. causative *allīyāvei* (§ 551) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. *ruh* tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. JM. *āruhai*, *samāruhai*, *samāruhasu* (G. H. R. ; Erz.); AMg. *duruhai* = *udrohati* (§ 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often), in Vivāhap. throughout (pro ex. 124,504. 506. 824 f. 980. 1128. 1231. 1301. 1311. 1317. 1325 ff.) and elsewhere often as v. 1. *durūhai*, hardly correct, *duruhējja* (Āyār. 2,3, 1,13. 14), JM. *duruhēttā* (Erz.); AMg. *paccoruhai*, *paccoruhanti* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. also 870. 1354. 1456); Vivāhap. 173. 948), *viruhanti* (Uttar. 356), *āruhai* (Vivāhap. 1273); Ś. *āruhadha*, *āruha* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 66,14. 17), *āruhadi* (Pras. 35,8), *āruhadu* (Uttarar. 32,6. 7); Mg. *āluha* (Nāgān. 68,3), *āluhadu*, *ahiluha*, *ahiluhāmi*, *ahiluhadu* (Mṛcch. 99,8; 119,3. 6,9. 11. 13). The simplex is inflected: M. JM. *rohanti* (G. 727; Dvār. 503,7) and so also *ārohadu* (Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2).—*dhaui* (to wash) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form *dhāvai* = Skt. *dhāvati*. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6. conjugation: *dhuvasi* (Hc. 2,216 = H. 369), *dhuasi* (H.), *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,238), *dhuai* (H.), *dhuvanta-* (R.). Thence a root *dhuu* is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1. conjugation, as *ru*, *svap* (§ 473. 497): AMg. *dhovasi*, *dhovai* (Nīrayāv. 77;

Sūyag. 344); also according to the *e*-conjugation *dhovei* (Nirayāv. 76. 77; Nāyādh. 1219. 1220. 1501), *padhoveṇti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,10); JM. *dhovanti* (Āv. 25,22); Ś. *dhoadi* (Mṛcch. 70,10), inf. *dhoidum* (Mṛcch. 45,5); Mg. *dhovehi*, fut. *dhoiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 45,7. 20). So Pāli *dhovati*. — *hivai*, which Hc. 4,238 mentions beside *hapai*, is derived from *bhu* by Sr.fol.47.—Beside the usual *siai*, JM. AMg. *siyai*, Ś. *sīdadi*, Mg. *śīdadi* = *sīdati*, according to Hc. 4,219, *siḍai* too is in use (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,219). On *pasia* see § 80, on *bhaṇ* § 514.

§ 483. *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: *āigghai* = *ājighrati* (Hc. 4,13), *jigghia* = *ghrāta* (Deśin. 3,46).—M. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāū*, *pīantu* (G. H. R.), *pivai* (Nāgān. 41,5), *piāmo* (Karp. 24,9=Kāleṃyak. 16,17, where *pibāmo*); JM. *pivai* (Āv. 30,36; 42,12. 18. 20. 28. 37), *piyaha* = *pibata* (Dvār. 496,35), also *piei* (Erz. 69,1); AMg. *pivai* Vivāhap. 1256), *piva* (Nāyādh. 1332), *pie* (Dasav. 638,26), *piējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2), *piyamāne* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *pivadi* (Viddhaś. 124,4), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 71,10), *pivadu* (Śak. 105,13), *āpivanti* (Mṛcch. 59,24); Mg. *pivāmi*, *pivāhi*, *pivamha* (Venis. 33,4; 34,2. 15; 35,22), *pīanti* (Mṛcch. 113, 21), *piva* (Prab. 60,9); A. *piāi*, *pīanti*, *piāhu* (Hc. 4,419,1. 6; 422,20). On *pijai* see § 539. — *sthā* forms M. AMg. JM. *ciṣṭhai* (Hc. 4,16; H.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5. 6; 1,5,5,1; Sūyag. 310.613; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *ciṣṭhae* (Āv. 36,26; Kk.); AMg. *ciṣṭhanti* (Sūyag. 274. 282.291. 612 f.; Kappas.), *ciṣṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10), *ciṣṭhejja* (Āyār. 2,1,4,3 [text false *ce*°]; 2,1,5,6. 6.2; 2,3,2,6; Vivāhap. 116. 925), *ciṣṭhe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,16), *ciṣṭham*, *aciṣṭham* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *ciṣṭhau* (H.); JM. *ciṣṭhaha* (Kk.); AMg. inf. *ciṣṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513. 1119) beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1. 2), particip. nec. *ciṣṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163); AMg. *āciṣṭhāmo* (Sūyag. 734), *pariviciṣṭhai* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), also in the noun *saṃciṣṭhaṇa* = *avasthāna* (Vivāhap. 55ff.). Whilst *ciṣṭhai* is seldom in M., so that Vr. Ki. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., *ciṣṭhadi* is the exceptional form in Ś. (Vr. 12,16; Ki. 5,81 [text *thiṣṭhadi*]; Mk. fol. 71; Mṛcch. 27,4; 45,23; 54,4. 10; 57,3; 59,23; 72,10 etc.; Śak. 34,3; 79,11; 155,10; Vikr. 15,12.14:24,6; 41,9 and exceedingly often), *ciṣṭhāmi* (Mṛcch. 6,8; Vikr. 33,4), *ciṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 12,4; Vikr. 32,5), *ciṣṭhamha* (Priyad. 17,4; Mālatim. 255,5), *ciṣṭhadha* (Mālatim. 247,4) and very often, also in compounds, as *apuciṣṭhadi* (Mṛcch. 151,16; 155,5; Vikr. 41,6), *apuciṣṭhāmi* (Prab. 69,3), *apuciṣṭha* (Vikr. 83,1), *apuciṣṭhida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15), *apuciṣṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Prab. 3,5) etc. so also A. *ciṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 99,18); D. *ciṣṭhau* (Mṛcch. 104,2), *apuciṣṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. *ciṣṭhadi* (Hc. 4,360). Mg., has *ciṣṭhadi*, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§303), according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298; Ki. 5,95 [text *ciṣṭah*]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. *ciṣṭitrā*]. According to Ki. 5,96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216. 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487), *ghrā* and *sthā* too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M. AMg. *agghai* = Epic *āghrāti* (H. 641; Nāyādh. § 82; Paṇṇav. 429. 430); M. *agghānta* = *ājighrat* (H. 566; R. 13. 82); AMg. *agghāyai* (Āyār. p. 136,27. 33); opt. *agghājja* (Nandis. 363); AMg. *agghāyaha*, *agghājamāya* (Nāyādh. § 83.104); M. JM. *thai* = **sthāi* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,16; Ki. 4,76; H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 41,8), M. *niṭṭhai* (H.), *saṃṭṭhai* (H. R.); JM. *thāha* (Āv. 27,27); A. *thanti* (Hc. 4,395,5); AMg. *thāējjā* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *abbhuṭṭhanti* = *abhyuṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 734); JM. *thāyanti* (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to *thāenti*, *thāai*, *thāau* in Vr. 8,25,26; Ki. 4, 75.76 (§487). After *ud*, the vowel, according to the analogy of the *a*-declension, is shortened: *uṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,17); so JM. *uṭṭhaha* (Erz. 59,30); A. *uṭṭhai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). Usually the flexion with the *e*-stem is selected: AMg. *uṭṭhai*

(Vivāhap. 161. 1246; Uvās. § 193), *abbhutti* (Kappas.); JM. *utthemī* (Āv. 41,19), *utthei* (Dvār. 503,32), *utthehi* (Erz. 42,3), *samutthehi* (Dvār. 503,27. 31); Ś. *utthehi* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 18,22; 51,5. 11; Nāgān. 86,10; 95,10; Priyad. 26,6; 37,9; 46,24; 53,6. 9), *utthehi* (Vikr. 33,15), *utthedu* (Mṛcch. 93,5; Śak. 162,12), *uttheda* (Mṛcch. 24,17); Mg. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthedi*, also *utthanta*- (Mṛcch. 20,21; 134,19; 169,5). Cf. § 309.

§ 484. *daśi* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *ḍasāi* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *daśati*. So JM. *ḍasāi* (Āv. 42,13); AMg. *dasamāṇe*, *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). Ś. forms, with retention of the nasal *daśisadi* (Śak. 160, 1), past passive participle from the present stem: *daśisido* (Mālav. 54,6).—*labh* shows nasal in the stem in AMg. *lambhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525. 541). On *khāi* = *khādati* (also Ki. 4, 77) and *dhāi* = *dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *lip*, *luḥ*, *vid* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *lip* is found *allivāi* = *ālīpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siñcedi* (Śak. 74,9) beside *siñcamha*, *siñcedi* (Śak. 10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai* = **secati* (Hc. 4,96).—*muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. JM. AMg. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muasi*, *muai*, *muanti*, *muu*, *muasu*, *muanta*- (G. H. R.; Śak. 85,3), *āmuai* (G.); JM. *mujai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *muḥyasu* (Kk. 262,19), *muḥjanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMg. *mujai* (Vivāhap. 104. 508), *omuḥjai* (Āyār. 2,15. 22; Vivāhap. 796. 835. 1208. 1317; Kappas.), *muḥjantesuṃ* = *muḥcatsu* (Nāyādh. § 62. 63), *viḥimmuḥjamāṇa*, *muḥjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 254), *viḥimmuḥjamāṇi* = *vinirmuḥcamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JŚ. *muḥjadi* (Kattig. 403,383). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. JM: M. *muñcaī* (H. 614; R. 3,30; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muñcanti* (G. 258), *muñcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muñcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); JM. *muñca*, *muñcasu*, *muñcaha* (Erz.), *muñca*, *muñcanti* (Kk. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muñcadi* (Mudrār. 149,6), *muñca* (Mṛcch. 175,21; Śak. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38, 8), *muñcadu* (Vikr. 30,2), *muñcadha* (Mṛcch. 154,16; 161,18); Mg. *muñcadu*, *muñcanti* (Mṛcch. 31,18.21; 168,19), *muñca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muñcesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muñcedi*, *muñcesi* (Śak. 51,6; 154,12), *muñcedha* (Mṛcch. 161,25; Śak. 116,7), *muñcehi* (Mṛcch. 326,10; Vṛgabdh. 20,15; 59,12).—*ḥṛt* (to chop) forms AMg. *kañtai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically *oandaī* = *apaḥṇtati* (Hc. 4,125 = *ācchinatti*; cf. § 275). In AMg. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *vigñcaī* = **vikṇtyati*, *vigñcamāṇe* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *vigñca* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *vigñcejja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *vigñca* (Sūyag. 500. 506). Cf. *kieci* § 271 and *nirūñjhai* § 507.

§ 486. *sprś* forms in AMg. regularly *phusai* = *sprśati*, *phusanti* = *sprśanti*, *phusantu* = *sprśantu*, *phusamāṇe* = *sprśamāṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3.3,2. 5,1; 1,7,7, 1; Vivāhap. 97. 98. 354. 355. 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai* *pusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (rooms about; Hc. 4, 161)¹. Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāsaī*, *phañsaī*, *pharisaī*, which presuppose one **sparśati*. *phāsaī* occurs in AMg. *samphāse* = **samsparset* = *samspṛset* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3. 5,5. 9,2. 4. 5. 6. 10,2. 3; 2,3,2,13). *pharisaī* is formed as *karisaī* = *karṣati*, *marisaī* = *marṣati*, *varisaī* = *varṣati*, *harisaī* = *harṣati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Ki. 4,72)². The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *pumsai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105), *uppumsa*, *ōppumsa* (G. 57. 778 beside *ōppusia* 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *utpumsaya*³.—*truṣ* forms also *toḍai* = **trōṣati* (Hc. 4,116), beside *tuḍai* = *truḍti* and *tuḍai*

= *trūṭyati*, as *mil* forms *melaī* in *M. meliṇa* (§ 562), *AMg. melanti* (*Vivāhap.* 950), *A. melavi* (*Hc.* 4,429,1).—On *kr*, *mṛ* see § 477, on *sr* § 235, on *phutṭai* § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from *proñch* (WEBER. *Hāla* s. v. *pus*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32, 99) is linguistically impossible. — 2. References in FISCHER on *Hc.* 4,235 and above under § 135. — 3. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* p. 58. The nasal in *pumsai* is not original as S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32, 99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in *phamsai*, according to § 74. In *H.* 706 *Dhvaṇyāloka* 155,11 reads *mā pumsa* for *mā pusaru*.

§ 487. The 4. class has in Pkt. undergone a wider extension than that in Skt. There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in Skt¹. All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than *a*, may according to *Hc.* 4,240 (cf. *Vr.* 8,21. 25. 26; *Ki.* 4,65. 75. 76; *Mk.* fol. 54) follow this conjugation: *pāai* = **pāyati* beside *pāi* = *pāti* (protects); *dhāai*, *dhāi* = *dadhāti*; *thāai*, *thāi*, 3. plur. *thāanti*, *JM. thāyanti*, *A. thanti* (§ 483); *vikkeai* beside *vikkei* = **vikrayati*; *hoai* beside *hoāna* from the stem *ho* = *bhava*, which according to *Sr.* fol. 47 is inflected also as *hoāmi*, *hoasi*, *hoai* (§ 476). The duplicity of flexion is sometimes found already in Vedic, as *uvāai* = Vedic *udpāyati*, *uvāi* = Skt. *udvāti*. — *jambhāi*, *jambhāi* are denominatives from *jmbhā*. *AMg. jāi* (*Sūyag.* 540; *Uttar.* 170), beside the usual *M. jāai* = *jāyate*, too is formed from *jan* according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are *M. māasi*, *māai*, *māanti*, *amāanta-* (*H.*), *JM. māyanti* (*Erz.*), *Ś. nim māanta-* (*Mālatim.* 121,1) from *mā*, which forms *māyate*; *A. māi* (*Hc.* 4,351,1) too, in addition to *māli*, *mimile*, according to *Dhātupāṭha* 26,33.—*M. vāai* (*Ratn.* 293,3), *vāanti*, *vāanta-* (*G. R.*), *ni vāanti*, *ni vāanta-* (*R.*), *pari vāai* (*G.*), *pavvāai* (*R.*), *Ś. vāadi* (*Śak* 115,2 v. 1.), beside *M. vāi*, *āvāi*, *ni vāi* (*G. H.*), *JŚ. ni vāadi* (*Pav.* 388,6), *M. vanti* (*Karp.* 10,2 v. 1.; *Dhūrtas.* 4,20 v. 1.), yet *vāanti* (*Karp.* 12,4).—*JM. paḍihā ai* (*Āv.* 33,28); *Ś. paḍihāadi* = **prati bhāyati* = *prati bhāti* (*Bālar.* 135,11) beside *paḍihāsi* (*Vikr.* 7,18), *paḍihādi* (*Mṛcch.* 71,25 [°bhā°]); *Śak.* 12,7; *Vikr.* 13,2; 24,2; *Nāgān.* 5,9), often with the v. 1. *paḍihāadi*; *M. A. paḍihāi* (*Hc.* 3,80; *G. H.*; *Hc.* 4,441,1); *Ś. bhādi* (*Mṛcch.* 73,14), *vi hādi* (*Prab.* 57,2).—*Ś. pattiāsi* = *prati yāsi* (§ 281) (*Mṛcch.* 82,3; *Ratn.* 301,7; 317,9; *Nāgān.* 37,7 [so correctly the v. 1.]), *pattiādi* (*Nāgān.* 30,3 [so rightly ed. *Calc.* 29,8]); *Pras.* 46,14; *Ratn.* 309,24; *Vikr.* 41,10 [so to be read with v. 1.]); *Mg. pattiāsi* (*Mṛcch.* 130,13), *pattiādi* (*Mṛcch.* 167,2), *pattiāadha* (*Mṛcch.* 165,9; *Mudrār.* 257,4 [so rightly v. 1. and ed. *Calc.* 212,9]), *pattiāanti* (*Mṛcch.* 167,1), passive *pattiāadi* (*Mṛcch.* 165,13).² Against this are inflected in *AMg.* *JM.* *M.* completely according to the analogy of the first class: *AMg. patti jāmi* (*Sūyag.* 1015; *Uvās.* § 12; *Nāyādh.* § 133; *Vivāhap.* 134. 161. 803), *patti jāi* (*Vivāhap.* 845), *patti yanti* (*Vivāhap.* 841 f.), opt. *patti jējā* (*Pannav.* 577; *Rāyap.* 250), imperative *patti jāhi* (*Sūyag.* 1016; *Vivāhap.* 134); *JM. patti yasi* (*Erz.* 52,20), *apatti antena* (*T.* 6,18); *M. patti asi*, *patti ai* (*R.* 11,90; 13,44); from which the imperative is *M. patia* (*H.*), falsely *M. pattihi* (*R.* 11. 94; the v. 1. rightly *pattia*; *Kāvyaprakāśa* 195,2; v. 1. rightly *pattia*) and *M. patti su* (*H. v. 1.*), in dependence upon the false etymology = *pratihi*. *Ś. patti jāmi* (*Karp.* ed. *Bomb.* 42,12), *patti jasi* (*Karṇas.* 31,11) are false; for the first *KONOW* 40,9 reads *patti āmi*. — *nhāi* = *snāti* (*Hc.* 4,14); *AMg. snāi* (*Sūyag.* 344); *JM. nhāmo* = *snāmah* (*Āv.* 17,7); *Mg. snāmi* (*Mṛcch.* 113,21).—*Cf.* § 313. 314.—*AMg. paccāyanti* (*Ovav.* § 56) belongs to *jan* (*LEUMANN* s. v.), likewise *āyanti*, as *Kappas.* § 17 is to be read according to the v. 1.; opt. 1. sing. *pa jā jējā* (*Nirayāv.* 59), 2. sing. *pa jā jējāsi* (*Nāyādh.* 420). On *AMg. jāi* = *jāyate* see above. *Cf.* also § 479.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 343; FISCHER, BB. 13,9. — 2. *rikkeai* is more correctly to be taken as the denominative from *vikreya* (§ 511). — 3. There with the help of the v. l. it is to be read: *yam laccakam pi na pattidiadi*. The form *pattidiadi* is likewise false as *Ṣ. patṭiṭṭadi* at Mṛch. 325,19.

§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with *ya* undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): *ṇaccaī = ṇṭyati*; *jujḥai = yudhyate*; *tuttai = trutyati*; *maṇṇai = manyate*; *kuppai = kuṇyati*; *lubbhai = lubhyati*; *uttammai = uttāmyati*; *ṇassaī*, AMg. JM. *nāsaī*, M. *nāsaī = naṣyati* (§ 63); *rūsaī, tūsaī, sūsaī, dūsaī, pūsaī, sīsaī* (Bh. 8,46; Hc. 4,236; Kt. 4,68), AMg. JM. *pāsaī = paśyati* (§ 63). — According to the *e*-conjugation is formed JM. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400,335). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. *kukkaī, kōkkaī = *krukyati = *kruṣyati = kroṣati* (Hc. 4,76)²; *callai = *calyati = calati* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231) beside the usual *calaī*, also in compounds, as *oallanti = avacalanti, oallanta-* (R.), *paal'ai* (Hc. 4,77), *pariallai* (Hc. 4,162); *jimmai = *jimyati* beside *jimai, jemaī = jemati* (Hc. 4,230; cf. 4,110); *thakkaī = *sthakyati* (Hc. 4,16)³; **millai = *milyati = milati* in compounds: *ummillai, nimillai, pamillai, saṃmillai* (Vr. 8,54; Hc. 4,232; G. R.; in A. *ummillai* (Hc. 4,354); Mg. *saṇṇyammadha = *saṇṇyamyata = saṇṇyacchata* (Mṛch. 11, 3); *Ṣ. ruccadi = *rucyate = rocate* (Vikr. 31,3; 40,18; Mālav. 15,14; 77, 21), A. *ruccaī* (Hc. 4,341,1), beside *roadi* (Mṛch. 7,14; 44,5; 58,14; Śak. 54,4; Vikr. 24,7; 41,18), Mg. *loadi* (Mṛch. 139,16; Śak. 159,3); *laggai = *lagyati = lagati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230); *Ṣ. olagganti* (Mālav. 39,14), *vilaggantam* (Mṛch. 325,14); Mg. *laggadi* (Mṛch. 79,10); A. *laggai* (Hc. 4,420,5; 422,7), *laggiṇi* (Hc. 4,339); Dh. *vajjasi, vajjadi, vajja* from *vraja* (Mṛch. 30,4.10; 39,10), *Ṣ. vajjamha* (Pras. 35,17), false *vaccasi* (Cait. 57, 2)⁴, Mg. *vayye'nti, pavayyāmi* (Mṛch. 120,12; 175,18). In Mg. A. *vraj* may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mg. *vaññāmi, vaññānadaśa* (Lalitav. 566,7. 17), *vaññadi = *vrajñāti* (Hc. 4,294; Sr. fol. 63)⁵; A. *vuñai*, absol. *vuñē'ppi, vuñē'ppinu* (Hc. 4,392). AMg. has also *vajjāmo* (Sūyag. 268), *vajjanti* (Sūyag. 277).

1. FISCHER, BB. 13,18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in *phuttaī = sphuṣṭa'ti* (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4,231). — 2. FISCHER, BB. 3,256. — 3. FISCHER, BB. 3,258 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mṛch. 109,19 we should for *vajjissāmo* read *bajjhissāmo*, fut. pass. from *bandh*; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250,5 we should approximately read *vayyedha* instead of the transmitted *vajjeha*, as with HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,109 *vaññedha*. Cf. also *vaññāde* (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. *man* may form *maṇai = *manate* too (Hc. 4,7) beside the usual *maṇṇai = manyate*. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. ātm. *maṇe* is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMg. JM. A. *muṇai, JṢ. muṇadi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Mk. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acyutaś. 82; Pratāp. 202,15; 204,10; Vikr. 26,8; Āyār. 1,7,8,13; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398, 303; 399,313. 316; 400,337) and AMg. *muṇeyavva* (Paṇṇav. 33), *JṢ. muṇedavva* (Pav. 380,8; text 'o'ja') too are traced back to *man*. Against this derivation speaks the meaning "to know" as well as Pāli *munāti*. I derive *muṇai* from Vedic *mūta* in *kāmamūta* and Skt. *muni*. Cf. *animo movere*. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., *ṣam* in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: *samaī* (Hc. 4,167), *uvasamaī* (H. 4,239). So M. *paḍisamaī* (R. 6,44); AMg. *uvasamaī* (Kappas. S. § 59); JM. *uvasamasu* (Erz. 3,13), *pasamanti* (Āv. 16,20); Mg. *uvasamadi* (Hc. 4,299 = Venis. 34,11, where GRILL reads *uvasammadi*; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calc. 71,7). But more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as

in Skt.: M. *ṇisammai*, *ṇisammanti*; *ṇisammasu*, *ṇisammanta-* (G.), *pasammai*, *pasammanta-* (G.R.); *parisāmai* (Hc. 4,167). — *śram* is conjugated according to the 1. class: AMg. *samaī* (Uttar. 38); JM. *uvasamanti* (Āv. 35,29); M. JM. *viśamāmi*, *viśamasi*, *viśamaī*, *viśamāmo*, *viśamasu*, *viśamaī* (G.H.R. ; Erz. ; Hc. 1,43; 4,159); JM. *viśamamāṇa* (Dvār. 501,5); Ś. *viśama* (Mṛch. 97,12), *viśamamha* (Ratn. 302,32), passive *viśamiadu* (Mṛch. 77,11), *vissamiadu* (Śak. 32,9; Vikr. 77,15). — *vidh* (*vyadh*) goes in M. AMg. JM. according to the 6. class with nasal inserted: M. *vin dhanti* (Karp. 30,6); AMg. *vin dhai* (Uttar. 788), opt. *vin dhējjā* (Vivāhap. 122), *āvin dhējjā vā pivin dhējjā vā* (Āyār. 2,13,20), also in the causative *āvin dhāvei* (Āyār. 2,15,20); JM. *āvin dha* (Āv. 38,7.10.35), *āvin dhāmo*, *āvin dhasu* (Āv. 17,8; 38,33), *oindhai* (Āv. 38.36). In AMg. *vehai* = *vedhati* (Sūyag 186) goes according to the 1. class, and with *ud* according to the 6. class without nasal: *uvvīhai* = **udvidhāti* = *udvidhyati* (Nāyādh. 958.959; Vivāhap. 1388). — *śliṣ* forms *silesai* = **śleṣati* = *śliṣyati* (Hc. 4,190) according to the first class.

§ 490. The verbs of the 10. class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract -*ya-* to -*e-*: PG. *abhatthemī* = *abhyarthayāmi* (7,44); M. *kahei* = *kathayati* (H.), *kahēnti* (G.); JM. *kahemi*, *kaheha* (Erz.); AMg. *kahei* (Uvās.), *parikahemo* (Nirayāv. 60); Ś. *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Mṛch. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak. 37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc.), *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Mṛch. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12); Mg. *kadhedī* (Śak. 117,5). — M. *ganei* = *ganayati*, *gañēnti* (R.); *ganesi* (Śak. 156,5). — M. *cintesi*, *cintei*, *cintēnti*, *cinteum* (G. H. R.); AMg. *cintei* (Uvās.); JM. *cintesi* (Erz.), *cintēnti* (Āv. 43,21); Ś. *cintemi* (Vikr. 40,20), *cintehi* (Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8; Ratn. 309,13), *cintemo* (Mahāv. 134,11). — Ś. *takkemi* (Mṛch. 39,3; 59,25; 79,1.4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often), likewise Mg. (Mṛch. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17); A. *takkei* (Hc. 4,370, 3). — AMg. *pariyācēnti* = *paritāpayanti* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); Ś. *sañtāvedī* (Śak. 127,7). — AMg. *veḍhehi* = *veṣṭayati* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621; Nirayāv. § 11), *varemo* = *varayāmah* (Vivāgas. 229), *vedemo* = *vedayāmah* (Vivāhap. 70). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants, especially *nt*, as AMg. *tālayanti* = *tāḍayanti* (verse; Uttar. 360,365) beside *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālēi* (Nāyādh. 1236. 1305), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *sobhayantā* (Jiv. 886), *padisamveṣayanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *avaaṁsaanti* = *avataṁsayanti* (Śak. 2,15); JM. *cintayanto*, *cintayantāṇam* (Erz.); Ś. *cintaanto* (Vikr. 42,8), *cintaantassa* (Śak. 30,5); P. *cintayamāṇi*, *cintayanto* (Hc. 4,310.322); Ś. *daṁsaanti* = *darṣayantyā*, *daṁsaamha*, *daṁsaissam*, *daṁsaissasi*, °*di*; Mg. *daṁsaante* beside Ś. *daṁsemi*, *daṁsasi*, *daṁsehi*, *daṁsedum* (§ 554); Ś. *paāsaanto* = *prakāśayan* (Ratn. 313,33) beside M. *paāsei*, *paāseṇti*, *paāseṇtiṁ* (G.); Mg. *paṇāseṇmha* (text °*se*) = *prakāśayāma* (Lalitav. 567,1); Ś. *peṣaantena* = *preṣayantā* (Śak. 140,13); Ś. *āṣaanti* = *āyāsayanti* (Vṛṣabh. 50,10). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. *pavesaāmi* (Mṛch. 4,25) beside Ś. *pavesehi* (Mṛch. 68,5); Mg. *paveṣehi* (Mṛch. 118,9.19); Ś. *viraaāmi* = *viracayāmi* (Śak. 79,1), Ś. *assāsaadi* = *āṣvāsayati* (Veniṣ. 10,4); Ś. *ciraadi* = *cirayati* (Mṛch. 59,22); Ś. *jaṇaadi* = *janayati* (Śak. 131,8), where, however, we should, with the v. l. read *jaṇedi*, as M. *jaṇei* (H.), *jaṇēnti* (H. R.); M. *vaṇṇaāmo* = *varṇayāmah* (Bālar. 182,10). Always in AMg. JM., and in AMg. very frequently is used *dalaya-* "to give": *dalayāmi* (Nāyādh. § 94; Nirayāv. § 19; p. 62; Erz. 67,27), *dalayai* (Vivāgas. 35. 132. 211. 223; Nāyādh. § 55. 125; p. 265. 432. 439. 442. 449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.), *dalayāmo* (Vivāgas. 230; Nāyādh. 291), *dalayanti* (Vivāgas. 84.209; Nāyādh.

§ 120), *dalaṣeṣṣjā*, *dalaṣāhi* (Āyār. 1,7,5,2; 2,1,10,6. 7; 2,6,1,10), *dalaṣaha* (Nirayāv. § 19), *dalaṣamāṇe* (Nāyādh. § 113; Kappas. § 103 [so to be read, as § 28 *dalaṣai* with A]). Cf. § 474.

§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as *āṅkurati* from *āṅkura*, *kṛṣṇati* from *kṛṣṇa*, *darpaṇati* from *darpaṇa* (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in *-ā* shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. *kahā* = *kathā* are derived *kahāmi* *kahasi*, *kahāi*, *kahāmo*, *kahaha*, *kahanti*. From this it results that beside the forms ending in *-e* = *-aya-*, mentioned in § 490, those in *-a-* are found not seldom. So: M. *kahāi* (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMg. *kahāhi* (Sūyag. 423), *kahasu* (Uttar. 700,703); A. *kahi* = **kathē* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,422, 14).—M. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (H.); A. *gaṇai*, *gaṇanti*, *gaṇantiē* (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. *cintai*, *cintanta-* (H.), *viintantā* = *vicintayantah* (G.); A. *cintai*, *cintantāhā* = *cinlayatām* (Hc.).—M. *ummūlanti* = *ummūlayanti* (H.), *ummūlanta-* (R.) beside *ummūlēnti* (R.), *kāmanta-* = *kāmāyamānah* (H.) beside *kāmei* (Hc. 4,44), *kāmemo* (H.), *kāmēnti* (G.), *paṣānti* = *prasādayanti* beside *paṣāesi*, *paṣāamāṇassa* (H.), *papphoḍai*, *papphoḍanti* = *prasphoḍayati*, *ḍyanti* (H.), *maūlanti* = *mukulayanti* (H.), *maūlau* (G.), *maūlanta-* (R.) beside *maūlei*, *maūlēnti* (R.), *maūlintā* (G.); A. *pāhasi* = *prārthayasi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. BOLLESEN, Vikr. p. 530). *a* is found preponderantly before *nt*, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A *gaṇanti* = Skt. *gaṇayanti* must have through **gaṇānti* become *gaṇanti*, whence are deduced *gaṇāmi*, *gaṇasi*, *gaṇai*. In S. Mg. the forms with *a*, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of *e* into *a*¹. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in *-a* of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). *khyā* in conjunction with prefixes may in AMg. be conjugated according to the 2. class: *akkhāi* = *ākhyaṭi* (Vivāhap. 966); *akkhanti* = *ākhyānti* (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522); *āghaṇ* = *ākhyān* (Sūyag. 397), *paccakkhāmi* (Uvās.), *paccakkhāi* (Thāp. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); *paccakkhāmo* (Ovav.). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24) is a false reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 499). However, in AMg., as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the *a*-conjugation as *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* (§ 483)¹: *āikkhāmi* = **ācikkhyāmi* (Sūyag. 579; Thāp. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), *āikkhāi* (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.) = Pāli *ācikkhati*; *saṁcikkhāi* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), *āikkhāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *āikkhanti* (Āyār. 1,4, 1,1; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343), *abbhāikkhāi*, *abbhāikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), *abbhāikkhanti* (Sūyag. 969); *paccāikkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), *āikkhe*, *āikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), *paḍijāikkhe* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), *paḍisaṁcikkhe*, *saṁcikkhe* (Uttar. 103. 106), *āikkhāhi* (Vivāhap. 150), *āikkhaha* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8 ff.; Nāyādh. § 83), *āikkhamāṇa* (Ovav. 59), *paccāikkhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 607), *saṁcikkhamāṇa* (Uttar. 440).

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15,126. The usual derivation from *caks* (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. *i* is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. *parasmaipada* nevertheless is M. AMg. *ēnti* (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. p. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. *anṇēnti* = *anuyanti* (R.); M. *ēnti* = *āyanti* (R.;

Dhūrtas. 4,20 Karp. 10,2); M. AMg. *uvēnti* = *upayanti* (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. *samuveṇti* (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also *inti* (Pannav. 43), *niinti* = *niyanti* in the sense of *niryanti* (Pannav. 381. 382), *pulinti* = *pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95,134), *saṃpalinti* (Sūyag. 52), *uvinti* (Sūyag. 259) and *uvinte* (Sūyag. 271), *samanninti* = *samanuyanti* (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider *e* as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sing. *emi*, *esi*, *ei* and to derive *i* from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. *niinti* is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. *ṇinti* (G.; H. v. I.; R.), *viṇinti* (Dhvanyāloka 237, 2 = H. 954), *aiṇti* (G.), *parinti* (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from *niinti*, **ṇinti*, **viṇinti*, **aiṇti*, **aiṇti*, **pariinti*, **parinti*. *inti*, as Pāli too has, is formed according to **imo*, **iha* = Skt. *imāḥ*, *iha*. The participle is JM. *into* (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. *ṇinta-* (G.H.R.), *viṇinta-* (G.), *aiṇta-*, *parinta-*, (R.), *pariṇinta-* (Sarasvatik. 9,21)* = *niyant-*, *vinīyant-*, *atiyant-*, *pariyant-*, **pariniyant-* too. *e*, in the v. l. *peṇti* (G.H.R.), *viṇēnti* (Sarasvatik. 206,25)* must be explained as having arisen from *i* according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms *eṇti*, *apṇēnti*, *uvēnti*, cited above. From the plural forms **aimo*, **aiha* = *atimāḥ*, *atilha*, **ṇimo*, **ṇiha* = *nimāḥ*, *nilha*, **parimo*, **pariha* = *parimāḥ*, *parilha* and others a singular is deduced: M. *aii* = **aiṇti* (Hc. 4,162; R.), *ṇisi* = **ṇiṇi* (R.); M. JM. *ṇii* = **ṇiti* (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13. 22), M. *parii* = **pariti* (Hc. 4,162; R.)⁴. AMg. gives the regular forms *ei* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,5,1,1. 4,3; Sūyag. 328. 460), *accei* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 6,4; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 540), *uei* = *udeti* (Sūyag. 460), *ueu* (Āyār. 2,4,1,12; text *udeu*), *ueei* = *upaii* (Āyār. 1,2,6,1; 1,5,1,1; Sūyag. 268. 523) etc. AMg. *eṇjāsi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is = *eyāḥ*; imp. is *eṇjāhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On *i* with *palā* see § 567. — *fi* forms in AMg. *sayai*, *ḍayai* (Kappas. § 95); opt. *sae* (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and *saeṇjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,25. 26), particip. pres. *sayamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,26). Monstrous is Ś. *serade* (Mallikām. 291,3).

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 96. — 2. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,414. — 3. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,415. — 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,110 ff. and ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root *ni* "to go beyond" is impossible. From the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa *upenayati* (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,281) and Pkt. *niṇai* + **nirayati* (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root *nī* "to go", which occurs in AMg. *nas* = *naṇet* (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that has nothing to do with *ni*, as the flexion and parallel forms *aii*, *parii* show. The assumption that *ni* stands in the sense of *niḥ* simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive *ni*, with WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741, from *nis* "weakening".

§ 494. The roots ending in *-u-*, *-ū* of the second class mostly go over to the first class: *paṇhaai* = *prasnauti*, *ravaai* = *rauti*, *savaai* = *sūle*, *pasavaai* = *prasūle*, *aṇiṇhavamāṇa* = *aninhuvāṇa*; *hnu* goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). *stu* is conjugated in M. JM. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: *thunai* (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), *thunimo* (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. *saṃthunai*, absol. *saṃthunittā* (Jiv. 612), *abhiṭthunanti* (Vivāhap. 833), *abhiṭthunamāṇā*, *abhiṣaṃthunamāṇā* (Kappas. § 110. 113); JM. *thunei* according to the *e*-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. *thuniya* (Kk. II. 508,26). In Ś. Mg. it follows the 5. class: Ś. *uvathunṇanti* = **upastunvanti* (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. LASSEN; Inst. p. 264 note); Mg. *thunu* (Mṛcch. 113,12; 115,9). The passive *thuvai* (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = **thuvai* = Skt. **stuvditi*, the absol. JM. *thoḍṇa* (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one **stotvāṇa*. — *brū* has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. *bemi* = *bravīmi* (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45. 84. 99. 117. 159. 200. 322. 627. 646f. 863. 950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. JM. *beṇti* (Dasav. N. 651,5. 16. 20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),

binti (Sūyag. 236); the 1. plur. is AMg. *būma* (Uttar. 784; verse), the imp. *būhi* (Sūyag. 259. 301. 553). On the optative *būyā* see § 464. In A. it goes according to the 6. class: *bruvaha* = *brūta* (Hc. 4,391); AMg. *buiya* presupposes the same flexion (§ 565).

§ 495. The roots *rud*, *śvas* and *svap* have completely gone to the *a*-conjugation. *rud* is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and mostly in JM. A. too: M. *ruāmi*, *ruasi*, *ruai*, *ruanti*, *rua*, *ruehi*, *ruasu* (H. R.; Dhvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966); JM. *ruyāsi* (Āv. 13,33; 14,27), *ruyāi* (Āv. 14,26), *ruyasu* (Sagar. 6,11), *ruyaha* (Āv. 14,28), *ruyanti* (Āv. 13,33; Erz. 15,24), *ruyantīe* (Erz. 22,36), *ruyamāñi* (Erz. 43,19), *ruyamāñim* (Āv. 14,26); A. *ruahi* = *roḍiṣi* (Hc. 4,383,1), *ruai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). More seldom is the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. JM. A.: AMg. *rojanti* (Sūyag. 114); JM. *rojai* (Āv. 17,27), particip. fem. *rojanti* (Āv. 12,34); JM. AMg. *royamāñā* (Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155. 225. 239. 240); A. *roi* = **rodeḥ* = *rudyāḥ* (Hc. 4,368), *roantē* = *rudatū* (Vikr. 72,11). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. *rodasi* (Mṛcch. 95,22), *roadi* (Mṛcch. 95,5; Venṣ. 58,20 [so to be read for *roidi* with v. l. as also Uttarar. 84,2]), *roanti* (Venṣ. 58,15), *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,12; Nāgān. 24,8. 12; 86,10 [roa]), *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27), also according to the *e*-conjugation *rodesi* (Mālatīm. 278,7), as with the v. l. for *roḍiṣi* of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II, 65,4 *rodidi* [both texts *rodidi*], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrār. 263,6; Mg. *loda*, *loda-māñāśā* (Mṛcch. 20,25; 158,12). The flexion according to the 6. class is found in Mg. only in Mṛcch. 158,7. 9 *luadi* in verses; in Ś. stands *rudatu* [sic] Viddhaś. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.

§ 496. *śvas* is inflected: M. *śasai*, particip. pres. *parasmaip. śasanta-* (H. R.), *śasai* (G.), *śasau* for *śasaru* (H.), *śasai*, *śasanta-* (Hc. 1,114; G. R.), *śamūśasanti*, *śamūśasanta-* (G. H.), *ñisai*, *ñisanta-* (Hc. 4,201; G. H.), *visai* (Hc. 4,43; H. 511 v. l.); AMg. *ussai* (Vivāhap. 112), *ūsasanti* (Vivāhap. 26. 852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ūsasējjā*, *ūsasamāne* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *nissai*, *ñisanti* (Vivāhap. 112.852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ñisamāñā* (Vivāhap. 1253; Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *visase* (Uttar. 181); Ś. *ñisanti*, *ñisadi* (Mṛcch. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1), *visāmi*, *visadi* (Śak. 65,10; 106,1), *śamassasa* = *śamāśvasiḥi* (Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venṣ. 75,2; Nāgān. 95,18), *śamassasadu* (Mṛcch. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14; 142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84,11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venṣ. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1 to be read), *śamassadha* (Vikr. 7,1); Mg. *śasadi*, *śasantā* (Mṛcch. 38,8; 116,17), *śasadu* (Mṛcch. 114,20), *śamuśasadi* (Mṛcch. 133,22), *ñisadu* (Mṛcch. 114,21), *śamāśśasadu* (Mṛcch. 130,17).

§ 497. *svap* as a rule follows the 6. class: M. *suasi*, *suvasi* = **supāsi* (H.), *suai* (Hc. 4,146; H.), *suai* (Hc. 1,64), *suanti* (G.), *suvasu*, *suaha* (H.); JM. *suwāmi* (Erz. 65,7), *sujai* (76,32), *sujaū* (Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3), *suyantassa* (Erz. 37,12), *sujamāṇo* (Dvār. 503,4); Ś. *suwāmi* (Kāṇas. 18,19); *suveṃmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9), particip. nec. *suvidavvam* (Mṛcch. 90,20); A. *suahi* = *svapanti* (Hc. 4,376,2). The secondary root *suv* = *sup* is sometimes conjugated according to the 1. class, just as *roai* beside *ruai* and *dhoai* beside *dhui* (§ 473. 482); *soai* (Hc. 1,64); JM. *soventi* (Dvār. 503,28), inf. *soum* (Dvār. 501,7); A. particip. nec. *soevā* (Hc. 4,438,3).

§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and 2. sing. and plur. of *as* are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms lose the initial *a* (§ 145). Sing. M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* (text *mhi*) *śi*. The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 *mha*, *mho*, *mhu*, according to Hc. 3,147; Kī. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only *mha*, *mho*. We have found in the text M.

mha and *mho* (H.), *Ś. mha* (Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8. 14 etc.) corresponding to *sma* of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is *M. ttha* (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is *amsi* (§ 74,313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4; 1,6, 2,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,7,4,2; 1,7,5,1; Sūyag. 239. 565 ff. 689), enclitic *mi* (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3. 29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21) the 1. plur. *mo* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has (Āv. 27,4). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is *atthi*, that in Mg. is to be equated as *asti*. *atthi* is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3, 148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus *Ś. atthi dāva aham* (Mudrār. 42,10; 159,12); Mg. *asti dāva hage* (Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v. l.); plur. AMg. *natthi sattovavāijā = na santi sattvā upapādītāḥ* (Sūyag. 28), *natthi nam tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pājā vā kaṇṇā vā = na sto nūnam tasya dārakasya hastau vā pādau vā karnau vā* (Vivāgas. 11); JM. *jassa oṭṭhā natthi = yasyausthau na stah* (Āv. 41,6); *Ś. atthi aññāim pi candaūttassa kovakāraṇāim cāpakke = santy anyāny api candra-guptasya kopakāraṇāni cāpakye* (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cfr. v. l. and ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. *santi* is seldom: AMg. (Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585); JŚ. (Pav. 383,74; 385, 65); Mg. *śanti* (Venīś. 34,21; cf., however, v. l.). From the imp. is found in AMg. *itthu* in the combination *namo tthu nam* (Hc. 4,283; 380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. *siyā* (§ 464). On the use of *atthi*, *santi*, *siyā* at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.	Plur.
1. AMg. <i>amsi</i> , <i>mi</i> ; M. JM. JŚ. <i>Ś. mhi</i> , JM. also <i>mi</i> ; Mg. <i>smi</i> .	1. M. <i>mho</i> , <i>mha</i> ; Ś. <i>mha</i> ; Mg. <i>sma</i> ; AMg. <i>mo</i> , <i>mu</i> ; JM. <i>mo</i> .
2. M. JM. <i>Ś. si</i> ; Mg. <i>śi</i> .	2. M. <i>ttha</i> .
3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. <i>Ś. atthi</i> ; Mg. <i>asti</i> .	3. M. AMg. JŚ. <i>santi</i> ; Mg. <i>śanti</i> .

Opt. AMg. *siyā*; imp. AMg. *itthu*. On the imperf. *āsi* see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the *a*-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. *ahiyāsae = adhyāste* (Āyār. 1,8,2,15) and = *adhyāsita* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. *pajjuvāsāmi = paryupāse* (Vivāhap. 916; Nirayāv. § 3; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsai* (Vivāhap. 917; Nirayāv. § 4; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsāhi*, *pajjuvāsējjāhi* (Uvās.); *pajjuvāsanti* (Ovav.).—M. *niacchāi = *nicakṣati = niścaṣṭe* (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), *niacchāmi* (Śak. 119. 7), *niacchae*, *niacchaha*, *niacchanta*, *niacchamāṇa*, also according to the *e*-conjugation, *niacchesi* (H.), *avaacchāi*, *avaakkhāi*, *avakkhāi*, *oakkhāi = avacaṣṭe* (Hc. 4, 181; *avakkhāi* also Vr. 8,69); AMg. *avayakkhāi* (Nāyādh. 958); Ś. *ācakkha* (Ratn. 320,32), past pass. part. of the pres. stem *ācakkhida = *ācakṣita* (Śak. 63,15 [so to be read]; 77,14; 160,15), *añācakkhida* (Vikr. 80,4); Mg. *ācaskadi* (Hc. 4, 297), *añācaskida* (Mṛcch. 37,21); Dh. *ācakkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v. l. in GODABOLE p. 101,4); A. *ācakkhahi* (Vikr. 58,8; 59,14; 65,3), *ācakkhiu* (Vikr. 58,11); Ś. inf. *pacācakkhidum* (Śak. 104,8). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. *padussedi* (Pav. 384,49) is not = *pradveṣṭi*, as the translation suggests, but = *pradutyati* and enters for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. *dosa* (§ 129). *sāhai = śāste* (Hc. 4,2); M. JM. *sāhāmi*, *sāhai*, *sāhāmo*, *sāhanti*, *sāhasu* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.), also according to *e*-conjugation: *sāhemi*, *sāhēnti*, *sāhesu*, *sāhehi*, *sāheu*, *sāhēnti* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); of the weak root *ṣiṣ* according to the 4. class: *sisai* (Hc. 4,2), seen up

till now only as passive = *śiṣyate* (G. R.); AMg. *anusāsasmi* = **anusā-sāmi* = *anusāsmi* (Uttar. 790)¹, *anusāsanti* (Sūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. *sāsijjai* (Mṛch. 103,16), *ś. sāsīadi* (Mṛch. 155,6); Mg. *śāsadi* (Mṛch. 158,25). — M. *haṇai* = *hanti* (H. 214), *ṇihaṇanti*, and according to the *e*-conjugation *ṇihaṇemi* (R.); AMg. *haṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 254. 850 f.), *haṇai* (Vivāhap. 849 f.), in the verse also *haṇāi* (Uttar. 630), *abhihaṇai* (Vivāhap. 348), *samohaṇai* (Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas.); JŚ. *ṇihaṇadi* (Kattig. 401,339); AMg. *haṇaha* (Uttar. 365), *haṇanti* (Sūyag. 110), *samohaṇanti* (Rāyap. 32. 45). *sāhaṇanti* = *saṃghnanti* (Vivāhap. 137.138.141), in the verse also *viṇihanti* (Sūyag.339), opt. *haṇiyā haṇijjā*, *haṇējjā*, *haṇe* (§ 464), imp. *haṇaha* (Sūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4); JM. *āhaṇāmi* (Āv. 28,2), *haṇai* (Erz. 5,32), imp. *haṇa* = *jahi* (Erz. 2,15), opt. *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1); Ś. *paḍihaṇāmi* = *pratihaṇmi* (Mudrār. 182, 7 v. 1.), *vihaṇanti* (Prab. 17,10); Mg. *āhaṇedha* (Mṛch. 158,18); A. *haṇai* (Hc. 4,418,3).

1. JACOBI, SBE. 45,151, note 1 wrongly likes to read *anusasasmi*. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty remnants. For *dā* in the present is used *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474), mostly in AMg., sometimes in JM. *dalaṇya-* (§ 490). — Of *dhā*, the old stem *dahā-* = *dadhā-* has generally been retained only in compounds with *sad* = *śrad*, which behaves almost exclusively according to the *a*-conjugation, as sometimes also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli *dahati*¹. So *saddahai* = *śraddadhāti* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57); M. *saddahimo* = *śraddadhāmaḥ* (H. 23), past passive participle of the present stem *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Acyutaś. 8); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Nirayāv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), *saddahai* (Vivāhap. 845; Paṇṇav. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804); JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); opt. *saddahe* (Uttar. 170), *saddahējjā* (Rāyap. 250; Paṇṇav. 577. 583), imp. *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151) and *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. *asaddahanto* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahamāṇa* (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMg., in addition, is found also *ādahai* (Ovav. § 44), *ādahanti* (Sūyag. 286). Cf. § 222. Otherwise *dhā*, as all other roots in *-ā* (§ 483. 487), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class: *dhāi*, *dhāai* (Hc. 4,240); M. *saṃdhanteṇa* = *saṃdadhatāi* (R. 5,24); AMg. JM. with cerebralization (§ 223) very frequently: *ādhāmi* (Āyār. 1,7 2,2; Vivāhap. 1210), *ādhāi* (Thāṇ. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Nirayāv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nāyādh. § 69; p. 460. 575; Vivāhap. 228. 234; Āv. 27,3), AMg. *ādhanti* (Vivāgas. 458; Vivāhap. 239), *ādhāyanti* (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301.302.305), *ādhāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 456), *ādhāha* (Nāyādh. 938) and *ādhaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *ādhāmāṇa* (Vivāhap. 240), *ādhāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4,5), *anādhāyamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2) and *anādhāyamāṇa* (Uvās. [so to be read; see v. 1.; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282), passive *anādhāijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.). Like *sthā* (§ 483), *dhā* with prefixes usually goes over to the *e*-conjugation: M. *saṃdhei* (H. 733; R. 15,76), *saṃdhēnti* (R. 5,56), *saṃdhinti* (G. 1041; so to be read; see v. l.); *vihesi* (G. 332; read *khaṃbhehi va vihesi* and cf. v. l.); AMg. *saṃdhei* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6), *saṃdhemāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3), opt. *nihe* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,3; 1,4,1,3), *pihe* (Sūyag. 129); JM. *aisaṃdhei* (Āv. 46,25); Ś. *anusamdhemi* (Karp. 10,3), *anusamdhedha* (Karp. 23,1). AMg. *saṃdhai* (Sūyag. 527), **nihai*, **pihai* is the connecting link. — *hā-* forms AMg. *jahāsi* (Sūyag. 174. 176), *jahāi* (Sūyag. 118), *jahai* (Thāṇ. 281), *pajahāmi* (Uttar. 377), *vippajahāmi* (Vivāhap. 1237. 1242), *vippajahai* (Vivāhap.; Ovav.), *vippajahanti* (Sūyag. 633. 635. 978), opt. *jahe* (Āyār. 2,16,9), *payahijja* and *payahējjja* (Sūyag. 128. 147), *pajahe* (Sūyag. 410), *pajaha* (Uttar. 456), *vippajaha*

(Uttar. 244), imp. *jahāhi* (Sūyag. 414), particip. *vipphajahamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 1385); JŚ. *jahādi* and *jahadi* (Pav. 383,24; 385,64). According to the 4. class: AMg. *hāyāi* (Thāp. 294 f.); future Ś. *parihāissadi* = *parihāssyate* (Śak. 2,1). — *mā* see § 487.

1. FISCHER, BB. 15, 121.

§ 501. *bhī* shows the old flexion in *bihemi* = *bibhemi*, *bihei* = *bibheti* (Hc. 1,169, 4,238). M. JM. *bihaī* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134. 136; 4,53), *bihante* (Hc. 3,142), JM. *bihasu* (Erz. 81,34), dragged to *bhī*, and M. *bihei* (H. 311. 778), JM. *bihehi* (Erz. 35,33; 83,7), *bihesu* (Erz. 82,20), formed according to the *e*-conjugation, do not belong to *bhī*, but is = **bhīṣati* from *√bhīṣ*, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. *bihaṇa*, *bihaṇaga* (§ 213. 263) proves it. Generally *bhī* is conjugated as the *ai*-roots (§ 479), always in Ś. Mg. So JM. *bhāyasu* (Erz. 31,18); Ś. *bhā-āmi* (Vikr. 24,13; 33,11), *bhāadi* (Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12), *bhāāhi* (Śak. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15); Mg. *bhāāmi*, *bhāāsi* (Mṛech. 124,22. 23; 125,21). In M. according to the analogy of the *a*-roots too (§ 479); *bhāi* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53); *bhāsu*, v. l. *bhāhi* (H. 583). — *hu* (to offer) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: *huṇāmi*, *huṇāsi* (Uttar. 375), *huṇai* (Vivāhap. 910); also with retention of reduplication: AMg. *juhuṇāmi* (Thāp. 436. 437). Cf. Skt. *hunet* in BÖHTLINGK s. v. *hun* (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Ś. and there they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the *a*- and *e*-conjugations: AMg. *saṁciṇu* (Uttar. 170); Ś. *avaciṇomi* (Mālatim. 72,5 [ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 53,1 and ed. Madras. 61,3 *avaṇiṇummi*]; Unmattar. 6,19), *avaciṇumo* (Pārvaṭip. 27,14), *uccīṇosi* (Viddhaś. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15. 17. Against that *ciṇai* (Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238. 241), fut. *ciṇihū* (Hc. 4,243), passive *ciṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,242. 243); *uccīṇai* (Hc. 4,241); M. *uccīpasu*, *samuccīṇai* (H.), *vicīṇanti* (G.); AMg. *ciṇai* (Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc.; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137), *uvaciṇai* (Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137) and *saṁciṇai* (Uttar. 205), *uvaciṇai* (Vivāhap. 38. 39), *ciṇanti* (Thāp. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182), *uvaciṇanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62); Ś. imp. *avaciṇamha* (Śak. 71,9; Mālatim. 111,2. 7 [so to be read; cf. v. l.; Cait. 73,11; 75,12 [*ṇu*]), past passive participle *vicīṇida* (Mālatim. 297,5), also according to the *e*-conjugation: Ś. *uccīṇedi* (Karp. 2,8), inf. *avaciṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8). In M. Mg. A. *ci* is conjugated according to the 1. class too: *uccēi* (Hc. 4,241, H. 159), *uccēnti* (G. 536), imp. *uccēu* (Sr. fol. 49), inf. *uccēum* (H. 159); Mg. *saṁcehi* (Veṇis. 35,9), A. opt. *saṁcei* (Hc. 4,422,4); likewise *mi* in M. *nimesi* (G. 296). Cf. 473.

§ 503. *dhu* (*dhū*) forms AMg. *dhuṇai* (verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2), usually M. AMg. *dhuṇai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59. 241; Ki. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhaś. 7,2; Sūyag. 321), opt. AMg. *dhuṇe* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550); AMg. *viḥuṇāmi* (Nāyādh. 938); M. *viḥuṇai* (R. 7,17; 12,66); M. AMg. *viḥuṇanti* (G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Thāp. 155); AMg. *viḥuṇe* (Sūyag. 921), *viḥuṇāhi* (Uttar. 311), *niddhuṇe* (Uttar. 170), absol. *dhuṇiṇya*, *viḥuṇiṇya* (Sūyag. 111. 113), *viḥuṇiṇyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24), *saṁvidhuṇiṇya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), *niddhuṇittāpa* (Uttar. 605), particip. pres. ātmanep. *viṇiddhuṇamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1253); passive *dhuṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,242); Ś. absol. *avadhuṇa* (Mālatim. 351,6). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: *dhuvaī* (Hc. 4,59), from which the passive *dhuvaī* (§ 536); further according to the *e*-conjugation M. *viḥuṇēnti* (R. 8,35); Ś. *vidhuvedī* (Mṛech. 71,20). On the past passive participle *hūṇa*, *viḥūṇa*, *vipphahūṇa*

see § 120.—Of *śru* is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. *śuṇu* (Śak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12); Mg. *śuṇu* (Mṛcch. 121,23; Venis. 34,19, [GRILL false *śipu*], in the 2. plur. too *śuṇudha* Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. 1. *śuṇa*, as in Ratn. 304,9; 309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against *śuṇu* 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found *śuṇāhi* too (Mṛcch. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5; 45,19; Vṛṣabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. *śuṇamha* (Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the *e*-conjugation *śuṇēmha* (Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7), the 2. plur. is *śuṇadha* (Śak. 55,12), so *śuṇa* will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too *śuṇu* for *śuṇa* will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is *śuṇādha* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14. 17) or *śuṇedha* (Mṛcch. 154,9), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. 1. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either *śuṇadha* or (cf. Z) *śuṇādha*. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual: Ś. *śuṇāmi* (Mālatim. 288,1); Mg. *śuṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 14,22); falsely Ś. *śuṇemi* (Venis. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4,6), for which with the v. 1. *śuṇāmi* or *śuṇemi* is to be read. Ś. *śuṇādi* (Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2), also *śuṇedi* (Mṛcch. 325,19); Mg. *śuṇādi* (Mṛcch. 162,21). Against the dialect is Ś. *śuṇimo* (Bālar. 101,5), for which *śuṇāmo* is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc.), Mg. *śuṇādu* (Mṛcch. 37,3); 3. plur. imp. Ś. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 142,10), Mg. *śuṇantu* (Mṛcch. 151,23). In M. the stem is carried over to the *a*-conjugation: *śuṇai*, *śuṇimo*, *śuṇanti*, *śuṇasu*, *śuṇaha* (G. H. R.), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. *ṇisunahu* (Kk. 272,37), JM. *śuṇai*, *śuṇanti* (Kk.), *śuṇa* (Dvār. 495,15), *śuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *śuṇaha* (Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19); AMg. *śuṇantu* (Nāyādh. 1134), *śuṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2), *apaḍisunamāṇa* (Nirayāv. § 25). In JM. AMg., however, the flexion according to the *e*-conjugation prevails: JM. *śuṇei* (Āv. 35,30; 42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz.); AMg. *śuṇemi* (Ṭhāṇ. 143), *śuṇei* (Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371. 373. 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8. 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff.), *paḍisuṇei* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *paḍisuṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1227; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or *ṇi*^o to be read also at § 58] etc.). AMg. *paḍisuṇējjā* (Rāyap. 251), *paḍisuṇijjā* (Kappas.), *paḍisunne* (Uttar. 31,33) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives *śuṇāi*, *śuṇeu*, *śuṇāu*. AMg. has *śuṇeu* (Sūyag. 363), 2. plur. *śuṇeho* (Sūyag. 243. 373. 397. 423 f.; Uttar. 1). The passive M. JM. *śuṇvāi* (§ 536) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class **śuṇai* = **śruvāti*.

§ 504. AMg. *pappoi* [text *pappōtti*; commentary *papputti*] = *prāpnoti* (Uttar. 430), JŚ. *pappodi* (Pav. 389,5) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from *āp* with *pra*. Otherwise *āp*, in AMg. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the *a*-conjugation: *pāuṇai* = **prā-punāti*, **prāpunati* (Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846), *pāūnanti* (Sūyag. 433. 759. 771; Ovav. § 74. 75. 81. 117); *sampāuṇanti* (Vivāhap. 926), opt. *pāuṇējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11. 2,6; Ṭhāṇ. 165. 416), *sampāuṇējjāsi* (text *se*; Uttar. 345); inf. *pāuṇittae* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11). In M. JM. JŚ., in verses in AMg., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class: *pāvai* = **prāpnoti* (Hc. 4,239). So M. *pāvasi*, *pāvai*, *pāvanti*, *pāva*, *pāvai* (G. H. R.), also according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvēnti* (G.); AMg. *pāvai* (Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135); opt. *pāvijjā* (Nandis. 404); JM. *pāvai* (Kk. 272,5), *pāvanti* (Rṣabhap. 41), and according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvei* (Erz. 50,34), *pāvēnti* (Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read]); JŚ. *pāvadi* (Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326; 403,370); Ś. *pāvanti* (Viddhaś. 63,2); absol. JŚ. *pāviya* (Kattig. 402,369), and according to the *e*-conjugation JŚ. Ś. *pāvedi* (Kattig. 399,307; Ratn. 316,5), *pāvehī* (Mālav. 30,11; so to be read); A. *pāvami* (Vikr. 71,8). From the same stem is built the future too

Ś. *pāvāissam* (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read Mudrār. 187,2 in AMg. *pāvēmi*; the MSS. and editions have *ācemi*, *jācemi*, *paḍicchemi* (Hc. 4, 141. 142 mentions also *vāvei* = *vyāpnoti* and *samāvei* = *samāpnoti*).

§ 505. *takṣ*, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. *tacchanti* (Sūyag. 274), *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596).—From *sak* very frequent is *sakkanomi* = *saknomi* (§ 140. 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33; 327,17; Uttarār. 112,8) or *sakkuṇomi* (Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān. 14,8. 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: *sakkāi* = **sakyati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kī. 4,60). So JM. A. *sakkāi* (Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6. 441,2), JM. opt. *sakkeṭṭja* (Erz. 79,1), and according to the *e*-conjugation JM. *sakkei* (Āv. 42,28), *sakkeṇti* (Erz. 65,19), *sakkeha* (Sagara 10,13 [so to be read]). On the opt. *sakkā* see § 465.—*stī*, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in *ṛ* (§ 477): M. *ōṭṭharāi* = *avastṛṇoti*, *ōṭṭharia* = *avastṛta*, *vittharāi*, *vittharanta-*, *vittharium*, *vittharia*(R.); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistṛta* (Erz.); Ś. *vittharanta-* (Mālatim. 76,4; 258,3); A. *ōṭṭharāi* (Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also *utthañghai* (raises up; throws up; Hc. 4,36.144), past passive participle *utthañgia* (R. s.v. *stambh*) = **utstaghnoti* (PISCHEL, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the *a*- or *e*- conjugation : *chindai* = *chinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124. 216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); *acchindai* (Hc. 4,125); M. *achindai* (G.), *voṭchindanta*-(R.); JM. *chindāmi* and *chindei* (Erz.) abs. *chindittu* (Kk.); AMg. *chindāmi* (Ānuog. 528; Nirāyāv. § 16); *chindasi* (Ānuog. 528), *chindai* (Sūyag. 332; Vivāhap. 123.1306, (Nāyādh. 1436; Uttar. 789), *acchindai* *vicchindai* (Thān. 360), *voṭchindasi*, *voṭchindai* (Uttar. 321. 824), opt. *chindeṭṭja* (Vivāhap. 123. 1306), *chinde* (Uttar. 217), *acchindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13), *vicchindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,13,13), *chindāhi* (Dasav. 613,27), *chindaha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4), present participle *chindamāṇa* (Ānuog. 528), absol. *palicchindiyāṇam* (Āyār. 1,3,2,4); Ś. absol. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1). On AMg. *acche* see § 466. 516. — *pisai* for **pimsai* (§ 76) = *pinasṭi* (Hc. 4,185); Ś. *pisedi* (Mṛcch. 3,1. 21).—*bhañjai* = *bhanakti* (Hc. 4,108); M. *bhañjai*, *bhañjanta-* (H. R.); JM. *bhañjiṇa*, *je* (Erz.); AMg. *bhañjai*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 788. 789); Ś. future *bhañjaissaṭi* (Vikr. 22,2), absol. *bhañjia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23). Mg. *bhayyadi* [text *bhajjadi*; ed. Calc. *bhajjedi*] (Mṛcch. 118,12) must be considered as passive and *vibhayya* (text *bibhajja* (Mṛcch. 118,21) as its imperative; against this stands Ś. imp. *bhajjedha* (Mṛcch. 155,4) in the active sense, to which may be compared *jujjai* (§ 507).—*bhindai* = *bhinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); M. *bhindai*, *bhindanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *bhindai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhindai* (Thān. 360; Vivāhap. 1327), *bhindeṇti*, *bhindamāṇa* Vivāhap. 1227. 1327), opt. *bhindeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9); Ś. Mg. absol. *bhindia* (Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17). On AMg. *abbhe* see § 466. 516.

§ 507. *bhuji* forms *bhuñjai* (Hc. 4,110; Mk. fol. 56), *uvahuñjai* (Hc. 4, 111); M. *bhuñjasu* (H.); JM. *bhuñjai* (Erz.), *bhuñjai* (Āv. 8,4,24), *bhuñjanti* (Erz.; Kk.), *bhuñjae* (Ātmanep.; Ērz.), *bhuñjāhi* (Āv. 10,40), *bhuñjasu* (Āv. 12,20), *bhuñjaha*, *bhuñjamāṇa*, *bhuñjiya*, *bhuñjjittā* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuñjai* (Uttar. 12; Vivāhap. 163), *bhuñjai* (Sūyag. 209); *bhuñjāmo* (Vivāhap. 624), *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194; Vivāhap. 623), *bhuñjanti* (Dasav. 613,18), *bhuñjeṭṭja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhap. 515. 516), *bhuñje* (Uttar. 37; Sūyag. 344), imp. *bhuñja* (Sūyag. 182), *bhuñjasu*, *bhuñjimo* (Uttar. 369.675), *bhuñjaha* (Āyār. 2,1, 10,7), *bhuñjamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101.102 [je].103[je]; Kappas.); JS. *bhuñjade* (Kattig. 403. 382; 404,390); Ś. *bhuñjasu* (Mṛcch. 70,12), inf. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21); A. *bhuñjanti* inf. *bhuñjanahā*, *bhuñjanahī* (Hc. 4,335,441,1).

— From *yuj* the present are *juñjai*, *jujjai* (Hc. 4,109), which may be compared with *bhājiedha* § 506 and under *rudh*. M. *paññajām* (Karp. 7,1). M. *jujjai*, *juñjai* (H.), *jujjanta-* (R.) are passive forms. AMg. *juñjai* (Pañnav. 842 ff.; Ovav. § 145. 146), *paññjai* (Vivāhap. 1312; Nāyādh. § 89), opt. *juñje* (Uttar. 29), *paññje* (Samav. 86), *juñjamāṇa* (Pañnav. 842 ff.), absol. *uvaññjāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1591); absol. M. *niññjiya* (Erz.); Ś. *paññjadha* (Karp. (6,7), imp. passive from the present stem *paññjīadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7), whilst the very frequent Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71, 10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.) = *yujyate* is, as the future Ś. *ahiuñjissadi* = *abhiyokgyate* (Uttar. 69,6). — *rudh* forms *rundhai* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,133.218.239; Ki. 4,52; Mk. Sr.fol. 56). So M. *rundhasu* (H.); AMg. *rundhai* (Thāp. 360); Ś. *rundhedi* (Mallikām. 126,3; text. °ei); A. absol. *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20) and *ruijhai* = **rudhyati* (Hc.4,218), also with the nasal inserted M. *niruiñjhai* (H. 618), JŚ. absol. *niruiñjhittā* (Pav. 386,70), with which is compared AMg. *vigiñcai* = *vikṛntyati* (§ 485). M. AMg. *rumbhai* (Vr.8,49; Hc. 4,218; Ki. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56; H. R.; Uttar. 902), AMg. *nirumbhai* (Uttar. 834), passive M. JM. *rubbhai* (§ 546) belong to a root **rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in gutturals (§ 266). — *hims* forms in AMg. *himsai* = *hinasti* (Uttar. 927. 935. 940. 945. 950 etc.), *vihiṃsai* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 4. 5. 5. 6, 3), *himsanti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5).

§ 508. The forms of *kṛ*, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AMg. JM. JŚ. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem *kuru-* to the *a-* class as *kurva-*: AMg. *kuvvaī* = **kurvati* (Sūyag. 321. 328 [°ai]. 359 [°ai]. 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Daśav. 613,19 [°ai]), *pakuvvaī* (Āyār. 1.2,6,2), *viuvvaī* (Vivāhap. 114; Rāyap. 60 ff. 79. 82; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), *kuvvanti* = *kurvanti* (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhap. 409), *vikuvvanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215), opt. *kuvvējjā*, °ija (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, *kujjā* (§ 464), imp. *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. ātmanep. *kuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Pañnav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), *viuvvaṃāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1033 f. 1054), *pakuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; 1,5,1,1); JM. *kuvvaī* (Kk.), *kuvvanti* (Āv. 7,11), *viuvvaī* (Āv. 35,6), *viuvvae* (Āv. 36,27), absol. *viuvviṇṇa*, past passive particip. *viuvviyā* (Erz.); JŚ. *kuvvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), *kuvvañ* (Pav. 384,58), *kuvvantañ* (Kattig. 400,332), *kuvvanto* (Kattig. 403,378), also ātmanep. *kuvvade* (Kattig. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. Vedic. *kṛnoti* becomes, according to § 502, *kuṇai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65; Ki. 4,54; Mk. 59). So M. *kuṇasi*, *kuṇai*, *kuṇanti*, *kuṇa*, *kuṇasu* *kuṇai*, *kuṇanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kuṇai* (Kk.; Rṣabhap.), *kuṇanti*, *kuṇaha* (Kk.), *kuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.; Sagara 6,2. 11. 12), *kuṇanta-*, *kuṇamāṇa-* (Kk.; Erz.), *kuṇanteṇa* (KI. 15), also completely isolated *kuṇai* in AMg. in the verse (Samav. 85); JŚ. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388. 389. 391); A. *kuṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 [text °ha] and *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118). In Ś. Mg. *kuṇa-* is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mk. fol. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgān. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhaś. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5, etc. Prātāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājaśekhara wrongly uses *kuṇa-* in Ś. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,13; 200,12; Viddhaś. 36,2; 48,9,11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For *kuṇomi* (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct *kadiadu*, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhaś. too in the critical editions. *kuṇa-* is to be removed from Ś. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Hāsy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;

39,1. 10; 44,12; 47,7; 80,14; 92,14; Kārṇas. 22,8; Jivān. 39,15; 41,7; 81,14; 95,2; Mallikām. 69,1; 336,3 etc. perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is *Ś. kummo = kumaḥ* (Jivān. 13,6), against this correctly Dh. *kulu = kuru* (Mṛch. 31,16).

§ 509. *kr* is conjugated mostly as the roots in *r* of the first class (§477): *karāi* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65. 234. 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. JM. AMg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the *e*-conjugation. *a*-forms are: PG. opt. *karēyya*, *karēyyāma* (6,40; 7,41); M. *karanta*- (R.); JM. *karae = kurute* (Kk. II, 506,5), *karanti* (Rābhāp. 39. 40); AMg. *karāi* (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), *karanti* (Sūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhap. 62; Jiv. 102; Pannav. 56. 574), *paḥaranti* (Uttar. 15; Pannav. 575), *viyāgaranti*, *vāgaranti* (Sūyag. 523. 695); JŚ. *karadi* (Kattig. 400,332); opt. AMg. *kare* (Sūyag. 348. 385. 393), *nirākare* (Sūyag. 442), *karējjā* (§ 462), *viyāgarējjā* (Sūyag. 525. 527), *vāgarējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17); frequently in A.: *karimi* (Vikr. 71,9), *karāi* (Hc. 4,370,2), *karāi*, *karadi*, *karanti*, *karahi* (Hc. s. v. *ṽkar*), opt. *kari* (Hc. 4,387,3; Śukasaptati 49,4; Prabandhac. 63,7), imp. *karahi* (Hc. 4,385; Piṅgala 1,149), *karu* (Hc. 4,330,3), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107. 121 [text ^oha]), inf. *karāṇa*, absol. *karevi*, *karēppīṇu* (Hc. s.v. *ṽkar*). — *e*-forms are very frequent: M. *karemi*, *karesi*, *kareṇti*, *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēnta*- (H. R.); JM. *karei* (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9,17; 14,14), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35; Kk. 264,11. 14; Āv. 17,14; Sagara 2,14), *karēnti* (Erz.; Kk.), *karehi*, *karesu*, *karaha* (Kk.), *karēnta*-, *kareṇāna* (Erz.); AMg. *karemi* (Thāp. 149. 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), *karei* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 403. 406. 853; Vivāhap. 915. 917. 931. 945; Nirayāv. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), *karemo* (Sūyag. 734), *karēnti* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577. 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. *viyāgarahi* (Sūyag. 962), *karaha* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *kareṇāna* (Uvās.), *viyāgarēṇāna*, *viyāgarai* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1). Isolated is AMg. *kajjanti* (Uvās. § 197. 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands *karēnti*. JŚ. *karedi* (Pav. 384,59; Kattig. 400,324; 402,369; 403,377. 383); Ś. *karemi* (Lalitav. 561,15; Mṛch. 16,4; 103,17; 151,22; Śak. 165,8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82,5; 83,5. 6 etc.), *karesi* (Ratn. 303,29; Mālatīm. 265,2; Prab. 44,2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), *karedi* (Lalitav. 560,9; Mṛch. 73,11; 147,18; 151,19. 20; Śak. 20,5; 56,16; Vikr. 75,5), *karemo* (Śak. 80,5 [so to be read]), *alaṃkarēnti* (Mālatīm. 273,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l.]), *karehi* (Mṛch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10), *karesu* (Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20), *karedu* (Mālatīm. 351,7), *karēṃha* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Prab. 63,11; Ratn. 303,21; Uttarar. 101,8), *karedha* (Mālatīm. 246,5), *karēnta*- (Mṛch. 6,13; 40,23; 60,25; 61,24; 105,1; 148,8). — Mg. *kalemi* (Mṛch. 12,15; 31,17. 20; 97,4; 113,23 etc.; Śak. 114,3), *kalehi* (Mṛch. 151,25; 160,3), *kalide* (Mṛch. 81,6; 127,6; 135,2; 158,25; Nāgān. 68,5 [so to be read]), *kalehi* (Mṛch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5), *kalēṃha* (Mṛch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Venis. 36,6; Candak. 71,10), *kaledha* (Mṛch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23), *kalēntā* (voc.; Mṛch. 30,9; 108,17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only *jāṇā*, which after *na*, according to § 170, loses its initial *j*: M. *jāṇāi* (Karp. 35,8); JM. *jāṇāsi* (Erz. 57,8); AMg. *jāṇāsi* (Vivāhap. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745), *aṇujāṇāi* (Sūyag. 1.16), *na jāṇāi*, *jāṇāi* (Sūyag. 161. 520), *pariyāṇāi* (Vivāhap. 228; Rāyap. 252 [°jā]), *viyāṇāsi*, *viyāṇāi* (Uttar. 745. 791); JŚ. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382,25; 348,48), *viyāṇādi* (Pav. 388,2); Ś. *jāṇāsi* (Mṛch. 57,9; 65,10; 82,12; Śak. 13,5; Mālatīm. 102,3; Mudrār. 37,2); D. *āṇāsi* (Mṛch. 101,8.9).

10); *Ś. jāṇādi* (Vikr. 9,4; Mālatīm. 264,5; Mahāv. 34,1; Mudrār. 36,3.4.6; 55,1 etc.); Mg. *Ś. D. āṇādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25; 51,25; 101,11); *Ś. viāṇādi* (Prab. 13,19), *jāṇādu* (Mṛcch. 94,13; Mudrār. 36,7); Mg. *yāṇādi* (Venis. 34,18), *yāṇādi* (Mṛcch. 114,1), *āṇādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25), *viāṇādi*, *paccabhiāṇādi* (Mṛcch. 38,13; 173,7). Except in *Ś. Mg. jāṇā* mostly behave according to the *a*-conjugation: *jāṇai* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Kī. 4,47). So: M. *jāṇimi*, *jāṇasi*, *jāṇase*, *jāṇai*, *jāṇimo* and *jāṇāmo*, *jāṇa*, *jāṇasu* (H.), after *ṇa*: *āṇasi*, *āṇai*, *āṇimo āṇaha* (H. R.); JM. *jāṇasi* (Dvār. 502,21), *na jāṇasi* (Erz. 52,17), *jāṇai* (Erz. 11,2; Kk. 277,10), *na jāṇai* (Āv. 21,18; 38,8; Erz. 30,3; 37,25); AMg. *jāṇasi* (Uttar. 745), *jāṇai* (Vivāhap. 284. 363. 911. 1194. 1198 etc.; Sūyag. 476. 540; Uttar. 202; Āyār. 1,2,5,4; Paṇṇav. 366. 432. 518 ff. 666; Jiv. 339 ff.), *parijāṇai* (Āyār. p. 132,9 ff.), *apujāṇai* (Vivāhap. 603 ff.), *samaṇu-jāṇai* (Āyār. 1,1,3,6; 1,2,5,2. 3), *jāṇāmo* (Vivāhap. 131. 144. 1180. 1406; Thāṇ. 147; Sūyag. 578), *jāṇaha*, *parijāṇaha* (Vivāhap. 132,234), opt. *jāṇe* (Sūyag. 364), imp. *jāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1) and *jāṇāhi* (Sūyag. 249. 304; Kappas. S. § 52), *viyāṇāhi* (Paṇṇav. 39), *samaṇujāṇāhi* (Sūyag. 247), *apujāṇai* (Kappas. § 28), *jāṇaha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *jāṇamāṇa* (Samav. 82); JS. *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 398,302), *viyāṇadi* (Pav. 381,21), *jāṇa* (Kattig. 401, 342); *Ś. jāṇāmo* [text false °ṇā; cf. v. l.] (Mālatīm. 82,9; 94,3; 246,1; 248,1; 255,4; Viddhaś. 101,1), *ṇa āṇadha* (Mālatīm. 245,8), imp. *jāṇa* (Karp. 63,8) and *jāṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 41,24 [so to be read]; 169,20; Vikr. 15,10; 41,5; Mālatīm. 239,1 [so to be read]), *apujāṇāhi* (Śak. 26,12; Vikr. 29,9); Mg. *yāṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 80,21); A. *jāṇai* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *jāṇai* (Hc. 4,401, 4. 419,1), *jāṇu* Piṅgala 1,26 [text *jāṇa*], *jāṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,105. 106. 144). In *Ś. Mg.* the flexion according to the *a*-class is restricted to *jāṇāmo*, *jāṇa*, *jāṇāhi*, which should not be considered to have been built from the strong stem of the 9. class, and to *jāṇadha*. Against the dialect is *Ś. jāṇasi* (Lalitav. 560,18), falsely also *jāṇedi* (Nāgān. 67,3), for which we should, with the v. l., read *jāṇādi*, as also for Mg. *yāṇadi* (Hc. 4,292), *paccabhiyāṇedi* (Mṛcch. 132,24) is to be read °ṇādi. On the other hand, correct is the *e*-form in JM. *jāṇei* (Kk. III, 512,4), JS. *viyāṇedi* (Kattig. 399,316; text °ei) and A. *jāṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,5. 14). JS. has *ṇādi* = **jāṇti* (Pav. 382,25) too.

§ 511. *kṛi* forms *kiṇai* (Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52), with prefix *vi* *vikkiṇai* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Kī. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54). So: M. *vikkiṇai* (H. 238); JM. *kiṇāmi* (Āv. 31,9), *kiṇai* (Erz. 29,28), absol. *kiṇiya*, future *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 33,15), *vikkiṇāmi*, *vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,24. 26), *vikkiṇanti* (Āv. 31,7), *paḍi-vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,15); AMg. *kiṇai* (Thāṇ. 516), opt. *kiṇe*, particip. pres. *kiṇanta-* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3); *Ś.* imp. *kiṇadha* (Caṇḍak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7), future *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), past passive particip. *kiṇida* (Karp. 32, 9; 73,2), *nikkiṇasi* (Mṛcch. 61,16), *vikkiṇida* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Laṭakam. 13,15; 18,10); Mg. *kiṇadha* and with *i* fut. *kiṇissam* (Mṛcch. 32, 17; 118,14; 125,10); Dh. *vikkiṇia* (Mṛcch. 32,10. 12. 14). With the prefix *vi* *kṛi* is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in -ī of the 1. class: *vikkei* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52. 240; Kī. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54). So M. v. l. to H. 238. *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) is a denominative from *vikreya*, therefore = **vikreyati*.—*pū* forms *punai* (Hc. 4,241), *lū* likewise *lunai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Kī. 4,73; Mk. fol. 57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in -u, -ū of the 6. class: AMg. opt. *luējjā* (Vivāhap. 1186), passive *puvvaī*, *luvvaī* beside *puṇijjāī*, *luṇijjāī* (§ 536). The shortening of *i*, in *kiṇai* is explained from the old accent *krindti* and it corresponds to the shortening of *ū* in *punai*=*pundti*, *lunai*=*lundti*. On M. JM. AMg. A. *jipai*, Dh. *jipādi*, AMg. *samussipādi* see § 473, on *muṇai* § 489.

§ 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aṇṇāti* (Ovav. § 64. 65). The usual formation, however, is

anhai (Hc. 4,110). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either *a-* or *e-* conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as *granth*, *bandh*, *manth*, already had the nasal and another section as *anhai* = *asnāti*, *gēnhai* = *grhñāti* was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākṛit within the stem. So : *ganthai* = *grathnāti* (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. *niggaṇṭhida* (Bālar. 131,14).—*gēnhai*=*grhñāti* (Vr. 8,15; Hc. 4,209; Ki 4,63); M. *gēnhai*, *gēnhan*, *gēnha*, *gēnhaū*, *gēnhanta*-(G.H.R.); JM. *gēnhasi* (Āv. 44,6), *gēnhai*, *gīnhaī*, *gīnhae* (Kk.); *gēnhanti* (Āv. 35,3), *gēnha* (Erz.; Kk.); *gēnhāhi* (Āv. 31,11) and *gēnhesu* (Erz.), *gēnhaha*, *gīnhaha* (Āv. 33,17; Kk.); AMg. *gēnhai* (Vivāhap. 916. 1032. 1659; Uvās.), *gēnhējā* (Vivāhap. 212. 214), *gīnhai* (Vivāhap. 1035; Paṇṇav. 377ff.; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.), also *gīnhei* (Uvās.), *abhigīnhai* (Uvās.), *ogīnhai* (Vivāhap. 838), *gīnhaha* (Vivāhap. 623), *gīnhanti* (Vivāhap. 24; Nirayāv.), *gīnhāhi* (Nāyādh. 633), *gīnhaha*, *uvagīnhaha* (Vivāhap. 332); JŚ. *gīnhadi* (Pav. 384,59 [text *gīnpadi*], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335), *gīnhedi* (Kattig. 400,335); Ś. *gēnhasi* (Mṛcch. 49,15), *gēnhadi* (Mṛcch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13), *gēnhanti* (Mṛcch. 70,3), *gēnha* (Mṛcch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7), *gēnhadu* (Mṛcch. 49,8; 74,14), *anugēnhadu* (Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4), *gēnhadha* (Mṛcch. 97,24), *anugēnphantu* (Mudrār. 262,5 [so to be read]), absol. *gēnhia* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20), inf. *gēnhiḍḍu* (Mṛcch. 94,12), particip. nec. *gēnhidaṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9); Mg. *gēnhadi* (Mṛcch. 128,19; 145,17), *gēnha* (Mṛcch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1), *gēnhadu* (Mṛcch. 22,3. 5), *gēnhia* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Caṇḍak. 64,8); Dh. *gēnha* (Mṛcch. 29,16; 30,2); A. *grnhai* (Hc. 4,336), *gēnhai* (Piṅgala 1,60), absol. *grnheṣṣiṇu* (Hc. 4,394. 438,1). In A. *grah* is inflected according to the 6th class too: *grhanti* (Hc. 4,341,2).

§ 513. *bandh* is inflected: M. *bhandhai* (Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandap. 47,6); *ṇibandhai* (R.), *bandhanti* (G. R.), *anubandhanti* (R.), *bandhasu* (R.), *ābandhanti* (Hc. 1,7), future *bandhīhi*, passive *bandhijai* (Hc. 4,247), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhēnti* (R.), inf. *bandheum* (Hc. 1,181); JM. *bandhaha*, *bandhiūṇa*, *bandhiya* (Erz.), *bandhiuṇ*, *bandhiittu* (Kk.); AMg. *bandhai* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṇṇav. 638. 653. 657. 663 etc.), *paḍibandhai* (Sūyag. 179), *bandhanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 66. 1435; Paṇṇav. 638. 657. 663 etc.), *bandhējā* (Vivāhap. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200), *bandhaha* (Vivāhap. 234. 1263), inf. *bandhiu* (Nirayāv. § 15); JŚ. *bandhade* (Kattig. 400,327); Ś. *bandhāmi* (Latakam. 18,12), *anubandhasi* (Śak. 86,14), *anubandhanti* (Uttar. 60,7), absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhesi* (Priyad. 4,16); *obandhedī* = *avabadhnāti* (Mṛcch. 89,5; 152,25); Mg. absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 163,16), past passive participle *bandhida* (Mṛcch. 162,17), according to the *e-* conjugation imp. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12).—*manth* forms *manthai* (Hc. 4,121). To the flexion of Skt. *mathati* corresponds AMg. opt. *mahējā* (Uvās. § 200), where, however, the v. l. points to *manthējā*.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhaṇ* follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because *bhaṇāmi*, should be construed as **bha-ṇā-mi*. In the 3. sing. indic., 3. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. *bhaṇāsi* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,2. 4; 73,2 etc.), *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch.

23,19; 67,14; 74,13; 94,11; Śak. 51,4; 158,2; Vikr. 16,5; 46,5; Mālav. 16, 18; 64,20 etc.), *bhaṇādu* (Mṛcch. 18,25); Mg. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *bhaṇādha* (Mṛcch. 32,18; 96,21; 97,1; Prab. 46,16; Caṇḍak. 64,6; Mudrār. 154,1; 257,6; 258,2 [so to be read throughout, as also in Ś. Uttarar. 123,7]); Dh. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 34,12). The 2. sing. imp. is Ś.D. *bhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,19; Śak. 50,9; Vikr. 47,1; Nāgān. 30,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,8) or Ś. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 27,7; Mālav. 39,9; Venṣ. 10,12; 100,14; Nāgān. 44,13; Jivān. 10,4); Mg. *bhaṇa* (Śak. 114,5) and *bhaṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 81,13, 15; 165,4). Beside them these dialects have also the *e*-conjugation: D. Ś. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 105,8; Śak. 137,12 [so to be read]); Mg. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 21,8. 20. 22); Dh. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 39,16); Ś. *bhaṇehi* (Mṛcch. 61,13; 79, 3). In the rest of the dialects *bhaṇ* behaves regularly according to the *a*-conjugation: yet *bhaṇāi* in JM. Āv. 22,41. 42 beside the usual *bhaṇāi*.

IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *as* (to be). However, only the 3. sing. *āsi* or *āsī* = *āsīt*, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found (Vr. 7,25; Hc. 3,164; Ki. 4,11; Sr. fol. 54). So 1. sing. AMg. *ke ahaṁ āsi* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3); Ś. *ahaṁ khu...āsi* (Mṛcch. 54,16)¹; 2. sing. Ś. *tumaṁ...gadā āsi* (Mṛcch. 28,14), *tumaṁ kiṁ mantaantī āsi* (Mālatim. 71,4), *tumaṁ khu...me piśasatī āsi* (Mālatim. 141,11 f.), *kilinto āsi* (Uttarar. 18,12), *kisa tumaṁ, ed. tumaṁ] mantaantī āsi* (Karnas. 37,7f.)²; 3. sing. M. *āsi* (G.H.); JM. *āsi*, *āsi* (KI. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Erz.); AMg. *āsi* (Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170), *āsi* (Uttar. 660; Jiv. 239.452); Ś. very frequently; e. g. *āsi* (Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 105, 10; 117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vikr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7. 9), *āsi* (Uttarar. 20,12; 78,4; Venṣ. 12,1.6); Dh. *āsi* (Mṛcch. 36,18); 1. plur. AMg. *āsi mo*, *āsi mo*³ (Uttar. 402), *āsi amhe* (Uttar. 403); 3. plur. M. *je āsi...mahāṇaṇṇapavahā* (G. 449), *āsi rahā* (R. 14,33), *je °go'ccha āsi...vaṇṇulā* (H. 422); JM. *mahārājāṇo cattārī mittā āsi* (Ez. 4,36); AMg. *uvasaggā bhīmāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7), *tassa bhajjā duve āsi* (Uttar. 660); Ś. *paṣaṁsanāsi āsi* (Bālar. 289,2).—Besides we find only AMg. *abbavī* = *abravit* (Hc. 3,162; Uttar. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259), used also as 3. plur. too: *abambhacāriṇo bālā imaṁ vajjaṇam abbavī* (Uttar. 351).—On the hypothetical preterite *udāhare*, *care*, *pahāne*, *pucche*, *acchīa*, *gāṇhia* etc. see § 466. The preterite posulated by BOLLENSSEN⁴ rests on false readings and forms wrongly understood⁵. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli *āsiṁ*, we should not with the v. l. read here *āsiṁ*, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, *āsi* should not be considered, with WEBER, as = *āsiṁ*, but as = *āsiṁ* with the scholiasts.—3. *āsi* of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following *āsi amhe* and the other use of *āsi*, *āsi* point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5, 134 *āsiṁ* or *āsiṁ*, but *mo* should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālavikā. p. 188. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 46.

AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMg. *acche* = **acchet* from *chid*, *abbhe* = Vedic. *ābhet* from *bhid* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which are used in the sense of the opt. (§ 466), are noticeable, in addition to *abhū* = *abhūt* in the verse in AMg. (Uttar. 116), which has been used there as the 3. plur.: *abhū jinaṁ atthi jinaṁ aduṇā vi bhavissai*. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMg. are the many forms of the *s*-aorist in the parasmaip., frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. parasmaip. shows, as in Pāli¹, doubled *s*: *akarissam e' ahaṁ* (Āyār. 1,1, 1,5); *pucchiss' ahaṁ* (verse; Sūyag. 259). The 2. sing. occurs in

akāsi = *akārṣiḥ* (Samav. 82); *kāsi* (Uttar. 415) and in *vaṇṣi* = *avāḍiḥ* (Sūyag. 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like *agomāsi*². Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So *akāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8; 2,2,2,4; Sūyag. 74; Kappas. § 146), *akāsi* (Sūyag. 120. 123. 298), behind *mā* also *kāsi* (Hc. 3,162; Sūyag. 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc. 3,162; Sr. fol. 54 also *kāhi* and according to Deśin. 1,8 *akāsi* in the sense of *pariāptam*. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. *jaṁ ahaṁ puvaṁ akāsi* = *yad aham pūvaṁ akārṣam* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3); *aham eyaṁ akāsi* = *aham etad akārṣam* (Sūyag. 621) and used as 1. plur.: *jahā vaṇṣaṁ dhammam aṇṇamāṇā pūvaṁ purā kammam akāsi mohā* (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. *āsi* (§ 515). As 3. sing.: *vaṇṣi* (Sūyag. 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Uvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also *vaṇṣi* (Sūyag. 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84 ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: *thāsi*, *thāhi* from *sthā* (Hc. 3,162); *pacāsi* from *aś* with *pati* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *acāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); *kaheṣi* from *kathaya-* (Paṇhāv. 203. 327). From *bhū* the 3. sing. is *bhūsi* = **abhūvit* (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here *°im*]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text *bhuvim ca*]; Jiv. 239. 452 [text here *°im*]), or from the present stem *bhava-*: *ahesi* from **abhaviṣit*, **abhāṣit*, **abhaiṣit* (§ 166; Hc. 3,164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: *samaṇā...tattha viharantā puṭṭhapuvvā ahesi suṇaehim* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6). Likewise is explained AMG. *onnesi* = **ājñāṣit* (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,5,2,1. 3,4; 1,8,1,14). That the form is not = *anveṣi*, but is the aorist of *jñā*, has already been assumed by JACOBI³. One 1. plur. occurs in *puccāmu* = *avātsma* from *vas* "to live" (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem **vatsa-*. The 3. plur. ends in *-imsu* = Skt. *iṣuḥ*. So: *pariviciṭṭhimsu* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4); *pucchimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; Sūyag. 301 [text *°issu*]); *ciṇimsu*, *uvaciṇimsu* (Vivāhap. 62; Thāp. 107. 108 [text *°ṇaḥ*]); *bandhimsu*, *udirimsu*, *vedirimsu*, *nijjarimsu* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text *°eṇsu*]); *sijjhimu*, *bujjhimu* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 79); *āṇimsu* from *jan* with *ā* (Kappas. § 17—19; cf. § 487); *pariṇivāṇimsu* (Sūyag. 790); *bhāsiṇsu*, *seviṇsu* (Sūyag. 704); *atarimsu* (Sūyag. 424; Uttar. 567); *hiṇsiṇsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,3); *viharimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,5); *luṇsiṇsu*, *nihaṇsiṇsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11. 12); *kandimsu* from *krand* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4; 1,8,3,10); *viṇaṇsiṇsu* = *vyanaṇsiṇsu* (Sūyag. 454); *abhaviṇsu* (Sūyag. 157. 551) and *bhaviṇsu* (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual *akarimsu* (Thāp. 149); *karimsu* (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Sūyag. 790 [text *kareṣu*]), *uvakarimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11), is found also *vikuvvimsu* (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem *kuvva-* (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are *giṇhāvimsu* (Nāyādh. § 123); *paṭṭhāvimsu* from *sthā* with *pra* (Kappas. § 128); *sampahārimu* from *dhar* with *sam* and *pra* (Sūyag. 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is *rikkāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3) belonging to one **riknaya-*. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: *karimsu vāhaṁ* (Thāp. 476); for the 3. sing. *āhimsimsu* [text *°saḥ*] *vā himsaṁ vā himsissāṁ vā* (Sūyag. 680); *puṭṭho vi nābhībhāsiṇsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); *āsiṇsu* [text *°saḥ*] *bhagavaṁ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,6); *seviṇsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2). An old Skt. form is *addakkhu* (Vivāhap. 332), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3; may be sing. too) = *adrākṣuḥ*, frequently used as 3. singular: *adakkhu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,2; Vivāhap. 1306), *addakkhu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,2,1. 6,1; 1,8,1,16. 17)⁴. In Kappas. S. 19 *adakkhu* is a false reading for *adaṭṭhu*, as the v. l. has. Accordingly is formed, from *nakṣ* with *niḥ*, *niṇṇakkhu* (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 111; E. MÜLLER, Simplified grammar p. 114.—2. E. KUHN

l. c. p. 114; E. MÜLLER, l. c. p. 116.—3. SBE. XXII, p. 44. note 2.—4. In certain places one may be doubtful, whether or not there is an adjective **adrākṣu*, as it certainly appears for *daḥkhu*, *adaḥkhu* = **drākṣu*, **adrākṣu* or **drṣṣu*, **adrṣṣu* in Sūyag. 151.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in *-ittā*, *-ittā*. The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the *s*-aorist¹. Examples are *saṃuppajjitthā* from *pad* with *saṃ* and *ud* (Vivāhap. 151. 170; Nāyādh. § 81. 87; p. 771; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.); *roittā* from *ruc* (Hc. 3. 143); *vaḍḍhitthā*, *abhiḥvaḍḍhitthā* from *vr̥dh* (Kappas.); *riittā* from *riyate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; 1,8,3,13); *esiittā* (Āyār. 1,8,4,12); *viharittā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12); *bhuñjitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17. 18), *sevitthā*, *sevitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,2,1; 1,8,4,9); *apiittā*, *apivitthā* [so to be read] from *pā* (to drink) with privative *a* (Āyār. 1,8,4,5. 6); *añujānitthā* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8); *kuovitthā* from the present stem *kuvvaṭi* (§ 508) (Āyār. 1,8,4,15); *udāharittā* (Uttar. 353. 408), *jajjitthā*, *parājayitthā* (Vivāhap. 500); *dalayitthā* (Vivāhap. 502). From *bhū* is derived the form *hoittā* from the present stem *ho-* = *bhava-* (§ 476) (Vivāhap. 5. 168. 182; Thāp. 79; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ovav. etc.); also with augment in the verse *ahoittā* (Uttar. 619); with *prāduḥ* on the other hand, from the stem *bhava-*: *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201). Of the causative the form ends in *-ēittā*, *-ēittā*: *kāreittā* from *kāre-* = *kāraya-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8); *pahāreittā*, mostly *ittā* from *pahāre-* = *pradhāraya-* (Sūyag. 1012; Vivāhap. 153. 831; Vivāgas. 123; Ovav. § 50; Nāyādh. § 81 etc.); but also *jāvaittā* from *yāpaya-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in *labhitthā* [so the commentary; text *bbhē*]: *jaṭ me na dāhitthā ih'* [so the commentary; text *ah'*] *esañijam kim ajja jannāna labhitthā lābham* (Uttar. 359); for the 3. plur.: *vip̐pasaritthā* (Nāyādh. 348): *bahave hatthi... diso disim vip̐pasaritthā, kasāittā*, denominative from *kaṭā* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11); *pāubbhavitthā* (Nāyādh. § 59; Ovav. § 33 ff.); *bahave... devā antijam pāubbhavitthā*; more often *hoittā* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Thāp. 197; Nāyādh. 628; Samav. 66. 229; Uvās. § 4. 184. 233. 234; Kappas. Th. § 5. 6; Ovav. § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precativē see § 466.

1. Hypotheses on the origin of the form in JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 450 ff.

PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. parasmaip. has retained *āhu* = *āhuḥ* in AMg. (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; Sūyag. 74 [text *āha*]. 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); *udāhu* (Uttar. 424); also *āhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3) and *udāhū* (Sūyag. 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation *āhaṃsu* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 778. 842; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; Thāp. 148. 438 ff.; Paṇhāv. 95. 106; Jiv. 12. 13; Kappas. S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So *āhaṃsu* for the 1. sing.: *tao 'ham evam āhaṃsu* (Uttar. 623); for the 3. sing.: *evam āhaṃsu nāyakulanandaṇo mahappā jīṇo varavīraṇāmadhē jjo kaheṣi ja* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327); likewise for the 3. sing. *āhu* (Sūyag. 257. 308; Uttar. 365. 646; Kappas. and *udāhu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; Uttar. 756).

PLUPERECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515—518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or generally by the paraphrasis with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs

goes over to the instrumental *abalāṇa tāṇa ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo* "sweat clung to the limbs of those women" (G. 210); *kiṃ ṇa bhaṇio si bālāa gāmaṇidhūāi* "have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief?" (H. 370); *siāparimaṭṭheṇa va vūḍho teṇa vi ṇirantaram romaṇco* "he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Sītā" (R. 1,42); JM. *pacchā rannā cintiyaṃ* "later the king thought" (Āv. 32,19); *amaya bhūyadinneṇa vinnāyaṃ* "once Bhūṭadinnā learnt" (Erz. 1, 24); AMg. *sujaṃ me āsanteṇabhaḡavaṇā evaṃ akkhāyaṃ* "I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus" (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); *urālā naṃ tume devānuppie sumiṇā diṭṭhā* "O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream" (Kappas. § 9); *Ś. tā āṇanteṇa eḍiṇā evaṃ apuciṭṭhidaṃ* "so he has done thus unknowingly" (Mṛcch. 63,24); *sudaṃ khu mae tāḍakaṇṇassa muhādo* "I have heard from the mouth of the father Kaṇva (Śak. 14,12); Mg. *sudaṃ tue yaṃ mae gāidaṃ* "did you hear what I sang?" (Mṛcch. 116, 20); *adha ekkadiasāṃ mae lohidaṃasācaka khaṇḍaso kappide* "one day I cut the rohita fish into pieces" (Śak. 114,9); A. *tumheḥ amheḥ jaṃ, kiā diṭṭhaḥ bahujaṇeṇa* "many people have seen what was done by you and by us (Hc. 4,371); *sabadhu karēppīṇu kadhidu māi* "I have said on oath" (Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of *āsi* (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle¹. So: M. *jo sīsammī vūṇṇo majjhaḡuāṇehi gaṇavāi āsi* "he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati" (H. 372); JM. *tayā ja so kumbhaḡyāro...gāmaṃ annaṃ gao āsi* "and at that time the potter had gone to another village" (Sagara 10, 18); *jaṃ te sukkhiyaṃ āsi buddhileṇa addhalakkhaṃ* "that half lac, that Buddhila had spoken to thee" (Erz. 10,34); *Ś. ahaṃ khu radaṇachattḥim uvavasidā āsi* "I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnaḡaṭṭhi (for the vow)" (Mṛcch. 54,16); *Ś. tumaṃ mae saha ... gadā āsi* "you had gone with me (Mṛcch. 28,14); *ajja devī ajjagandhālie pādavandaṇaṃ kādum gadā āsi* "today the queen had gone to adore the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī (Venīs. 12,6); *puṇo mandassa vi me tattha paccuppaṇaṇaṃ uttaraṃ āsi*, "although dull, I had prepared the answer" (Mālav. 57,16); *tāeḥkkhu ciṭṭaphalaṃ pabhāde hatthikidaṃ āsi* "I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning" (Mālatim. 78,3); Dh. *tassa jūḍialassa muṭṭhippahāleṇa nāsikā bhaggā āsi* "the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist (Mṛcch. 36,18). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.

1. FICK, Sagara p. 26.

FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in -ī. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in -e. The 1. sing. has in AMg. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolated, the ending -mi, mostly -m, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with a of the stem becomes u (351). In the 2. sing. -issasi, Mg. -iṣṣasi, in the 3. sing. -issai, Ś. Dh. -issadi, Mg. -iṣṣadi the regular, in Ś. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMg., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. -ihisi, 3. -ihii, also the contracted -ihī and prosodically shortened -ihī, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending -ihāmi, -ihimi: kittaiḥimi beside kittaiṣsaṃ = kirtayisyāmi (Hc. 3,169); soṇchihimi, soṇchihāmi from śru, gaṇchihimi, gaṇchihāmi

beside *gacchissam* from *gam* (Hc. 3,172); *hasihimi* beside *hasissam*, *hasissāmi* (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels *-himi* too is mentioned: *kāhimi* from *kr*, *dāhimi* from *dā* (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), *hohimi* from *bhū* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167.169; Ki. 4,16), *hasehimi* beside *hasehāmi*, *hasēssāmi* from the *a*-stem of *has* (Sr. fol. 52), to which *hasehi* (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with *-i* upto the present day only in A.: *pe'kkhihimi* = *prekṣiye*, *sahihimi* = *sahizye* (Vikr. 55,18.19). According to Hc. 4,275 Ś. has in the 3. sing. *-issidi*: *bhavissidi*, *karissidi*, *gacchissidi*, according to 4,302 in Mg. *-issidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in *-issidi* are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by Ś. is again meant by JŚ., in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in *-issāmo*, in verses seldom in *-issāma* too, as M. *karissāma* (H. 897), after long vowels in *-hāmo*, metrically in *-hāmu* too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like *hasissāmo* also *hasihimo* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), *hasihissā*, *hasihitthā* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also *hāsihāmo*, Sr. fol. 52, *hasehissā*, *hasehitthā* *hasēssāmo*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasissāmu*, *hasēssāma*, *hasehāma*, *hasihāma*, *hasehimo*, *hasehimu*, *hasihimu*; further *sōcchimo*, *sōcchimu*, *sōcchima*, *sōcchihimo*, *sōcchihimu*, *sōcchihima* *sōcchissāmo*, *ōmu*, *ōma*, *sōcchihāmo*, *sōcchihissā*, *sōcchihittā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172), *gacchimo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172); *hohimo*, *hōssāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13.15; Hc. 3,168; Ki. 4,18), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Ki. 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.523.531. The ending *-ihissā* for the 1. plur. is completely obscure¹. The ending *-hitthā*, *-ihitthā* is mentioned for the 2. plural too: *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166); *sōcchitthā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside *sōcchiha*, *sōcchihiha*, *gacchitthā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172) beside *gacchiha*, *gacchihiha*, *hasehitthā*, *hasihitthā* (Sr. fol. 52) beside *hasehiha*, *hasihiha*. The one found in the text in AMg. is *dāhitthā* = *dāsyatha* (Uttar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending *-itthā*, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is *-issaha*, Ś. Mg. *-issadha*. The 3. plur. ends in *-issantī*, in JM. AMg. very frequently in *-ihinti*, *-hinti* too Sr. fol. 51 teaches *-ire*: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire*.

1. According to Ki.'s *hohitthāmo* LASSEN, Indst. p. 353 will explain *hohissā*, *hohitthā* as abridgment of *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo*. But since *hohitthā* is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of *āsi*, *āheri*, *āhu*, *udāhu* and the 3. sing. preterite in *-itthā*. For the sake of brevity *i* is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of *ji* is JM. *jipissai* (Erz. 22,29), AMg. *parājipissai* (Nirayāv. § 3); from *nī*, M. *nehii* = *neyati* (G.223), JM. *nīnehii* = *nirneyati* (Erz. 52,13), *nehinti* (Erz. 29,15), AMg. *uwaṇehii* (Ovav. §107), *viṇehii* (Nāyādh. §87); *uwaṇehinti* (Ovav. § 106), but from the present stem Ś. *ṇuṇaṣsam* (Ratn. 316,15), *avaṇaṣsam* (Śak.102,14;104,13), *uwaṇaṣsam* (Śak.137,3), *ṇaṣsadi* (Mṛcch.58,3), *āṇaṣsadi* (Mālatīm. 104,1), *ṇaṣsadha* (Karp. 33,8); Mg. *ṇaṣsam* (Mṛcch. 169,13). On Ś. *daṣsam*, Mg. *daṣsam* from *daya*-(to give) see §474.—In the future of *bhū* all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only *ho-*, which Ś. Mg. do not know. JM. *bhavissāmi* (Dvār. 501,38); Ś. *bhavissam* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 51,13; 85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16; 318,31; Karp. 8,7; 52,2); *añubhavissam* (Mālatīm. 278,9); Mg. *bhaviṣsam* (Mṛcch.116,23); Ś. *bhavissasi* (Mṛcch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. *bhaviṣasi* (Śak. 116,4); AMg. JM.

bhavissai (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239, 452; Uttar. 116; Ovav. § 103, 109, 114, [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495, 27; 504, 5; Erz. 11, 35; Kk. 268, 33; 271, 13, 15); *Ś. bhavissadi* (Mṛcch. 5, 2; 20, 24; Śak. 10, 3; 18, 3; Vikr. 20, 20; Mālav. 35, 20; 37, 5; Ratn. 291, 2; 294, 9; Mālatim. 78, 9; 89, 8; 125, 2 etc.); Mg. *bhaviṣṣadi* (Prab. 50, 14); AMg. *bhavissāmo* (Āyār. 1, 2, 2, 1; Sūyag. 601); AMg. *bhavissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *bhavihinti* (Āv. 47, 20); *Ś. bhavissanti* (Mālatim. 126, 3). False is *havissadi*, *havissam* (Mālav. 37, 19; 40, 22)¹, since the stem *hava* is used only after the prefix *pra*, as in *Ś. pahavissam* (Uttarar. 32, 4). *Ś. Mg.* use also the stem *huva-*: Mg. *huviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 29, 24; 32, 19; 40, 1; 118, 17; 124, 12); *Ś. huviṣṣasi* (Venis. 58, 18); *Ś. huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 22, 14; 24, 4; 64, 18; Vikr. 36, 6; 46, 4, 6; 53, 2, 13; 72, 19; Mālav. 70, 6; Venis. 9, 21; Vṛṣabh. 47, 11 etc.); Mg. *huviṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 21, 14, 15; 117, 15; 118, 16, 17; Venis. 33, 3); *Ś. huviṣṣanti* (Mṛcch. 39, 4; Caṇḍak. 86, 14). From the stem *ho-* are derived: *hoṣṣāmi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167, 169; Kī. 4, 16); M. *hoṣṣam* (Vr. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 169; Kī. 4, 17; H. 743); A. *hosai* (Hc. 4, 388; 418, 4), and *hose* (Prabandhac. 56, 6; cf. § 166); *hoṣṣāmo*, *hoṣṣāmu*, *hoṣṣāma* (Bh. 7, 13, 15; Hc. 3, 167, 168; Kī. 4, 18), mostly with *h* from *ṣ* (§ 263); JM. *hohāmi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167; Kī. 4, 16; Āv. 26, 36); *hohimi* (Bh. 7, 14; Hc. 3, 167; Kī. 4, 16); *hohissam* (Kī. 4, 17); JM. *hohisi* (Hc. 3, 166, 178; Erz. 62, 31); M. JM. *hohii* (Hc. 3, 166, 178; Kī. 4, 15; G H.R.; Āv. 43, 13; Erz. 37, 1), *hohi* (Erz. 6, 36; Dvār. 495, 15; T. 7, 10; Kk. 265, 41; 270, 43); before double consonants *hohi*: *hohi tti* (Dvār. 495, 24); 1. plur. *hohāmo*, *hohāmu*, *hohāma*, *hohimo*, *hohimu*, *hohima*, *hohissā*, *hohiṭṭhā* (Bh. 7, 13, 15; Hc. 3, 167, 168), *hohissāmo*, *hohiṭṭhāmo* (Kī. 4, 18); 2. plur. *hohiṭṭhā* (Hc. 3, 166; Kī. 4, 15); 3. plur. M. JM. *hohinti* (Bh. 7, 12; Hc. 3, 166; Kī. 4, 15; H. 675; Sagara 2, 15). In AMg. sometimes the stem *hōkkha-* is met: *hōkkhāmi* (Uttar. 63, 202), *hōkkham* (Uttar. 63), *hōkkhai*, *hōkkhanti* (Samav. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from **bhogyā-* (§ 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37, 18 from the precative too a future is derived: *hojjahimi*, *hōjjāhimi*, *hōjjassāmi*, *hōjjahāmi*, *hōjjassam*; *hōjjahisi*, *hōjjāhisi*; *hōjjahii*, *hōjjāhii*. Sr. fol. 53 reads *hōjjehii*, *hōjjihii*, *hōjjāhii*.

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hitherto incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in *ṛ*, *ṝ* according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt.: *Ś. aṇusarissam* (Viddhaś. 115, 6), *visumarissam* = *vismarityāmi* (Śak. 14, 3), *visumarissasi* (Śak. 89, 7), *visumarissadha* (Śak. 86, 6); *Ś. sumarissasi* (Ratn. 313, 6); *Ś. pariharissam* (Śak. 25, 1), *pariharissadi* (Vikr. 79, 7); Mg. *palihaliṣṣadi* (Prab. 42, 5; 47, 7); *vihaliṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 40, 6); AMg. *viharissai* (Ovav. § 114, [§ 115]), *viharissāmo* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 3; 2, 7, 1, 2; Vivāhap. 979), *viharissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *viharissanti* (Kk. 269, 38); *marissasi* (Mṛcch. 72, 18); Mg. *malikhisi* (verse; Mṛcch. 9, 24); M. *aṇumarihii* (R. 14, 55); M. *harihii* (H. 143); AMg. *tarihinti* (Uttar. 253) and *tarissanti* (Uttar. 567; Sūyag. 424), *nijjarissanti* (Thāp. 451); M. *uggāhii* (R. 11, 84); against that *Ś. gāissam* (Śak. 2, 8; Viddhaś. 122, 11; 128, 4; Kāmsav. 8, 16), Mg. *gāiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 116, 20; 117, 3); from *trai* the fut. is Mg. *palittāiṣṣadi* (Mṛcch. 12, 10).

§ 523. Of the roots of the old *skā-* class *ṛ* forms in JM. *acchihisi* (Āv. 11, 11), *yam* JM. *paṇacchitsāmo* (Dvār. 503, 4). In the case of *gam* the formation from the stem *gami-* prevails, which is exclusively dominant *Ś. Mg.* The form *gacchissidi*, taught by Hc. 4, 275 for *Ś.* is not attested by the text. So: JM. *gamissāmi* (Erz. 60, 19); *Ś. gamissam* (Mṛcch. 8, 24; 9, 7; 15, 10; 54, 19; Śak. 17, 4; Ratn. 293, 24; 296, 26; 297, 12; 314, 26; Karp.

35,3; 108,4; 109,2; Nāgān. 42,7. 15; 43,10; Jivān. 42,17. 23; 43,17 etc.), *āgamissam* (Karp. 22,7; 107,4); Mg. *gamiṣam* (Mṛch. 20,10. 14; 32,2; 97,1; 98,2; 112,18); Ś. *gamissasi* (Mṛch. 3,17; Śak. 24,15); AMg. *gamihi* (Uvās. § 125; Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27); A. *gamihi* (Hc. 4,330,2); M. *saṁāgamissai* (H. 962); Ś. *gamissadi* (Mṛch. 94,2; Śak. 56,14; Mālatīm. 103,7), *āgamissadi* (Uttarar. 123,7; Karp. 105,3); Dh. *gamissadi* (Mṛch. 36, 23); AMg. Ś. *gamissāmo* (Ovav. § 78; Karp. 36,6); AMg. *uāgamissanti* (Āyār. 2,3,1,2 ff.). From the stem *gaccha-* are built : *gacchissāmi* (JM. Āv. 21,10), *gacchissam*, *gacchihāmi*, *gacchihimi*; *gacchihisi* (Hc. 3,172); AMg. *gacchihii* (Hc. 3,172; Sr. fol. 52; Ovav. § 100.101; Uvās. § 90); *āgacchissai* (Uvās. § 188); according to Sr. also *gacchehii*; *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā*, *gacchihīha* (AMg. Āyār. 2,3,3,5), *gacchihitthā*; *gacchihinti* (Hc. 3,172). Beside them is found a future AMg. *gaccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Kl. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53; Thāp. 156. 285), according to Hc. also *gacchimi*, that according to the grammarians is inflected: *gacchisi*, *gacchii*, *gacchimo*, *gacchiha*, *gacchinti*, according to Sr. also *gacchei*. The hypothesis that *gaccham* may have been formed on the analogy of *daccham*, *mōccham*, *viccham*, *rōccham*, *vēccham*, *vōccham* (§ 525.526. 529) is convenient, but wholly improbable. We should assume a root *gacch*, deduced from *gacchai*, and derive *gaccham* from **gacchsyāmi*, **gaksyāmi*. Cf. *sōccham* § 531.

§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation *pā* forms JM. *pāhmi* = *pāsyāmi* (Āv. 42,27); AMg. *pāham* (Uttar. 593 [text *pāhinī*]), *pāhisi* (Kappas. S. § 18), *pāhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6); M. *pāhinti* (R. 3,21; text false *hā*). The future of *sthā* is M. *thāhi* (Pracandap. 47,4), Ś. *ciṭṭhissam* (Śak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2); Mg. *ciṭṭhissam* (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *anuciṭṭhissam* (Mṛch. 40,11; cf. v. I. and § 303); Ś. *ciṭṭhissadi* (Vikr. 43,8); AMg. Ś. *ciṭṭhissāmo* (Nāyādh. 908. 939; Viddhaś. 61,8).—Ś. *uṭṭhissāmo* (Mṛch. 20,22) goes back to *uṭṭhai*, AMg. *uṭṭhehinti* (Vivāhap. 1280) to *uṭṭhei* (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from *drś* in M. JM. AMg. is *daccham* = *draksyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. *dacchāmi* (R. 11,77), *dacchimi* (R. 11,85); M. *dacchihisi* (H. 819; R. 11,93 [to be read so with C; false S. GOLD-SCHMIDT p. 286 note 1]); AMg. *dacchisi* (Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35, where correct is the text); JM. *dacchihī* (Erz. 24,12); M. *dacchihī* (R. 14,55), *dacchāma* (R. 3,50), *dacchiha* (R. 3,23 [so to be read]). Beside them one says also AMg. *pāihii* from *pāsaī* = *paṣyati* (Ovav. [§ 115]). To Ś. Mg. Dh. both the verbs are unknown : they use *ikṣ* with *pra*, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. *pēcchissam* (H. 743), *pēcchihisi* (H. 566); JM. *pēcchissāmo* (Dvār. 505,28); Ś. *pekkhissam* (Mṛch. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Śak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc.), *pēkkhissadi* (Ratn. 300,1; Uttarar. 66,7); Mg. *pēkkhissam* (Mṛch. 40,10), *pēkkhissadi* (Mṛch. 123,22); Dh. *pēkkhissam* (Mṛch. 35,15. 17); A. *pēkkhihimi* (Vikr. 55,18).—As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too *labh* may take a nasal in the root: Ś. *labhissam* = *lapsye* (Cait. 83,2); Ś. *uālambhissam* = *upālāpsye* (Priyad. 19,15); but also Ś. *lahissam* (Mṛch. 70,12); Ś. *uālāhissam* (Śak. 61,2; 130,4); AMg. *labhissāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5); JM. *lahissāmo* (Erz. 13,30). From *sah* we find in AMg. the fut. *sakkhāmo* = Epic *śakṣyāmaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14).—From the contracted stems *khā-* and *dhā-* from *khāda-* and *dhāva-* (§ 165) the fut. *khāhii* and *dhāhii* are formed (Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228). So Mg. *khāhisi* (Mṛch. 11,11) in the verse, against *khāṭṭsam* (Mṛch. 124,10) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch*, corresponding to the present *pucchai* = *prechati*, forms the fut. Ś. *pucchissam* (Mṛch. 4,22;

81,1. 2. 10; Śak. 19,3; 50,4; Mālatīm. 103,10; Veṇis. 59,1; Karp. 3,4); Mg. *puṣciṣṣam* (Prab. 50,46; 53,12); AMg. *pucchiṣṣāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Ovav. § 38).—*sphuṣ* forms according to the present *phuṣṭai* (§ 488, note 1), A. *phuṣṭisu* (Hc. 4,422,12); M. *phuṣṭihisi*, *phuṣṭihii* (H. 768,281 [so to be read]). *muc* forms *mōccham*=*mokṣyāmi* (Hc. 3,172; Ki. 4,19; Sr.fol. 53). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case. So M. *mōcchihii* (R. 4,49) and *mōcchihi* (R.3,30; 11,126). JM. says also *muṇcihii* (Dvār.504,11), Ś. *muṇciṣṣadi* (Vikr.72,20), as from *sic* Ś. *siṇciṣṣam* (Śak.15,4). On *my* see §522.—From *viṣ* Ki. 4,19 teaches *viccham*, for which, as already LASSEN (Inst. p. 351) has noted, *vēccham* would be expected, which the rest of the grammarians derive from *vid*. We find in the texts the forms of the *i*-stem only, as AMg. *apupavisissāmi*, *pavisissāmi* (Āyār.2,1,4,5), *pavisissāmo* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); JM. *pavisihii* (Erz. 29,16); Mg. *paviṣiṣṣam*, *uvaviṣiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 36,1; 124,8).

§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. *kilammihisi* (G. 954), *kilammihii* (H. 196) from *kilammai* = *klāmyati* (§ 136); AMg. *siṁviṣṣāmi* from *siṁyati* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); M. *kuppissam* (H. 898); Ś. *kuppissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,7. 8; Uttarar. 66,9); but also Ś. *kuviṣṣam* (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhaś. 71,3); Ś. *naccissam* (Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,5), *naccissadi* (Cait. 57,12) from *nṛt*; AMg. *sajjihii*, *rajjihii*, *gijjihii*, *mujjihii*, *ajjhovavajjihii* from *saj*, *raḥ*, *grdh*, *muh*, *pad* (Ovav. § 111); AMg. *bujjihii* from *budh* (Ovav. § 116), *sijjihii* from *sidh* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), *sijjihinti* (Ovav. § 128), *sijhissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16); JM. *sijjihii* (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Ś. *viavajjissam* from *pad* with *vi* (H.865; Mṛcch.25,15); AMg. *paḍivajjissāmi* (Uvās. §12.210), Ś. *paḍivajjissam* (Mālatīm. 117,5), Ś. *paḍivajjissadi* (Śak. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7), AMg. *paḍivajjissāmo* (Ovav. § 38); M. *pavajjihisi* (H. 661); AMg. *uvavajjihii* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100. 101), *uvavajjissaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *samupvajjihii* (Ovav. § 115), *upvajjissanti* (Thāp. 80. 133); Ś. *sampajjissadi* (Vikr. 43,12); JM. *vaccihisi* (Erz. 77,33), M. *vaccihii* (H. 918) from *vaccāi* (§ 202), but JM. *pavvaissāmi* (Āv. 32,27), AMg. *pavvaīhii* (Ovav. § 115) from *vraj*; M. *maññihisi* (G. 954; H. 653), JM. *mannissai* (Erz. 12,35), Ś. *maññissadi* (Uttarar. 95,2 [so to be read]); JM. *viṇassihisi* (Erz. 29,16), *viṇasiht* (Dvār. 495,17); M. *laggiṣṣam*, *laggiṣṣii* (H. 375. 21), *laggiṣṣii* (G. 70), Mg. *anulaggiṣṣam* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *rūsesu* from the *e*-stem of *ruṣ* (Hc. 4,414; 4), like JM. *mannehī* (Āv. 12,12) from the *e*-stem of *man*. Deviating from the present (§ 489) *fram* forms the future in M. *viṣammihii* (H.576 [so to be read]).—Corresponding to the present *jāi*, AMg. *āyānti*, *paccāyānti* (§487) the future of *jan* are AMg. *paṇāhisi* (Vivāhap. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyādh. § 26), *paṇāhii* (Ovav. § 104; Kappas. § 79; Nāyādh. § 51), *paccāṇāhii* (Vivāhap. 1090; Thāp. 523; Ovav. § 102), *āyāssanti* (Kappas. § 17). On *śak* see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of *y*: *kittaṣṣam*, *kittaīhimi* = *kīrtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); AMg. *dalaṣṣai* (Vivāhap. 1288), *dalaṣṣanti* (Ovav. § 108); Ś. *kuffaṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 18,5), *apūlaṣṣam* = *anukūlayisyāmi* (Mālatīm. 267,8), *cūraṣṣam* (Karp. 21,2), *vāraṣṣadi*, *cintaṣṣadi*, *ñattaṣṣadi*=*nivartayisyati* (Śak. 55,2; 87,1; 91,6), *puloṣṣadi* (Vṛṣabh.22,9), *viṇodaṣṣāmo* (Śak. 78,10), *visajjaṣṣadha* (Śak. 86. 5), *saddāvaṣṣam* = **śabdāpayisyāmi* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *moḍvaṣṣasi* = **mocāpayisyasi* (Mṛcch. 60,13); Mg. *gaṇāṣṣam* (Śak. 154,6), *maḍamaḍāṣṣam*, *tādaṣṣam*, *liḍāṣṣam*, *dūlaṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 21,22; 80,5; 136,21; 176,6), *vōḍḍāṣṣadi*=*vyāpādayisyati* (Veṇis. 36,5). At Mṛcch. 128,14 Mg. *moḍāṣṣāmi* with the ending *-mi* as against *moḍāṣṣam* at Mṛcch. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.

On the contrary *Ś. nikkāmaissāmi* at *Mṛcch.* 52,9 is to be corrected as *°aissam*. In *M. AMg. JM.* we find the future also from the contracted form in *-e*: *M. mārehi* (*H.* 567); *JM. vattehāmi* = *vatayisyāmi* (*Āv.* 47, 26); *viṇāsehāmi* = *vināṣayisyāmi* (*Dvār.* 495,31); *nāsehi* (*T.* 5,20); *melavehi* = *melayisyasi* (*Āv.* 30,8); *japehi* (*Erz.* 12,28); *nivārehi* (*Erz.* 8,21); *kahehinti* (*Āv.* 26,36); *AMg. sehāvehi* = **saikṣāpayisyati*, *sikkhāvehi* = *śikṣāpayisyati* (*Ovav.* § 107), *cejēssāmo* = *cetayisyāmaḥ* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,1; 2,2, 2,10), *sakkārehinti*, *sammānehinti*, *paḍivisaṃjehinti* (*Ovav.* § 108), *vaṇṇimante-hinti* (*Ovav.* § 110), *saddavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1276), *ṇoḷlavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1280). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix (§ 491), to which are attached the causative (§ 533): *Ś. kadhissam* (*Mṛcch.* 80,25), *M. kahissam* (*H.* 157), beside the usual *Ś. kadhaissam* (*Mṛcch.* 19,2; *Śak.* 51,12; 105,7), *Mg. kadhaissam*, *kadhaissasi* (*Mṛcch.* 139,23; 165, 15); *AMg. *kāraṇissam* = *kāraṇayisyāmi* = *kārayisyāmi* (*Āyār.* 1,1,1,5); *Ś. khaṇḍissam* = *khaṇḍayisyāmi* (*Karp.* 18,7); *M. puloissam* = *pralokayisyāmi* (*H.* 743), *Ā. paloissam* (*Mṛcch.* 104,21); *Ś. vaḍḍhāissam* = **vardhāpayisyāmi* (*Śak.* 37,10), *viṇṇavissam* = *viññāpayisyāmi*, *sussāissam* = *śuśrūṣayisyāmi* (*Mṛcch.* 58,11; 88,11); *Mg. mālissasi* = *mārayisyasi* (*Mṛcch.* 125,7); *Ś. takkissadi* = *tarkayisyati* (*Vikr.* 79,9; v. 1. *cintissadi*), *mantissadi* (*Ratn.* 299, 9) beside *mantāissadi* (*Mṛcch.* 54,1).

§ 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in *-ā*, *khyā* forms *AMg. paccāikkhissāmi* = **pratyācikkhyisyāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,2), *yā AMg. niñjāissāmi* according to § 487 (*Ovav.* § 40 [so to be read with *Q* for *niñjāhissāmi* of the text]), *JM. jāhi* (*Erz.* 29,12; 35,5), *vā AMg. pariṇivādhii* (*Vivāhap.* 175; *Nāyādh.* 390 [so to be read]), *parinivādhissanti* (*Āyār.* 2,15,16), *snā Ś. nḥāissam* (*Mṛcch.* 27,14) according to § 487. — From *i* the fut. is *AMg. ēssāmi* (*Thāp.* 142), *ēssanti* (*Sūyag.* 45. 56. 71); with the prefix *ā* *M. ehi* (*H.* 385), *M. AMg. ehii* (*H.* 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855. 918; *R.* 10,79; *Āyār.* 2,4,1,2 [so to be read]); *Uvās.* § 187), *JM. ehi* (*Erz.* 24,11), *ehinti* (*Erz.* 29,13), *A. eṣi* (*Hc.* 4,414,4). From this is found also a wholly isolated optative *M. ehijja* (*H.* 17) standing there. — *rud* forms *roḥcam* = **rotsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), in *Ki.* 4,19 *ruccam*, but *M. roissam* (*H.* 503), *Ś. rodissam* (*Mṛcch.* 95,23; *Nāgān.* 3,1), also *rudissāmo* (*Mallikām.* 154,23). — From *svap* the fut. is *Ś. suviṣsam* (*Mṛcch.* 50,4; *Priyad.* 34,3), *Mg. suviṣsam* (*Mṛcch.* 43,12; *Prab.* 60,15). — *vid* has the fut. *voḥcam* = **vetsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), but *Ś. vedissadi* (*Prab.* 37,15), *AMg. vedissanti* (*Thāp.* 108). — *vac* forms *voḥcam* (§ 104; *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53). So *M. AMg. voḥcam* (*Vajjālaga* 324,10; *Paṇhāv.* 331; *Ovav.* 184 [text *bō*]; *Nandis.* 92 [text *bō*]; *Jiyak.* 1.60) and *voḥcāmi* (*Vivāhap.* 59; *Paṇhāv.* 330; *Uttar.* 737. 897); but *AMg.* also *vakkhāmo* = *vakyāmaḥ* (*Dasav.* 627,23), *pavakkhāmi* (*Sūyag.* 278. 284). In *Ki.* 4,21 *vacchihimi*, *vacchimi*, *vacchi* are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms *roḥcam*, *voḥcam*, *voḥcāmi* and all similarly built ones are not used in *Ś. Mg.*, as *Mk.* fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for *gaccam* (§ 523) hold good. — From *duh* the fut. is *duhii* (*Hc.* 4,245).

§ 530. From *dā* the future is *AMg. JM. dāhāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,10,1; *Uttar.* 743; *Erz.* 59,23. 34)¹ and *dāham* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,170; *Ki.* 4,19; *Erz.* 10,24), according to *Hc.* also *dāhimi*; *AMg. dāhisi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,2,4; 2,2, 3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5); *JM. dāhi* (*Āv.* 43,22; *Erz.*); *AMg. dāhāmo* (*Āyār.* 2,5,1,10), *dāhāmu* (*Sūyag.* 178; *Uttar.* 355. 358), *dāhittha* (*Uttar.* 359); *JM. dāhinti* (*Erz.* 80,22). In *Ś. Mg.* the fut. *Ś. daiṣsam* (*Mṛcch.* 80,20), *Mg. daiṣsam* = **dayisyāmi* (*Mṛcch.* 31,6.8.15; 32,9.24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19 etc; § 474); are formed from the stem *daya-*, corresponding to the present *dedi* = **dayati*.

We should read *daissam* for *Ś. dāissam* (Karp. 112,5; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and *daissantī* for *deissantī* (Kāleyak. 2,13). — *dhā* has attested the old reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with *śrad*: AMg. *saddahissai* (Nāyādh. 1114–1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to °*dhai*°, °*hai*° (§ 500): AMg. *pehissāmi*, metrically for *pi*°, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyār. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: *pihāissam* (Viddhaś. 70,8); AMg. *saṁdhissāmi*, *parihissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. *saṁdhihisi* (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which **saṁdhāissasi* is to be expected. — From *hā* AMg. has the fut. *vipphajhissāmo* (Sūyag. 633.635), from *bhī* Ś. has *bhāissam*, *bhāissadi* (Śak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyār. 1,7,7,2 JACOBI twice reads *dāsāmi*, 2,5,1,11. 13 *dāsāmo* beside *dāhāmo*. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads *dalāissāmi*, as also the v. l. has, at the second *dāssāmo*, at the third *dāsāmo*.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation *ci* forms the fut. Ś. *avaciṇissam* (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. *ciṇissanti*, *uvaciṇissanti* (Thāp. 107.108; Vivāhap. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 *ciṇihii* would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip. — *śru* forms according to the grammarians *so'ccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171. 172; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to *gaccham* (§ 523). This *so'ccham* does not belong to *śru*, but to Vedic *śruṣ*, and, therefore, stands regularly for **śroksyāmi*. The fut. from *śru* are Ś. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 60,7,9; Śak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1. 9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), *suṇissāmo* (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), Mg. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 21,21), JM. *suṇissai* (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the *e*-stem: *suṇēssāmi* (Thāp. 143), *suṇēssāmo* (Ovav. § 38). — From *āp* AMg. forms the fut. *pāuṇissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1), *pāuṇihii* (Uvās. § 62; Ovav. § 100. 116)¹ corresponding to the present *pāuṇai* (§ 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem *pāva*:- A. *pāvīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. *pāvissasi* (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. *pāvihisi* (H. 462. 510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); Mg. *pāvihisi* (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for *vahisi*; cf. v. l. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. *pāvihii* (H. 918). — *śak* forms the future according to the 4. conjugation (§ 505); M. *sakkihisi* (Viddhaś. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. *sakkissāmo* (Cait. 75,15; text *sakissamha*); JM. *sakkissaha* (Kk. 265,11); also with the *e*-stem: JM. *sakkehii* (Āv. 45,8), *sakkehi* (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. *pāuṇ*; wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 108 on 77.

§ 532. The future of *chid*, *bhid*, *bhuj* according to the grammarians is formed: *chēccham*, *bhēccham*, *bhōccham* corresponding to Skt. *chestsyāmi*, *bhetsyāmi*, *bhoksyāmi* (Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of *gaccham* (§ 523). From *chid* are found: AMg. *acchindihinti* *vicchindihinti*, *vo'cchindihinti* (Vivāhap. 1277), from *bhid*: AMg. *bhidissantī* (Āyār. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect *bhindissantī*, as for *bhidanti*, rather *bhindanti* from *bhuj*: AMg. *bhō'kkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *bhō'kkhasi* (Kappas. S. 18), *bhō'kkhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6). JM. has *bhuñjihii* (Erz. 6,36), likewise *bhuñjissai* (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 *saṁrundihii* would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of *kr* is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. *karissāmi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; Thāp. 149. 476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandis. 354; Uttar. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. Ś. *karissam* (H. 743.882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); Mg. *kalissam* (Mṛcch. 96,13); A. *karisu* (Hc. 4,396,4); M. *karihisi* (H. 844); Ś. *karissasi* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 58,2); A. *karihisi* (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. *karihii* (Vivāhap. 175); JM. *karissai* (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. *karissai* (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. *karissadi* (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;

Uttar. 197,11); Mg. *kalīssadi* (Prab. 51,1; 58,15 [so to be read; see v. l.]); AMg. JM. *karissāmo* (Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11); M. *karissāma* (H. 897); AMg. Ś. *karissanti* (Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [§ 105]; Nāgān. 43,11). Corresponding to the use of the *e*-stem in the present (§ 509), the same is used in fut. too, in Ś. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. *karēssam* (Vivāhap. 1255), but Ś. *karaissam* (Mṛcch. 60,11; 120,8; Śak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2), Mg. *kalaiissam* (Mṛcch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Caṇḍak. 42,10), *kalaiissati* (Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. AMg. *karehii* (H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [so to be read]; Ovav. § 116 [the commentator has *kāhii*]), but Ś. *karaissadi* (Prab. 42,8), Mg. *kalaiissadi* (Mṛcch. 140,6); JM. *karēssāmo* (Kk. 274,26) and *karehāmo* (Erz. 25,25); AMg. JM. *karehinti* (Ovav. § 105. 128; Āv. 43,18), AMg. *karēssanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but Ś. *karaissanti* (Śak. 142,4). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem *kuva-* (§ 508) too: *viuvissāmi* (Vivāhap. 1397 f.), *vikuvissanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future *kāham* = **kargyāmi*, that is inflected as *gaccham* (§ 523; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52). So: M. JM. *kāham* (H. 187; Erz. 80,18); JM. *kāhāmi* (Erz. 5,23; 83,8); according to Hc. and Sr. also *kāhimi*; M. AMg. *kāhisi* (H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35); M. AMg. JM. *kāhii* (Hc. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Nirayāv. § 27; Āv. 32,7); JM. AMg. *kāhi* (Erz. 8,21; 71,8; Dvār. 495,18 [*kāhi tti*]); Dasav. 617,28); JM. *kāhāmo* (Erz. 15,13; 80,18; Sagara 3,15), *kāhiha* (Āv. 33,27), AMg. JM. *kāhinti* (Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Āv. 43,36). A. *kisu* (Hc. 4,389) presupposes one **kriyāmi*.

§ 534. From *jñā*, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms *nāhisi* = *jñāsyasi* (Sūyag. 106); *nāhii* (Thān. 451), *nāhii* (Dasav. 617,28), *nāhi* (Dasav. 617,32. 34) = *jñāsyati*. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem *jāna-* is usable. So: M. Ś. *jānissam* (H. 749; Mṛcch. 3,2; Ratn. 307, 26); M. *jānihisi* (H. 528. 643), likewise A. (Vikr. 58,11); AMg. *jānihii* (Ovav. § 115); Ś. *jānissadi* (Mālav. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5. 7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Laṭakam. 6,6), *abbhaṇujānissadi* (Mālav. 40,7), *ahijānissadi* (Śak. 102,15); AMg. Ś. *jānissāmo* (Sūyag. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. *yāniissamha*, false for *yāniissāmo* (Lalitav. 565,9). — From *kṛi* the fut. is Ś. *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), Mg. *kiṇiissam* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 15); from *grah* Ś. *gēṇhissam* (Mṛcch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316, 22; Mudrār. 103,9), *gēṇhissadi* (Mṛcch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), *aṇu-giṇhissadi* (Pārvatīp. 30,18); AMg. *giṇhissāmo* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. *ghēccchāmo* (Āv. 23,6) belongs, as *ghēppai* (§ 548), to a root **ghṛp*, present **ghivai* (§ 212), is therefore = **ghṛpsyāmaḥ*. — *bandh* forms AMg. *bandhissai* (Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), *bandhissanti* (Thān. 108); Ś. *aṇubandhissam* (Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 *bandhii* would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in *parasmaipada*. — *bhaṇ* regularly forms AMg. *bhaṇihāmi* (Jiyak. C. 11); M. Ś. *bhaṇissam* (H. 12,604; Mṛcch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text *pha*°]; Mālatim. 265,1; 276,7); Ś. *bhaṇissasi* (Mṛcch. 58,8); M. *bhaṇihii* (H. 858,918); Ś. *bhaṇissadi* (Ratn. 304,1); JM. *bhaṇissaha* (Kk. 274,19); Ś. *bhaṇissadha* (Mālatim. 246, 7); M. *bhaṇihinti* (G. 965). From the *e*-stem is built Mg. *bhaṇaiissam* (Mṛcch. 32,20).

PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with *ya* is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, *-ya* then becomes *-jja* in M. JM. JŚ. AMg. A. and *-yya* in P., in Ś. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or *-iyya*, which in M. JM. JŚ.

AMg. A. becomes -ija, in Ś. Mg. -ia, in P. -iyya, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from *dā* one says M. JM. AMg. A. *dijjā*, JŚ. *dijjā*, P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi*; from *gam* M. JM. AMg. *gammā*, *gamijjā*, P. **gamiyyate*, Ś. *gamiādi*, *gacchiādi*, Mg. **gacchiādi*. Forms in Ś. -ijja, Mg. -iyya (mostly printed -ijja) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false¹. In D. *kahijjādi* (§ 103,15) for *kadhiādi* and *sāsijjā* (§ 103,16) for *sāsiādi* (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as *ārambhante* (8,82; particip.), *rumbhāi*, *rumbhanta* (s. v. *rudh*), *osumbhanta*, *nisumbhanta* (s. v. *sudh*) are false readings for *ārabhante*, *rubbhāi*, *rubbhanta*, *osubbhanta*, *nisubbhanta*, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading *uvabhujjanto* (IS. 15,429) for *uvabhujjanto* is false; *o'cchundāi* (R. 10,55) for which the manuscript C has *apphunda* is not clear. The optative *vējja*, *lahējja*, *acchējja* for *vijjējja*, *lahijjējja*, *acchijjējja* (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. *samucchihi* for *samucchihihi* from *chid* (§ 549). Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Kī. 4,12; Mk. fol. 51 teach -ia and -ijja without distinguishing between the dialects; Mk. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only -ia and forbids the forms like *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, *gammāi* for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9,3,57—59; Hc. 4,242—249; Mk. fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as *sippāi*, *juppāi*, *ādhappāi*, *dubbhāi*, *rubbhāi* etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOB² has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON³, is wholly wrong. See § 266. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the *parasmaip.*; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the *ātmanep.*, especially in the participle.

1. BOLLESEN in Malay. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in -u, -ā, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. *piṇhuvijjanti*. (H. 657), Ś. *piṇhviādi* (Ratn. 303, 9) from *hnu*; *ruvvaī*, *ruvijjāi*, (Hc. 2,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from *ru*; M. *thuvvasi stūyase* (G. 298), *thuvvaī* = *stūyate* (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. *thuvvade* (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. *thuvvanti* (text *thuva*^o) = *stūyante* (Vivāhap. 1232), JM. *thuvvanta-* (Erz. 24,2), *samthuvvanta-* (Āv. 7,26); beside *thunijjāi* (Hc. 4,242) from *stu*; *dhuvvaī*, *dhunijjāi*, M. *viuvvaī*, *viuvvanta-*, *odhuvvanti* (R.), AMg. *uddhuvvamānihi* (Ovav.; Kappas.) from *dhū*, *puvvaī*, *puvijjāi*, A. *puvijje* (Piṅgala 2,107) from *pū*, *luvvaī*, *lunijjāi* from *lū*, *huvvaī*, *hunijjāi* from *hu* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kī. 4,74; Mk. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from *śru*. M. JM. *suuvaī*, *suuvanti*, *suuvamāṇa* (G. H. R.; Āv. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. *suuvanta-* (Karp. 51,3); AMg. *suuvae* (Sūyag. 154), *suuvaī* (Sūyag. 277; text ^occa^o), *suuvanti* (Uttar. 280; text ^occa^o); beside *supijjāi* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), *suṇijjāe*, *suṇiāi*, *suṇiāe* (Sr. fol. 54); Ś. *suṇiādi* (Mṛcch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Śak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), *suṇiyanti* (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), *suṇiānti* (Śak. 58,1; Uttarak. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), *suṇiādu* (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. *suṇiādi* (Mṛcch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrār. 191,5; Vepīs. 35,18; 36,3); A. *suṇijje* (Piṅgala 2,107). JM. has also *summaī* (Erz. 11,16), as one **sumaī* beside **suvaī* is presupposed in accordance with § 261.

According to the grammarians (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58) *ji* too, according to Hc. 4,243 *ci* too have the same formation of the passive: *civai*, *ciñijjai*, fut. *civviihi*, *jivvai*, *jinijjai*, according to Hc. also *cimmaī* fut. *cimmihii*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summaū*. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ū with JACOBI, whose hypothesis is erroneous¹, and JOHANSSON². *civai* is a regular passive from *civ* (Dhātupāṭha 21,15 *civṛ ādānasamhvaranayoh*), *jivvai*, apparently from *jiv* (Dhātupāṭha 15,85 *jivī prīṇanārthah*), that is equated as *jinṇv*. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has *cijjanti*, *uvacijjanti*, *avacijjanti* (Pannav. 628. 629), Ś. *viśīadu* (Vikr. 30,15). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from *bhū* is *hoīai*, *hoijjai*. In Ś. it is *bhaviadi* in *anubhaviadi* (Ratn. 317,5), *anubhaviadu* (Nāgān. 4,5), and *anubhaviadi* (Kāleyak. 9,22), *abhibhaviadi* (Mālatim. 130,5), particip. *abhibhūamāṇa* (Śak. 16,10), in Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *haviadi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). On *pahuppai* see 286.—From *nī* the passive is M. *nijjai* (G.H.R.), JM. *ninijjanta* (Āv. 24,4), Ś. *nīadi* (Śak. 78,8), *ānīadi* (Vikr. 31,5; Karp. 26,8), *ānīadu* (Karp. 26,7), *ahinīadu* (Śak. 3,5), *anūṇimāṇā* (Mṛcch. 23,23. 25); Mg. *nīadi* (Mṛcch. 100,22).

1. KZ. 28,255.—2. KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 71; GN. 1874, p. 513; Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -r form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. *dharijjai* (R.), fut. *dharijjihii* (H. 778; so to be read); Mg. *dhaliadi* (Prab. 50,10); M. *anusarijjanti* (G. 627); M. *nivarijjae* (H. 204); M. A., *samarijjai* = *smariyate* (R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426), JM. *sumarijjau* (Erz. 15,3), Ś. *sumariadi* (Mṛcch. 128,1). The roots in -ṛ form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -r: Ś. *kiranta*- from *kṛ* (Bālar. 199,10) against the dialect, in which *kirānta*- was to be expected.: *jirai* (also = *jiryati*) and *jarijjai* (Hc. 4,250), AMg. *nijjarijjai* (Uttar. 885; so correctly in the commentary); M. JM. *tirai* (Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz.), *tirae* (H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21) and M. *tarijjai* (Hc. 4,250; G.), AMg. *viyarijjai* (Uttar. 354). Conversely *hr* follows the roots in -ṛ: M. AMg. *hīrasi* (G. 726; Uttar. 711); M. JM. *hīrai* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Ki. 4,79. 80; Mk. fol. 62; H. R.; Āv. 35,13), M. *hīranti* (G.), *hīranta*- (H.), AMg. *avahīranti* (Vivāhap. 890; Pannav. 398 ff.), *avahīramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 890; Pannav. 404); but Ś. *avaharīāmi* (Uttarar. 97,1; text °ri°), *avaharīasi* (Nāgān. 95,14), *avaharīadi* (Dhūrtas. 13,5), *avahariadu* (Mṛcch. 25,6), *uddharīadi* (Mālatim. 246,5); Mg. *āhaliadu* (Prab. 63,4). Cf. Ki. 4,79.80. Thence false in Ś. *hīrasi* (Bālar. 174,9). From *pṛ* are found M. *pūrijjanta*- (H. 116), *ahīūrījjanti* = *abhipūryante* (G. 872); JM. *āūrījjamāṇa* (Erz. 24,5) and M. *pūrai*, *āūramāṇa*, *paripūranta*- (R.). On *vāhippai* beside *vāharijjai* see § 286, on *kṛ* § 547.

§ 538. From the ai- roots the passive are: M. JM. *gijjanta*- (H. 644; Kk. 264,2); JM. *gijjanti* (Erz. 40,19); AMg. *parigijjamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 117); P. *giyyate* (Hc. 4,315); Ś. *nijjhādi* (Mālav. 60,6); from the verbs of the old -ska- class: M. *acchijjai* (H. 83); Ś. *icchīadi* (Mudrār. 57,4), Mg. *icchīadi* (Śak. 118,6). Like *rammāi*, *ramijjai* (Vr. 8,58), P. *ramiyyate* (Hc. 4,315) formed from *ram* are formed from *gam* M. JM. *gammāi* = *gamyate* (Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Ki. 4,13; Sr. fol. 54; H. R.; Erz.), AMg. *gammanti* (Ovav. 56, p. 63,13), *samaṇugammanta*- (Ovav. [§ 37]) and *°gammamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 103. 105); M. *gammāi* (H. 715), fut. *gammihii* (Hc. 4,249; H. 609), partly with an active meaning; M. *gamijjanti* (G. 846; so to be read); Ś. *gamiadu* (Mālatim. 285,5; printed °mi°), *gacchīadi* (Śak. 25,2; Vikr. 22, 10. 15), *avagacchīadi* (Mudrār. 58,4), *āacchīadi* (Nāgān. 19,11). For *anugacchijjanti* in Mṛcch. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly *anugacchānti*; M.

saṃjamijjanti (G. 289). — From *dhau* (to wash), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. *dhuvvanti*- (H. R.) and *dhuvvamāṇa*.

§ 539. From *pā* (to drink) the passive forms are M. *pijjaī* (H.), *pijjae* (Karp. 24,12), *pijjanti* (G.), *pijjanta*- (Karp. 10,8), Ś. *piṇiadi* (Mṛcch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19), as we should read at Mṛcch. 87,13 too for *piṇiadi* and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for *piṇiadi*, imp. Ś. *piṇiadu* (Mṛcch. 77,11). Against the dialect is Ś. *pijjanti* Śak. 29,5, for which we should read *piṇianti*, in all cases with the remaining recensions *piṇti* (Kashmir recension *piṇti*). False is Mg. *pijjae* (Prab. 28,15) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; *piṇiadi* would be correct. — *sthā* forms Ś. *apuciṭṭhiadi* (Mṛcch. 4,13), imp. *apuciṭṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratn. 290,28; Prab. 3,5; Nāgān. 2,17). Kī. 4,14 teaches *thiāī*, *thijjaī*.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations *khañijjaī* (Hc. 4,244), JM. participle *khannamāṇa* (Erz. 39,7), from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammaī* too (Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56). So M. *ukkhammanti*, *ukkhammanta*-, *ukkhammiaova* (R.). The form is not to be separated from *jammaī* from *jan* (Hc. 4,136) and *hammaī* from *han* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56) beside *hañijjaī*. So M. *āhammiuṃ*, *ṇihammaī*, *ṇihammanti*, *paḥammanta*- (R.); AMg. *hammaī* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289), *hammanti* (Uttar. 668. 1008; Paṇḥāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431), *hammantu* (Paṇḥāv. 129), *paḍihammejjā* (Thān. 188), *viṇihammanti* (Uttar. 156); AMg. JM. *hammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Paṇḥāv. 202; Vivāgas. 63; Nirāyāv. 67; Erz.); AMg. *vihammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 350), *suhammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammāī* from *gam* with JACOBI¹ and JOHANSSON². *jammaī* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma*-, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma*-, **khanman*, Pkt. *khamma*-. Cf. § 550. 557. On *khuppaī* see § 286.

1. KZ. 28,254.—2. KZ. 32,449.—3. Mk. fol. 57 teaches *khammaī* like *hammaī* (§ 550) as active.

§ 541. From *drś*, corresponding to Skt. *drśyate*, is regularly formed M. JM. *disaī* (Hc. 3,161; Sr. fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); M. *disae* (Karp. 54,10), *aīsanīa*- (H. R.); M. AMg. *disanti* (Karp. 4,10; Dasav. 635,12); AMg. *dissai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3), *adissamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; Sūyag. 646); Ś. *disādi* (Mṛcch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratn. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc.), *disadha* (Karp. 3,8), *disanti* (Śak. 99,12; Viddhaś. 71,9; 119,13; Mālatīm. 201,2), *disadu* (Karp. 54,4), Mg. *disadi* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 138,24; 139,10. 11; 147,4. 15; 168,18), *disanti* (Mṛcch. 14,11). — *labh* forms M. *labbhāī* = *labhyate* (Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mṛcch. 153,17), as we should read in JM. too for *lajjhaī* (Erz. 60,16), that is wrongly read; AMg. fut. *labbhihi* in the active sense (Dasav. 624,14); Ś. *labbhadi* (Śak. 23,14); beside it *lahijjaī* (Hc. 4,249), as in A. (Piṅgala 1,117), and in Ś. Mg. from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525); Ś. *lambhiadi* (Mālatīm. 217,3), *lambhiāmo* (Mālatīm. 240,4), *uvālabmbhiadi* (text °*bhijjaī*, Mallikām. 218,8); Mg. *ālambhiadi* (Mudrār. 194,2; to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. saṃvat 1926 p. 162,8). — *vah* has the passivum M. AMg. JM. *vubbhaī* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79 [text *va*°]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz.), M. *ṇivubbhaī* (R.). So also we should at H. 275 read *vubbhaī* for *ujjhaī* (cf. WEBER on it) and Dasav. 635,8 *vubbhaī* for misread *vujjhaī*. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches *vahijjaī* too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in Ś. *vahiadi* alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch* forms the passivum M. JM. AMg. *pucchiijjaī* : M. *pucchiijjanti* (particip. ; H.); JM. *pucchiijjāmi* (Erz.); AMg. *pucchiijjanti* (Paṇnav. 388); Ś. *pucchiāsi* (Viddhaś. 118,8), *pucchiādi*

(Mṛcch. 57,18; 72,25).—*kṛt* has in AMg. *kiecāi* (Uttar. 177).—*muc* forms in M. JM. AMg. *muccāi* = *mucyate*; M. *muccāi*, *muccanti* (G.), *muccanta-* (R.); JM. *muccāmi*, *muccae* (Erz.); AMg. *muccāi* (Vivāhap. 37), *muccae* (Uttar. 243), *muccanti* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *muccējjā* (l. sing.; Uttar. 624), *muccējja* (3. sing.; Sūyag. 104; Uttar. 247), *paṇuccāi*, *vimuccāi* (Āyār. 1,3, 3,5; 2,16,12); JŚ. *vimuccadi* (Pav. 384,60); but Ś. *muñciadu* (Mudrār. 247,7; [so to be read for *muñciyadu*, *muñcadu* of the editions]) in the face of the fut. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]).—From *lup* is found M. *luppanta-* (G. 384), AMg. *luppaī*, *luppanti* (Sūyag. 104), from *sic* JM. *siccanto* (Dvār. 504,10), AMg. *abhisiccāmāṇi*, *parisiccāmāṇa* (Kappas.), *saṁsiccāmāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); Ś. *siccanti* (Mudrār. 182,1); so to be read with the Calc. editions], *siccāmāṇa* (Mālitav. 121,2). On *sippai* see § 286, on *mṛ* § 477. *chippai*, *chivijjai*, which Hc. 4,257 derives from *sprś*, belong to *kṣip* (§ 319).

§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are: M. *paḍibujjijjai* = *pratibudhyate* (G. 1172); A. *rūrijjai* = *rusyate* (Hc. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding *-ya*, *-aya*, Pkt. *-a*, *-e*: *kāriai*, *kārijjai*, *karōiāi*, *karōijjai*, *kāsiāi*, *kāsiijai*, *hasāiāi*, *hasāijai*, *hasāiāi*, *hasāijai* (Vr. 7,28. 29; Hc. 3,152. 153; Sr. fol. 55. 56). M. *chejjanti* (G. 1198), Ś. *chedānti* (Mṛcch. 71,4) = *chedyante*; M. *tosijjai* = *toṣyate* (H. 508), *samatthijjai* = *samathiyate* (H. 730), *kavalijjai* = *kavalīkriyate* (G. 172), *paḥamijjanta-* = *prabhāramyamāṇa* (R. 7,69); JM. *mārijjai* = *māryate* (Erz. 5,34), *mārijjai*, *mārijjāmi* (Erz. 5,26; 32,26); AMg. *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandīs. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), *piḍḍai* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); Ś. *pabodhiāmi* = *prabodhye* (Śak. 29,9), *vāḍādiadi* = *vyāpādyate* (Mṛcch. 41,7; Uttarar. 97,1; Mudrār. 250,2; Vepīs. 35,20), *sāṁpadhāriadu* = *sāṁpradhāryatām* (Vikr. 22,19), *viṇṇaviadi* = *viññāpyate* (Vikr. 30,21), *jivāviadi* = *jivyate* (Mṛcch. 176,7), *avadāriadu* = *avatāryatām* (Karp. 26,9), *sukkhaviānti* = *śoṣyante* (characteristically **śuṣkāpyante*; Mṛcch. 71, 4); A. *ṭhaviṇe* = *sthāpyate* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M.: *kajjalatijjai* (R. 5,50); *valatijjai* (G. 1028), *kaṇḍatijjanta-* (H. 67), *maṇḍalatijjanta-* (S. 1034). From *kathaya-* the regular passive are: M. *kahijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *kahijjanti*, *kahijjai*, *kahijjanta-* (H.); AMg. *parikahijjai* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,4,1,3); D. *kahijjadi* (Mṛcch. 103,15); Mg. *kadhīyadu* (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. *kahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,117), *kahije* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Beside Hc. 4,249 teaches also *katthai*, that is found in AMg. (Āyār. 1,2,6,5) and phonetically must have been **kacchai* (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to *katth*. AMg. *pakatthai* (Sūyag. 234) is = **prakatthate*. On *ādhappai*, *ādhaviāi*, *viḍhappai*, *viḍhaviijjai*, *viḍhappiadi* see § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation *yā* has the passivum A. *jāijjai* (Hc. 4,419,3); in AMg. is found *pattiādiadi* (§ 487). On the roots in *-u*, *-ā* see § 356. *rud* has Ś. *roḍiadi* (§ 495), *soap* in M. *suppai* = *supyatām* (H.), in Ś. *sviadi* (Karpas. 18,20). *vac* forms *vuccai* (Hc. 3,161; § 337); AMg. *vuccai* (Uttar. 3; Vivāhap. 34. 35. 102. 928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), *vuccai* (Uttar. 2), *paṇuccai* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3. 5,1,1. 1,6,1; 1,2,2,1. 6,2. 4; 1,4, 1,2; 1,5,3,3; Vivāhap. 202. 374 f. 409. 444; Rāy. p. 144 ff.), *paṇuccai* (Sūyag. 351); *vuccanti* (Sūyag. 978. 979. 994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22), *vuccamāṇa* (Sūyag. 393; Vivāhap. 149); Ś. *vuccāmi* (Karp. 32,9), *vuccasi* (Śak. 12,8), *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2. 3; Viddhaś. 128,1 [text *uccadi*]; Bālar. 96,12 [text *uccadi*]), *vuccanti* (Mṛcch. 29,7); Mg. *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 11).—Form *duh*, beside *duhijjai* is taught *dubbhai*, from *lih*, besides *lihi-* *jai*, also *libbhai* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we

should read *libbhai*; cf. v. 1.). On this see § 266. JM. has *dujjhaū* (Āv. 43, 11), fut. *dujjhihiū* (Āv. 43, 20), probably a false reading for *dubbhaū*, *dubbhihiū*. Cf. *lajjhaī*, *vujjhaī* § 541. On *sisaī*, D. *sāsijjaī* from *sās* see § 499, on *hammaī*, *hañijjaī* from *han* § 540.

§ 545. From *dā*, corresponding to Skt. *diyate*, the passive is M. JM. A. *dijjaī* (H. R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Piṅgala 1,121), M. also *dijjae* (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also *dije* (Piṅgala 2,102, 105), *dijjaū* (Piṅgala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. *dijjahi* (Hc. 4,428; Piṅgala 2,59[so to be read]), JŚ. *dijjadi* (Kattig. 401,345); Ś. *diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6), false *dijjadi* (Mṛcch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), *dijjantu* (Karp. 113,8), *dijjandu* (Viddhaś. 124,14), beside the correct *diadu* (Karp. 103,7); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); P. *tiyyate* (Hc. 4,315). — To *dhā* belong AMg. *āhijjaī* = *ādhīyate* (Sūyag. 603, 674 ff.), *āhijjanti* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas.), explained by the commentators with *ākhyāyate*, *ākhyāyante*. From *hā* the passive forms are Ś. *parihāsi* (Śak. 51,5), *parihādi* (Mālatīm. 212,4), *parihāmāṇa* (Karp. 76,1). On *huvvāi*, *huvvijjaī* from *hu* see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: ci: *ciñijjaī*, *ciñvāi*, AMg. *ciñjanti*, Ś. *viñiādu* (§ 536), *dhu: dhuñijjaī*, *dhu: vāi* (§ 536), *śru: suñijjaī*, *suñvāi*, JM. *summaū*, Ś. *suñiadi*, Mg. *suñiadi* (§ 536), *āp: āpviadi* (Viddhaś. 43,2), A. *pāviāi* (Hc. 4,366), Śak.: Ś. *sakkiadi* (Viddhaś. 87,2; Cait. 84,5; 85,13; 258,16), Mg. *sakkiadi* (Mṛcch. 116,6).

§ 546. The roots of the 7. conjugation form the passive mostly as in Skt., more seldom from the present stem: M. *chijjaī*, *chijjanti*, *vo'echijjaī* (R.); JM. A. *chijjaī* (Erz.; Hc. 4,357,1; 434,1); Ś. *chijjanti* (Mṛcch. 41,2), fut. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16). — M. JM. *bhajjaī*, *bhajjanti*, *bhajjanta-* (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. *bhajjihisi* (H. 202); Mg. *bhayyadi*, imp. *vibhayya* (Mṛcch. 118, 12, 21; see § 506). — M. *bhijjaī*, *bhijjanti*, *bhijjanta-* (G. H. R.); AMg. *bhijjaī* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), *bhijjaū* (Vivāhap. 1230), *bhijjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *ubbhijjadu* (Karp. 83,1), *ubbhijjanti* (Viddhaś. 72,3; text 'ndi). — M. *bhujjanta-*, *uvahujjanta-* (G.); JM. *bhujjaī* (Erz.); AMg. *bhujjaī* (Uttar. 354); but also *bhuñijjaī* (H. 4,249); JM. *paribhuñijjaī* (Dvār. 500,36); Ś. *bhuñiadi* (Śak. 29,6). — M. *jujjanta-* (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it accords with" = Skt. *yujyate* always M. *jujjaī* (H. 924), *ujjae* (H. 12), JŚ. *jujjade* (Kattig. 403,380), Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65, 12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: Ś. *ñiñjāmi*, *ñiñjasi* (Karp. 18,3,2), *ñiñjiadi* (Mālatīm. 22,5 [so to be read; see p. 372]); *paññiadi* (Karp. 19,8), *paññiadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7). On *juppaī* see § 286. For *rudh* Hc. 4,245 teaches *rundhijjaī* and *rubbhaī*, in conjunction with the prefixes *anu*, *upa*, *saṃ* 4,248: *anu-*, *uva-*, *saṃ-* *rujjhaī*, *rudhijjaī*. In the text are found M. *parirujjhaī* (G. 434); Ś. *uvarujjhadi* (Vikr. 82,15 v. 1.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. *rubbhaī*, *rubbhanta-*, *rubbhamāṇa* (R.), JM. *rubbhaī* (Āv. 41,9) are passive from *rubh* (§ 507).

§ 547. *ky* forms the passive in M. JM. usually *kiraī* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as *hy*, according to the analogy of the roots in *-r* (§ 537). So M. *kiraī*, *kirae*, *kiranti*, *kiraū*, *kiranta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kiraī* (Erz.; Āv. 9,23; 13,26; Dvār. 497,7), *kiraū* (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. *kiradi* (Kattig. 399,320; 401, 350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāhap. 135, 796; Ovav. § 116, 127, 128), *kiramāṇa* (Dasav. 629,5), *kiranta-* (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as *kirate* for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājasekhara (pro ex. Bālar. 176,16 [kiradi]; 224,17 [kiraū]; 228,8 [kiraī]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kiradi]) and used by later writers like Bilhana, Karnaś. 53,16 (*kiradi*) in Ś. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Karp. 22,4 Konow (p. 19,7) correctly has *kariadi*. Hc. 4,250 mentions also *karijjaī*, and so A. has *karije* (Piṅgala 2,93, 101, 102, 105) and

karijasu (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has *kijjai* = *kriyate* in *duhākijjai*, *dohākijjai*, and according to Hc. 4,274 *kijjadi* and *kijjade* will be used in Ś. So stands *kijjadu* in Ś. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. *kijjai* is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A. : *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), *kijjaū* (Piṅgala 1,81^o) in the active sense, *kijjai* (so to be read; text °hī) = *kriyante* (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. *kijjasu*, *karijasu* see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is *kajjai* = **karyate* (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3. 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Thān. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99. 136. 137. 182. 346. 444. 1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), *kajjanti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), *kajjamāna* (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 840), *duhā*^o, *tihā*^o (Vivāhap. 141). In Ś. are used exclusively *kariadi* (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Śak. 19,6), *alamkariadi* (Śak. 19,5), *karianti* (Śak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), *kariadu* (Śak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. *kaliadi* (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7), *kaliadu* (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. *jñā* forms, according to Hc. 4,252; *ṇajjai*, *ñajjai*, *jāñijjai*, *ṇavvai*, according to Kī. 4,81 *jāñiai*, *āñiai*, *ṇajjai*, *ṇavvai*, *ṇajjai*, *ṇavvai*. Of them *ṇajjai* = *jñāyate* is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), JM. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās.; Nirāyāv. [in JM. AMg. *ṇajjai*]). Ś. has *jāñiadi* (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛśabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), *jāñiadu* (Nāgān. 84,5), behind *ṇa* (not) *āñiadi* (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 285,5; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. *jāñiai* (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of *ṇavvai* Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have *ṇappaī*, that stands in place of *ādḥappaī*, *vidḥappaī*, i.e. = *jñāpyate*. Accordingly one **ṇavvai*, of which the regular passive is *ṇavvai*¹, is to be deduced from the causatives such as Ś. *āṇavedi*, *vinṇavedi*. — *krī* forms Ś. *vikkīñiadi* (Karp. 14,5), *vikkīñanti* (Mudrār. 108,9; [so to be read]); *pū* has *puvvai*, *puñijjai*, A. *puñijje*; *lū* has *luvvai*, *luñijjai* (§536), *granth* has Ś. *ganthiñanti* (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text *gatti*^o]). From *grah* the passive forms are *gēñijjai* (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82) and *gahijjai* (Sr. fol. 56), S. *aṇugghādiadu* (Vikr. 21,10). M. JM. AMg. A. use for it *ghēppai* = Pāli *ghēppati*, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to *grabh*, however, belongs to the parallel root **ghṛp* (§ 212). So M. *ghēppai*, *ghēppae*, *ghēppanti*, *ghēppanta-* (G. H. R.; Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 178,3); JM. *ghēppai* (Kk. 273,37), *ghēppanti* (Erz. 67,12; Āv. 36,42); AMg. *ghēppejjā* (Pañhāv. 400); A. *ghēppai* (Hc. 4,341,1), *ghēppanti* (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in Ś. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands *gējjhai* = *gṛhyate* in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kī. 4, 82 teaches also *ghēppijjai*. — *bandh* forms *bajjai* = *badhyate* (Hc. 4,247); AMg. *bajjai* (Uttar. 245); JŚ. *bajjhadi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai*. — From *bhañ*, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. *bhañnai* = *bhanyate* (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kī. 4,13; H.R.), *bhañnai* (G. R.; Śak. 101,16), *bhañnamāna* (H.), *bhañnanta-* (R.), and *bhañijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *bhañijjai* (H.); A. *bhañijje* (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also *bhañijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); JM. *bhañnai* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *bhañiadi* (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prab. 39,3). False is Ś. *bhañijjandi* (Prab. 42,5; P. °jjanti, M. °jjamāṇā) for *bhañiñti*, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly °ñi^o).

1. Wholly wrong is S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494; JACOBI, KZ. 28,255, JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist : *muccīmsu* (Sūyag. 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly

likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: 1. M. *kalijjihisi* from *kal* (H. 225. 313), *khajjihii* from *khād* (H. 138), *ḍajjihisi* (H. 105), *ḍajjihii* (Hc. 4,246) from *dah*, *ḍisihii* (H. 619; R. 3,33 [so to be read]), *dharijihii* (H. 778); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,25); *khammihii* from *khan* (Hc. 4,244).—6. AMg. *muccihii* (Ovav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text °*himi*ti]; Vivāhap. 175), *muccissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but also *paṃōkkhasi* = *pramoksyase* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4); Ś. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]); AMg. *uvalippihii* (Ovav. § 112).—4. JM. *khōṭṭijihii* (Āv. 32,2) from *khuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,116).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. *mārijjissāmi* (Uvās. § 256); JM. *chiddijjihii* (Āv. 33,2) from *chidraya-*, *vāvājjissai* (Erz. 43,22).—2. *hommihii* from *han* (Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557); AMg. *paḍihammihii* (Nāyādh. § 30); *dubbhii* (Hc. 4,245), JM. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43,20; cf.; however § 544).—5. *civvii*, *cimmihii* from *ci* (Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536); M. *jhiijihisi* from *kpi* (H. 152. 628); M. *samappihii* (H. 734. 806; R. 5,4).—7. M. *bhajjihisi* from *bhañj* (H. 202); AMg. *voṇṇijjihinti* from *chid* with *vyud* (Sūyag. 1011), *samucchihiṇti*, metrically for *samucchiijihinti* (Sūyag. 869), Ś. *chijjissadi* (Mṛch. 3,16); Ś. *ahiujjissadi* from *yuj* with *abhi* (Uttar. 69,6); *samrujjihii* (Hc. 4,248).—8. AMg. *kajjissai* (Vivāhap. 492); JM. *kirihii* (Āv. 16,9).—9. *bajjihii* (Hc. 4,247), Ś. *bajjhissāmo* (Mṛch. 109,19; see § 488, note 4) from *bandh*; JM. *ghēṭṭihii* from **ghrṭ* (Āv. 7,5).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. WEBER has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin¹. So: M. *gammihisi* (H. 609)², uncertain *gammasu* (H. 819) in the sense of the causative: M. *gasijjihii* (H. 804); M. *ḍisihisi* (R. 15,86), where, however, C has *daṣṣihisi*, i. e. *dacchihisi* (§ 525); M. *pijjaī* (Hc. 4,10; H. 678)³; M. *bhañnihisi* (H. 906)⁴; *hammāi* = *hanti* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540), particip. pres. ātmanep. AMg. *vihammāṇa* Uttar. 787); fut. AMg. *hammihanti* (Thāp. 512); AMg. *labbhii* (Dasav. 624,14); A. *dijjaū*, *kijjaū* (§ 545. 547; cf. § 461. 466). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is that the present passive in Mg. A. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, "I am made" is used in lieu of "I shall make". For Mg. Mk. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. *bhavissadi* and *bhuvādi*. So Mg. *bhaviādi* (Mṛch. 164,10) and *huvādi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8) "he will be", *vāvāḍiāsi* "thou wilt kill" (Mṛch. 167,25), *pivāḍiāsi* (so to be read; Venis. 34,6) "that thou wilt be thirsty"; A. *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338. 445,3) "I shall make".

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding *samappihii* and *ḍisihisi*, the examples in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,492 and on R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. WEBER on Hāla 609.

CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of *-e-* = Skt. *-aya-* into the strengthened root: *kārei* = *kārayati*, *pāḍhei* = *pāṭhayati*, *uvasāmei* = *upaśāmyati*, *hāsei* = *hāsayati* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Ki. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55). Cf. § 490. The roots in *-ā* add *-e-* = Skt. *-aya-*: M. *nivāḍeṇṇti* = *nivāpayanti* (G. 524); Ś. *nivāḍedi* (Mālatīm. 217,5), fut. *nivāḍaṇṇam* (Mālatīm. 266,1), past passive participle *nivāḍida* (Mṛch. 16,9); AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpayati* (Thāp. 569); Mg. *pattiāvaṇṇam* (Mṛch. 139,12) from *yā* with *prati* (§ 281. 487); PG. *anuvattāveṇi* = *anuvasthāpayati* (7,45); AMg. *thāveṇi* = *sthāpayati* (Nirāyāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116); AMg. *thāveṇi* (Erz. 43,32); Ś. *samavattāveṇi* = *samavasthāpayāmi* (Vikr. 27,6); *pajjavattā-*

vehi = *paryavasthāpaya* (Vikr. 7,17), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 24,2), *paḍiṭṭhāvehi* (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. *stāvemi*, *stāvia* (absol.), *stāvāṭṭam* (Mṛcch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol. Mṛcch. 21,12); A. *paṭṭhāviai* (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. *ṇhāveha* = *snāpayata* (Vivāhap. 1261). *jñā* forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. *jāṇāvehi* (Hc. 3,149; Erz.), *jāṇāvijam*, *jāṇāvium* (Kk.); M. *jāṇāveum* (H.). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. *āṇavei* (Nirvāy.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *āṇavemāṇa* (Sūyag. 734), *paṇṇavemāṇa* (Ovav. § 78); Ś. *āṇavei* (Mṛcch. 94,9), *āṇavedi* (Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mṛcch. 4,19; 7,3; 16,2 and very frequently), *āṇavedu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but *āṇavidavvam* (Mṛcch. 58,13) beside *viṇṇāḍavvā* (58,12), hence with GODABOLE 167,8 to be read *āṇa°*; *viṇṇāvehi* (Mṛcch. 78,10), *viṇṇavedi* (Mṛcch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), *viṇṇavemo* (so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7), *viṇṇavehi* (Mṛcch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālatim. 218,1), *viṇṇovissam*, *viṇṇāḍavvā* (Mṛcch. 58,11. 12), *viṇṇavidam* (so to be read; Vikr. 48,8), *viṇṇāḍi* (Vikr. 30,21); Mg. *āṇavedi* (Śak. 114,1), *viṇṇavia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 138, 25; 139,1). As *jñā*, also the other roots ending in -ā shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often *sthā*: M. JM. AMg. *ṭhavei* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67); M. *ṭhavijjanti* (G. 995), *uṭṭhavesi* (H. 390), *saṃṭhavehi* (G. 997); AMg. *uvaṭṭhaveha* (Nāyādh. § 130); A. *ṭhavehu* (Piṅgala 1,87. 125. 145).—M. *ṇimmavesi* = *nirmāpayasi* (G. 297); AMg. *āghavemāṇa* = *ākhyāpayamāṇa* (Ovav. § 78), *āghaviya* = *ākhyāpita* (Panhāv. 376. 431. 469), *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), inf. *āghavittae* (Nāyādh. § 143). As in Skt., certain roots in -i, -ī too have the same formation: Ś. passive *jaḍiari* = *jāpyase* (Śak. 31,11); AMg. *āsaveha* (Vivāhap. 957), *ussaveha* (Kappas. § 100) = *ucchrāpayata*; Ś. *bhāḍvesi* from *bhī* (§ 501; Mṛcch. 91,19). From the present stem is built *kiṇāvehi* (Thāp. 516), *kiṇāvae* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), *kiṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 609) from *kri*; Ś. *vicīṇāvedī* (so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1) from *ci*; AMg. *alliyāvehi* (Nāyādh. 434) from *li*.

§ 552. The element -*ve-* = Skt. -*paya-* is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than -ā, -i, -ī, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in -a, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the ā-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldom more than the causative in -e- = -aya-. So: *hasāvehi* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55), *hasāvia* (Hc. 3,152), also M. *hāsāvia* (Hc. 3,153 = H. 123); AMg. *payāvemāṇa* from *pac* (Sūyag. 609); M. *ramāvēnti*, *sahāvēnti* (H. 325. 327); Ā. *kappāvehi* from *kṛp* (Mṛcch. 105,3); Ś. *ghaḍāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21), M. *vihaḍāvia* (G. 8) from *ghaṭ*; Ś. *jivāvehi* (Uttarar. 63,14), *jiḍvesu* (Viddhaś. 84,4), *jivāvedu* (Mṛcch. 326,3), *jivāviadi* (Mṛcch. 176,6), *jivāvia* (absol.; Mālatim. 215,1), *jivāvidā* (Mṛcch. 173,4; 177,16); Mg. *jiḍāvidā* (Mṛcch. 171,14); AMg. *dalāvehi* (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. *saṃārambhāvehi* (Āyār. 1,1,2,3; 1,1,3,5), *saṃārambhāvējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6; 1,1,3,8); Ś. *ṇivattāvehi* (Mṛcch. 77,15); Mg. *palivattāvehi* (Mṛcch. 81,17.19); Ś. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Kappas. 21,8); Ś. *dhovāvehi* (Mṛcch. 45,9); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvia* from *gam* with *abhi* and *upa* (Āv. 30,9); AMg. *pijāvae* from *pā* (to drink; Dasav. 638,26).—AMg. *nicchubhāvehi* (Nāyādh. 823,824. 1313) from *nicchubhāi* from *kṣubh* with *ni* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇṇav. 827. 832. 834); Ś. *paḍicchāviadi* (Mṛcch. 69,12) from *iṣ* with *prati*; Ś. *pucchāvehi* from *pracch* (Viddhaś. 42, 4); JM. *melavehisi* (Āv. 30,8); Ś. *moḍvehi*, *moḍvehi* (Śak. 27,11; 24,2), M. *moḍvia* (Mṛcch. 41,17) from *muc*; Mg. *lihāvehi* (Mṛcch. 133,1) from *likh*,—*uvasamāvehi* (Hc. 3,149) from *śam*; *tosavia* from *tuṣ*, *soṣavia* from *śuṣ* (Hc. 3,150); Ś. *lohāvehi* (Śak. 61,3).—AMg. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Vivāgas. 170) from

vedhei (§ 304. 490). — M. *ruḍvei*, *ruḍvia*, *roḍvia* (H.), Ś. *rodāvida* (Mṛcch. 21,1) from *rud*. — From *dā* (to give) is built in JM. a double form *dāvāvei* in the meaning " to cause to give " (Erz.). — Ś. *suṇāvidā* (Mālav. 31,8). — AMg. *chindāvae* (Dasav. 638,30). — *karāvei*, *karāvia*, *kārāvei* (Vr. 7,27; Hc. 3, 149. 152. 153; Kī. 4,44); AMg. *kāravemi* (Uvās. § 13. 14. 15), *kāravaha* (Kappas. § 57. 100); JM. *kārāvei* (Erz. 30,7), *kārāviya* (Erz.). — JM. *gēṇhā-
vemi* (Av. 34,19).

§ 553. For *-e*, *-ve* are found dialectically, particularly in A., not seldom *-a*, *-va*, it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants (§ 491). So: *hasāvaī* (Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55); *ghaḍāvaī* (Hc. 4, 340), *ugghāḍaī* (Hc. 4,33) beside Ś. *ghaḍāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21); *vippagālaī* = *vipragālayati* (Hc. 4,31); *uddālaī* = *uddālayati* (Hc. 4,125); *pāḍaī* = *pālayati* (Hc. 3,153) beside M. *pāḍei* (R. 4,50), Mg. *pāḍemi* (Mṛcch. 162,22); *bhamāvaī* (Hc. 3,151) from *bhram*; A. *uttārahi* (Vikr. 69,2) beside Ś. *odāredi* (Uttarar. 165,3), *padāredi* (so to be read; Prab. 15,10); JM. *māraī* (Hc. 3,153; Erz. 5,32; Hc. 4,330,3) beside M. *māresi*, *mārehi* (H.), *mārei* (Mudrār. 34,10), Ś. *māredha* (Mṛcch. 161,16; 165,25), Mg. *mālemi* (Mṛcch. 12,5; 123,3), *mālehi* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 124,2. 17; 165,24), *māledu* (Mṛcch. 125,8), *māledha* (Mṛcch. 165,23; 166,1; 168,8; 171,18); for Mg. *mālantaṭṭhi* (Mṛcch. 123,22) is to be read *mālēntaṭṭhi*; A. *mīrei* (Hc. 4,337); *hāravaī* (Hc. 4,31); A. *vāhahi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a) beside Ā. *vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 100,18), Mg. *vāhesi* (Mṛcch. 122,15); *melavaī* (Hc. 4,28) from *mil* (§ 486) beside JM. *melavehi* (§ 528); *nāsaovai*, *nāsaī* (Hc. 4,31) from *naś*; AMg. *vedanti* (Pannav. 786 ff.), *veyanti* (Jiv. 281 ff.) = *vedayanti*; *nimmaovai* = *nirmāpayati* (Hc. 4,19) beside M. *ṇimmavesi* (G. 297); *ādhavaī*, *viḍhavaī* from *dhā* (§ 286. 500); M. *ṭhavaī* (G. 980), *saṃṭhavantī* (H. 39); *paṭṭhavaī*, *paṭṭhāvaī* (Hc. 4,37); A. *paṭṭhāvahu*, *saṃṭhāvahu* (Piṅgala 1,10. 85) beside *ṭhāvei*, *ṭhāvei* (§ 551); *karāvaī* (Hc. 3,149); *viṇṇavaī* (Hc. 4,38) beside Ś. *viṇṇavedi* (§ 551); *palāvaī* from *lā* with *pra* (Hc. 4,31).

§ 554. From *drś* Hc. 4,32 teaches the causative *dāvaī*, *daṃsaī*, *dakkhavaī*, *darisaī*. Of them *dāvaī* is found (also in Sr. fol. 57) in M. *dāvanteṇa* (H.); more often forms with *-e*: M. *dāvemi* (Ratn. 322,5; *taṃ te dāvemi* according to Dhanika on Daśarūpa 42,6 for *taṃ taṃ dāṃsemi* of the editions), *dāvei*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvae*, *dāveha*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvia* (H. R.), *dāvijjau* (Ratn. 321, 32), *dāvīā* (Karp. 56,7); JM. *dāviya* (Erz.), *dāvia*, *dāvijjasu* (Rṣabhap. 10. 49); Ś. *dāvīda* (Mudrār. 44,1). The word is = Marāṭhī *dāvṇem*¹. The derivation from *dṛ*² is false. *dāvei*, *dāvaī* stand for *darpayati*, *darpati* from *drpa* *saṃdīpane* (Dhātupāṭha 34,14) according to § 62. To the same root belong Skt. *darpaṇa* (mirror) and M. *addāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya* (mirror; § 196, where we should read = **ādāpaka* = **ādarpaka*²). *daṃsaī* occurs in AMg. *daṃsanti* = *darśayanti* (Sūyag. 222), M. *daṃsantiṃ* = *darśayantiṃ* (G. 1055; without v. l.); more frequently with *-e*: M. *daṃsintiṃ* (G. 1054); JM. *daṃsei*, *daṃseha* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *daṃsemi* (Mṛcch. 74,16; Mālatim. 38,9), *daṃsesi* (Mṛcch. 90,21; Śak. 167,10), *daṃsehi* (Ratn. 321, 20), *daṃseduṃ* (Mudrār. 81,4); before doubled consonants (§ 490): *daṃsa-
antiṃ*, *daṃsaamha* (Prab. 42,7; Uttarar. 77,3; 113,2); fut. *daṃsaṃssam* (Śak. 63,9; Ratn. 311,4), *daṃsaṃssasi* (Śak. 90,10), *daṃsaṃssadi* (Mālatim. 74,3; 78,7); Mg. *daṃsaante* (Śak. 114,11). — *darisaī* (also Hc. 3,149) occurs in JM. as *darisei* (Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 74 it occurs in the form *darisedi* in Āvanti. In the Mṛcch., that sports in Āvanti, at 70,5 the Sr. fol. 57 *dakkhāvaī* is a causative form *dakkhai* and = Marāṭhī *dākhaviṇem*, Gujarāṭī *dākhavavum*³; A. *dēkkhāvahi* (Vikr. 66,16) is a causative from *dēkkhai*

The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write *dakkhai*, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write *dēkkhai*⁴, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. *dēkkhai*, Piṅgala 1,87_a), on the other hand, it is false, for Ś. which requires *pekkhai*⁵. *dakkhai* and *dēkkhai*, which the inscriptions of Aśoka too have, *dakkhai*, what is attested by Singhalese in *dakinawa*, *dēkkhai*, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have⁶, both go back to one **dṛkṣati*, that occurs in *amū-dṛkṣa*, *īdṛkṣa*, *etādṛkṣa*, *kidṛkṣa*, *tādṛkṣa*, *sadṛkṣa*⁷. The derivation from the future⁸ is miscarried to *e*, which goes back to *i*; it is possible to explain⁹ the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to *pekkhai* for *dēkkhai*¹⁰. On AMg. *dehai* see § 66.—From *bhram* the causative are also *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form *īamāḍai* (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside *bhāmei* *bhamāvai*, *bhamāvei*. Gujarātī has the same causative formation¹¹. Hc. 4,161 teaches *bhammaḍai*, *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* also as a substitute for the simplex *bhram*.—On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.

1. GARREZ, JA. 1872,20,204.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741; 28,424; on H. 315.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,32.—4. FISCHER, GGA. 1873,46 f.; Vikramorvaṣīya p. 616 f.; Die Recensionen der Çākuntalā p. 11 f.—5. FISCHER, De Kālidāse Çākuntalī recensionibus p. 32 f.; KB. 7,453 ff.; 8,144 ff.—6. FISCHER, KB. 7,458; 8,146; JOHANSSON KZ. 32, 463; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,161; POTT, Zigeuner 2,304; MIKLOŠICH, Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas 7,43.—7. WEBER, KB. 7,764 who, however, wrongly sees therein at Bhag. 1,414,3; IStr. 3,150; H. 1 p.260; KB. 7,486; IS. 14,69 ff. "an old reduplication of a hitherto wanting desiderative formation".—8. CHILDERS in MUIR, OST. 2,23 note 40; KB. 7,450 f.; Dictionary s. v. *passati*; FISCHER, KB. 7,459; 8, 147.—9. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,509ff.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,463f.; Shāhbāzgarhi 2,24.—10. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,162; cf., however, 3,45 f.—11. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,81; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 318 f.

DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. *digiechanta* = *jighatsat* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); *jugucchai*, *juucchoi* (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = *jugupsate*; M. *juucchai*, *juucchasu* (R.); AMg. *dugucchai*, *dugumchai*, *duucchai*, *duumchai* (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), *dugumchamāna* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 472. 525), *dugamchamāna*, *dugamchanijja* (Uttar. 199,410), *adugucchiya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2); Ś. *jugucchedi*, *jugucchanti* (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), *juucchida* (Anarghar. 149, 10; Bālar. 202,13), *adijuucchida* (Mallikām. 218,7. 12), *jugucchanja* (Vid-dhaś. 121,10; so to be read); Mg. *adiyuucceida* (Mallikām. 143,4. 15; so to be read); *ciicchai* (Hc. 2,21; 4,240) = *cikitsati*; AMg. *tigiechai* (Uttar. 601), *tigiechiya* (Uttar. 458), *vitigiechiya* (Thāp. 194), *vitigiechāmi* (Thāp. 245), *vitigimchai* (Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150); Ś. *cikicchidavva* (Śak. 123,14). Cf. § 74. 215.—Mg. *piṛāṣiati* (Venīs. 34,6; cf. § 550); Ś. *bubhukkhiḍa* = *bubhukṣita* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5); *licchai* = *lipsate* (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. *sussūai* (Dasav. 637,30. 32; Erz. 31,13) = *śusrūṣate*; AMg. *sussūsamāna* (Dasav. 636,6. 10; Ovav.); Ś. *sussūsaṁsam* (Mṛcch. 88,11), *sussūsaḍum* (Mālav. 29,12), *sussūsidavva* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuṣṣāḍida* (Mṛcch. 37,11).

INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show : *cakkammai* for **cākammai* = **cākramyate* (Hc. 4,161).—AMg. *khokhubbhamāna* (Paṇhāv. 169.210; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *kṣubh*.—AMg. *jāgarai* = *jāgarti*, *jāgaramāṇie* (Vivāhap. 116), *jāgaranti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), *jāgaramāṇassa* (Vivāhap.170), *paḍijāgarējjā* (Dasav. 636,6),

paḍijāgaramāṇi (Uvās.; Kappas.); M. *jagganti* (Dūt. 5,12), *jaggesu* (H. 335), *paḍiaggia* = **pratijagrita* (G.); Ś. *jaggedha* (Mṛcch. 112,3); A. *jaggeva* (Hc. 4,438,3); causative AMg. *jaggāvai* (Āyār. 1,8,2,5); M. *jaggāva* (R. 10,56); AMg. *bhibbhisamīṇa* for **bhebbhisamīṇa*, **bhēbbhisamīṇa* from *bhisai* = *bhāsati* (§ 482; Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481 [*bhijjha*^o]. 493 [*mijjhī*^o]. 541 [*mijjhīsamāṇi*]), *bhibbhisamāṇa* (Jiv. 105; cf. v. 1. on Nāyādh. § 122); AMg. *lāloppai* (Sūyag. 414), *lālappamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,6,1). In the reduplication M. *caṅkammanta-* (H.), *caṅkammia* (R.), *caṅkamia* (Karp. 47,6), JM. *caṅkamiyavva* (Āv. 23,12) = *caṅkramyate*; *dhumḍhullai* (Hc. 4,161. 189), *ḍhamḍhollai* (Hc. 4,161), *ḍhamḍholai* (Hc. 4,189) have a nasal vowel. For *ṣuṇṣuṇṇanto* (Kāvya prakāśa 271,5 = H. 985) we should, according to the best manuscripts or the text and the commentary read with Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 116,7 *dhumḍhullanto*. This reading is proved also by the quotation of the shoppe in other unpublished rhetoricians.

DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in *-a* = Skt. *-ya*, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. *-e-*, *-ve-*, *-va-*. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: AMg. *appiṇāmi* = **arpaṇāmi* (Nirayāv. § 23; Nāyādh. 1313; text °*ppa*^o), JM. *appiṇai* (Āv. 44,3) from *arpaṇa*; AMg. *paccaṇṇiṇāmi* = **pratyarpaṇāmi* from *pratyarpaṇa*¹ (Nirayāv. § 20), *paccaṇṇiṇai* (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas. § 29; Ovav. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), *paccaṇṇiṇāmo* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaṇṇiṇanti* (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas. § 58. 101; Nāyādh. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirayāv. § 4. 24), *paccaṇṇiṇējjā* (Paṇṇav. 844; Ovav. § 150), *paccaṇṇiṇāhi* (Ovav. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirayāv. § 22; Kappas. § 26), *paccaṇṇiṇaha* (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas. § 57. 100; Nirayāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), *paccaṇṇiṇijjai* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaṇṇiṇittā* (Nāyādh. 607. 610. 614); *khammāi* = **khammati*, *jammāi* = **janmati*, **hammāi* = *hanmati* (§ 540); M. *dukkhāmi* (R. 11,127) from *dukkha*, as *sukhāmi* (H. 617) from *sukha*²; *dhavalaḥ* (Hc. 4,24); *nimmāṇai* (Hc. 4,19; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 54) from *nirmāṇa*; A. *paḍibimbī* (Hc. 4,439,3); A. *paṇāṇahu* = *paṇāṇayata* (Piṅgala 1,105); *pahuppaḥ* = **prabhuteati* (§ 286); M. *maṇḍanti* (G. 67); *missai* (Hc. 4,28) from *miṣṭra*; *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) from *vikreya*; A. *sukkahi* (Hc. 4,427,1) from *śuṣka*. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.* seeks in *paccaṇṇi* the present stem of *praty-arp*. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573, note 2 *ipai* is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun *paccaṇṇiṇa* is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation.—2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from *dukkhāmi*, *sukhāmi* (§ 558).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with *-a-* = Skt. *-ya-*. The syllables *-āa-* in M. JM. AMg. are not seldom contracted: M. *atthāai*, *atthāanti* = **astāyate*, **astāyante* from *asta* (G. R.); from the frequent *atthamīa* (G. R.) = *astamita* have been deduced *atthamāi* (R.) and a substantive *atthamaṇa* (H. R.); AMg. *amarājai* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); M. *alaśāai*, *alaśāanti* (H.); M. *umhāi*, *umhāanta*, *umhāmāṇa* (G.) from *ūsmāya*; Ś. *kuravaḍādi* = *kuravakāyate* (Mṛcch. 73,10); *garuḍi*, *garuḍai* (to become a teacher; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3,138); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); M. *taṇuāi*, *taṇuāai*, *taṇuāae* = **tanukāyati* (to become thin; H.); M. *dhūmāi* (H.); AMg. *mamāyamāṇa*, *amamāyamāṇa* from *mama* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,5,3); *lohiāi*, *lohiāai* (Hc. 3,138); M. *saṃjhāai*

(G. 632), *Ś. samjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12) = *samdhyaṇīyate*; *Ś. sīdalādi* = *śītalāyati* (Mālatim. 121,2); *M. suhādi* (H.), *Ś. suhādi* (Śak. 49,8) = *sukhāyati*. Worthy of being particularly mentioned are the numerous denominativa that express onomatopoeically, a sound a strong physical or mental movement, etc. They are found mostly also in the modern Indian dialects, many in Skt. too, here partly only in the basic form, to which they are traced back¹. The examples *damadamāi*, *damadamāi* (Hc. 3,138) "does *damadama*", used for the sound of a drum, = Marāṭhī *damadamneṃ*², indicate the type. More seldom they are formed as the causativa. So: *Ś. kaḍakaḍānta-* (Mālatim. 129,4). — *Ś. kurukurāsi* (so to be read; cf. v. 1.; Hās. 25,7), *kurukurādi* (Mṛcch. 71,16; Ratn. 302,8), *kurukurānta-* (Karp. 14,3; 70,1); *kurukuri* (ardently desired; Deśin. 2,42), according to which *kurukura* in Hc., *Unādigapāsūtra* 17); AMg. *kiḍikiḍiyābhūya* (Vivāgas. 201.242 [text here °*ḍibhū*]). — AMg. *kuukūvamāna* (Vivāgas. 201); JM. *khalakkhalei* (Erz.); AMg. *gumagumāyanta-* (Kappas. § 37), also *gumagumanta-* (Ovav. § 4), *gumagumāyā* (Ovav. § 5); *Ś. ghumaghumādi* (Jivān. 43,3)³; AMg. *gulugulēnta-* (for the trumpet of the elephant; Ovav. § 42), *gulagulēnta-* (Uvās. § 102); AMg. JM. *gulgulāyā* (Panhāv. 161 [°*la*]); Vivāhap. 253; Ovav. § 54 p. 59,7; Erz.); JM. *ghurughuranti* (for the grunting of the wild boar; Erz. 43,10); Mg. *ghulaghulāmāna* (Mṛcch. 117,23), from which Skt. *ghurughura* in Hc. l. c. and others; *śirīṭṭilāi* with dissimilation (Hc. 4,161); *M. tharatharei* (H. 187 [so to be read with v. l.]. 858), *tharathareṇti* (H. 165 [so to be read with R]); JM. *tharatharanti* (Āv. 12,25; text °*ha*°); *Ś. tharatharedi* (Mṛcch. 141,17; so to be read with GODABOLE 388,4), *tharatharānta-* (Mālatim. 124,1) = Skt. *tharatharāyate*, Marāṭhī *tharatharneṃ*, Urdū *tharatharānā*⁴, Gujarātī *tharatharvum* "to tremble"; AMg. *dhagadhaganta-* (Nāyādh. 340), explained as *jāḍvāyamāna*, *dhagadhagāyā* (Kappas. § 46); *Ś. dhagadhaggaamāna* (Jivān. 89,2); JM. AMg. *dhamadhamēnta-* (Erz.; Uvās.), *Ś. dhamadhamādi* (Nāgān. 18,3); JM. *phuraphuranta-* (Erz. 85,5); *Ś. phuraphurādi* (Mṛcch. 17,15); AMg. *maghamagheṇta-* (Ovav. § 2; Nāyādh. § 21 [°*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 28. 111; Jiv. 543; Samav. 210), *maghamaghanta-* (Kappas. [also °*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 60. 190; Jiv. 499; Vivāhap. 941); *M. mahamahāi* (Hc. 4,78; H.), JM. *mahamahīya* (Pāiyāl. 197) = Marāṭhī *maghamagheṇneṃ*, Gujarātī *maghamagheṇneṃ*⁵; AMg. *masamasāyijjai* (Vivāhap. 270.383); AMg. JM. *misimisanta-*, *misimiseṇta-*, *misimisinta-* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 44; Āv. 40,6), usually *misimisimāna* or °*sēmāna* (Vivāgas. 121. 144; Nāyādh. 324. 456. 612. 651. 1172; Vivāhap. 236. 237. 251. 254. 505. 1217 etc.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.) is explained as *deḍḍipymāna* and taken into Skt. as *miṣamiṣāyate*; *Ś. silasilādi* (Jivān. 43,3); *M. simisimanta-* (H. 561), *Ś. simisimānta-* (Bālar. 264,2); *M. surasuranta-* (H. 74) = Marāṭhī *surasurneṃ*⁶; JM. *sulusulēnta-* (Erz. 24,29). — *M. dhukkādhukkāi* (H. 584) = Marāṭhī *dhukadhukneṃ*⁷; AMg. *harāharāyā* (Panhāv. 161) have a strengthened vowel. Cf. also *Ś. susuādi* (Mṛcch. 44,3) "does *su-su*" and *Ś. sāsāsi*, Mg. *kākāsi* (Mṛcch. 80, 14. 15) derived from *sā* and *kā* respectively.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,89 ff.; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1898, 465 ff., who has collected together the Pkt. examples, particularly from H.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,138.—3. JACOBI on Kappas. § 36 p. 105; cf. ZACHARIAE, l.c. p. 466 note 2.—4. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 141, 17 p. 309.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,78; cf. JACOBI on Kappas. § 32 p. 104.—6. WEBER on H. 74.—7. WEBER on H. 584.

§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominativa are: AMg. *uccārei* (caus.) *vā pāsavaṇei vā khelei vā siṅghānei vā vantei vā pittei vā* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *upakkhadei* = **upaskṛtayati* (Nāyādh. 425. 448), °*ḍinti* (Nāyādh. 856), °*ḍeḍḍja*, °*ḍie* (Āyār. 2,2,2,2), °*ḍeu* (Uvās. § 68),

°*deha* (Nāyādh. 483), more frequently *uvakkhaḍḍavei* (Vivāgas. 124. 133. 195. 204. 205. 231. 233; Nāyādh. 430. 632. 734. 736. 1423. 1496), °*ḍāvinti*, °*ḍāveṇṇi* (Kappas. § 104; Nāyādh. § 114), °*ḍāveṭṭā* (Nāyādh. § 114; p. 425. 448. 482; Vivāhap. 228); AMg. *ṇhānei* = **snānayati* (Jiv. 610), *ṇhāṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265); *teavaī* = **tejayapayati* from *tea-* = *tejah* (Hc. 4,152); JM. *dukkhāveī* (Āv. 42,14. 18), caus. from *dukkhāmi* (§ 557); *duhāvaī* = **dividhāpayati* (splits; Hc. 4,124); JM. *dhirāvia* (Sagara 8,14); AMg. *piṇaddheī* (Nāyādh. 775 [text °*ddhaī*]. 779); Ś. *piṇaddhāvida* (Śak. 74,1); M. *biṇgei* (text *vi*°; H. 685) = *divigunayati*; M. *bhasaṇemi* (so to be read; H. 312) from *bhasman* (ashes); AMg. *mailinti* (Paṇhāv. 111), *mailiḥa* (Vivāhap. 387), M. *mailei*, *maileṇṇi*, *mailanta*, *mailijjā* from *maīla* (black)¹; M. *lahuei* = *laghayaṇti* (G. 1148); M. *saccavaī* = *satyāpayati* (Hc. 4,181; Kī. 14 in DELIUS, Radices p. 11; the edition has at 4,66 false *sacchara*), *saccavia* (Pāṇal. 78; G.H.R.; Śak. 120,7); Ś. *saddāveī* = *śabdāpayāmi* (Mṛcch. 50,24), *saddāvesi* (Śak. 138,2); AMg. *saddāveī* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv. etc.); Ś. *saddāvedī* (Mṛcch. 54,8; 141,16), *saddāvehi* (Mṛcch. 54,5), *saddāvaissam* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *saddāvīdi* (Mṛcch. 150,17); JM. AMg. *saddāveṭṭā*, °*vittā*, *saddāvīya* (Erz.; Kappas. etc.), causative from *saddei* = *śabdoyati*; AMg. *sikkhāveī* (Nāyādh. 1421 f.), Ś. *sikkhāvehi* (Ratn. 293,17) from *sikkā*; Ś. *siddāvedī* (Uttarar. 121,7) from *śītala*; Ś. *sukkhāvānti* (Mṛcch. 71,4), Mg. *śuṣkāvaīssam* (Mṛcch. 133,15) from *śuṣka*; M. *suhāvesi*, °*vei*, °*veṇṇi* (G. H.), Ś. *suhāvedī* (Mallikām. 201,17) from *sukha*.

1. Cf. ZACHARIAE, GN. 1896, 265 ff., who traces *maīla* back to **mṛdila*. See also § 595 note 5.

VERBAL NOUNS.

a) PARTICIPLES.

§ 560. The present participle of the parasmaipada is formed from the present stem with the ending *-anta*, extended from the strong ending *-ant*, which is inflected according to the *a*-declension (§ 397. 473—514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in *-anti*: AMg. *asanti* = *asatyām* (Ovav. § 183), JM. *santi* (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning "chaste" M. *saī* (H.) = *saī*, "not chaste" *asaī* (H.) = *asati*; AMg. *ējantim* = **eyantim* (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), *viṇimuyantim* = *vinimuṇcantim* (Jiv. 542), *anuhōnti* = *anubhavanti* (Paṇnav. 137); M. *apāvanti* = *apṛāpnuvati* (H. 483); Ś. *huvanti*, *pekkhamti*, *gacchamti* (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14), *paśamsantio* = *praśamsantyaḥ* (Bālar. 289,2), *uddivanti*, *bhaṇanti*, *padhanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: *hasai* = **hasati* = *hasanti*; *vevai* = **vepati* = *vepamānā*.—Particip. fut. parasmaip. are: AMg. *āgamiṣsam* (nom. neuter and accus. masc.; Āyār. 1,3,3,3), *bhaviṣsam* = *bhaviṣyot* (Kappas. § 17), that may be derived also from *bhaviṣya*, as in JM. *bhaviṣsacakkavoffi* (Erz. 12,25) and Ś. *bhaviṣsakuffaṇi* (Viddhaś. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the parasmaipada has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present ātmanepada, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§ 473-514) mostly in *-māṇa* = Skt. *māna* (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the particip. pres. parasmaipada has, on the other hand, entirely receded back¹. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the parasmaipada. So e.g. *aḍamāṇe aḍai* (Vivāhap. 191); *phusaṇe phusaī* (Vivāhap.

354.355); *paccakkhāi paccakkhamāṇe* (Vivāhap.607); *haṇamāṇe haṇāi, saddahāi asaddahamāṇe, saṁvèllamāṇe saṁvèllei* (Vivāhap. 849 f. 1215. 1325); *pehaī, pehamāṇe* (Paṇṇav. 435); *vigīṇcamāṇe vigīṇcaī* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3); *pāsamāṇe pāsai, suṇamāṇe suṇai, mucchamāṇe mucchāi* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *āikkhamāṇā āikkhaha* (Ovav. § 59). As in Pāli in AMg. JM. too, from *as* (to be) is formed an ātmanepada present participle *samāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.; Thāṇ. 525.526; Vivāgas. 13.116.239; Paphāv. 67; Vivāhap. 263.271.1275.1388; Paṇṇav. 436; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Sagara 4,9; Āv. 29,16;35,25 etc.).—*emāṇa*=*pravisaṇ* (Deśin.1,144) is=*ayamāṇa*, AMg. *ṣjjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 81.215.261; Vivāgas.229; Nāyādh.487.491.514.575.758.760 etc.; Vivāhap.1207)=*eyamāṇa*; cf. *ṣjjantiṃ* § 560.—To the precative belongs *hojjamāṇa* (§ 466).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,432.

§ 562. The ātmanepada participle has the same ending in the future: AMg. *esamāṇā* (Thāṇ. 178), in the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), intensive (§ 556), the denominatives (§ 557-559). In the passive partly the ending of the parasmaipada is used, particularly in Ś. Mg., partly that of the ātmanepada, especially in AMg. (§ 535-548).—In place of *-māṇa*, sometimes in AMg. is found *-miṇa*: *āgamamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 1,7,4,1; 1,7,6,2; 1,7,7,1); *samaṇujāṇamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3); *ādhāyamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4.5); *anādhāyamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2); *apariggahamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,1); *amamāyamiṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,3,2); *āsāemiṇa*=*āsvādayamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,2); *anāsāyamiṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,4); *nikāmamiṇa* (Sūyag. 405); *bhisamiṇa* (Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481.493 [commentary °mā°; cf. 541 *bhisamāṇi*]), *bhibbhisamiṇa* (§ 556). The form that is found also in the inscriptions of Aśoka¹ is almost restricted to Āyār., and in many cases has the v.l. *-māṇa*. Cf. § 110.—Very seldom is the ending *-āṇa*=Skt. *-āna*: AMg. *buṇḍabujāṇā*=*bruvanto*, 'bruvantaś ca (Sūyag. 334). *vihammāṇa* stands for *vihammamāṇa*=*vighnaṇ* (Uttar. 787), in case one does not like to equate it as = **vihammāṇa* (cf. § 540.550), *vakkamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 46-50) for *vakkamamāṇa*, as e. g. at Kappas. § 74. 76.77 stands; the v.l., however, has there also under § 74. 76 *vakkamāṇa*. For *-aṇa* M. has *-iṇa* in *melīṇa* (H. 702) from *melai* from *mil* (§ 486). Cf. Skt. *āsina*, as also Pkt. has.

1. BÜHLER, ZDMG. 46, 72, whose explanation, however, is incorrect. See § 110.

§ 563. The feminine has the ending *-māṇā* according to Vr. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 *-māṇi*. In AMg. the ending throughout is *-māṇi*: *samāṇi, saṁlavamāṇi, āhāremāṇi, abhisiccāmāṇi, uddhuvamāṇiṇiṃ* (Kappas.); *bhuñjamāṇi, āsāemāṇi, uvadamsemāṇi*, (Uvās.); *paccapubhavamāṇi, parihāyāmāṇi, uddhuvamāṇiṇiṃ* (Ovav.); *visaṭṭamāṇiṃ* (Thāṇ. 312); *royamāṇi* (Vivāgas. 84; Vivāhap. 807); *suṇamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 116), *dehamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 794.795); *viṇimujamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 822); *ṣjjamāṇi* (Nirayāv. 59); *duruhāmāṇi* (Dasav. 620,33); *jāgaramāṇi* (Vivāhap. 116); *paḍijāgaramāṇi* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇi, dijjamāṇiṃ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇi* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamāṇi, dijjamāṇiṃ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārijjamāṇi, thukkārijjamāṇi* (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in JM.: *samāṇi* (Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false °ṇā 53,5); *karemmāṇi, pehamāṇi* (Āv. 11,14; 17,10); *paḍicchamāṇi, jhāyamāṇi, paloemāṇi, kupamāṇi, khannamāṇi, nivaḍamāṇi, ruṇamāṇi* (Erz. 8,14; 11,19; 17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), *karemmāṇi* (Dvār. 503,30). From M. WEBER has in H.: *pasūmamāṇā* (123), *bhaṇṇamāṇā* (145), *jampamāṇā* (198), *majjamāṇā* (246), *veamāṇā* (312), but *jampamāṇi* (389). The recension R has only at 198 °ṇā, otherwise throughout °ṇi, also at 145, where it reads *bhaṇṇamāṇi*, the recension of Bhuvanapāla (IS.16,1 ff.), throughout has °ṇi, °ṇi, as also mostly S and T. i is not merely a characteristic for R¹ and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jaina recensions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with JM. AMg. for M. i, not ā,

will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the femin. always ends in -ā: *ṇivattamāṇā*, *vattamāṇā*, °*ṇā* (Vikr. 5,11; 35,11,12); *apaḍivajjamāṇā* (Vikr. 52,14); *aḥibhūaamāṇā*, *āḥiāmāṇā*, *aḥināṇāmāṇā* (Śak. 16,10; 17,12; 79,10); *bādhāmāṇā* (Vikr. 28,1); *aṇuṇāmāṇā* (Mṛch. 23,23, 25); *siccamāṇā* (Mālatim. 121,2).—P: has *cintayamāṇī* (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla² p. xxix; cf. on H. 123.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes -ta and -na. Deviating from Skt. -ta in certain cases is added directly to the roots, in which in Skt. it comes after the i-stem: *ohaṭṭha* (ridiculed; Deśin. 1,153) = **apahasta* = *apahasita* (§ 155); *khuṭṭa* (torn; Deśin. 2,74; cf. § 568); *laṭṭha* (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśin. 7,26) = **laṣṭa* = *laṣita*. In AMg. the word is *lādha* according to § 66.304 (Āyār. 2,3,1, 8; Sūyag. 401; Uttar. 76.453.454); explained by the commentators as *sādhu*, *sādhvanuṣṭhāne tatpara*, *sadanuṣṭhānatayā pradhāna*, etc. Cf. also Skt. *rāḍhā* M. *vuttha* (Pāṇal. 225; R. 11,88. 90), *uvuttha* (G. 538), *paṭṭha* (H. R.); JM. *pavuttha* (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), *paṭṭha* (Erz.); M. *paḍiuttha* (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read *pariuttha* (Deśin. 6,13) or *pariuvuttha* (G. 540) from *vas* (to live) = **vasta* with secondary transition of a to u (§ 104. 303). Beside them is found the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G. 484. 933) and from the present stem M. *vasia* (Pāṇal. 225; G. H.), *uvvasia*, *pavasia* (H.), Ś. *uvavasida* (Mṛch. 54,16).—M. *ṇiattha* = **nivasta* (Karp. 46,12) from *vas* (to dress), AMg. *paṇiyattha* = **pranivasta* (Ovav. § 38). JM. *niyatthiya* (Erz. 59,31) is *nivastrita*. Cf. § 337.—JM. *tuṭṭa* = *truṭita* (Erz. 71,28), A. *tuṭṭau* (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. *anālatta* = **anālāpta* (Uvās. § 58); JM. *samlatta* (Erz.).—A. *tinta* = *timita* (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. *guttha* = **guphta* = *guphita* (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10)¹. *grah* adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the -i and not to the -ī stem (Hc. 1,101); M. *gahia* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) JM. *gahiya* (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. *gahiya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.); JŚ. Ś. *gahida* (Pav. 389,1; Mṛch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5) and *gihida* (Mṛch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have *gahida* and *gihida*, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: *tavia* (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. *samtappida* (Mṛch. 7,18; 8,16) according to the class 4 and the common *tatta* = *tapta*; AMg. *tasiya* beside *tattha* = *trasta* (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. *janida* = *jāta* (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛch. 28,8); M. *asahia* = *asoḍha* (G.); AMg. *jaṭṭha* = *iṣṭa* (offered; Uttar. 753); A. *jiṇia* (§ 473); Ś. *aṇubhāvīda* (Karp. 33,6) = *anubhūta*; M. *vāharia* = *vyāhṛta* (Śak. 88,1); M. *osaria* = *avasṛta* (G. H. R.), *samosaria* (G. H.); AMg. JM. *samosariya* = *samavasṛta* (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirayāv. Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. *niṣṭalidaṣṣa* = *niṣṭṛtasya* (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. *sumarida*, Mg. *sumalida* = *smṛta*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JM. *vissariya*, JŚ. *vīsarida*, Ś. *visumarida* = *vismṛta* (§ 478); Mg. *gāida* (Mṛch. 117,4); Ś. *niṣṭhāida* (Mṛch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); JM. *acchiya* from *ṛ* (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. *icchia* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *icchiya* (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.); Ś. *icchida* (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. JM. *paḍicchiya* (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161.946; Āv. 39,6); Ś. *paḍicchida* (Mṛch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatim. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to *iṣ*, not to *ips* (§ 328); *jigghia* = *ghṛāta* (Deśin. 3,46); Ś.

anucittihida (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15; Mālav. 45,14;70,3; Mud. r. 266,3); M. *pucchia* (H.), JM. *pucchija* (Erz.; Sagar.2,8), *Ś. pucchida* (Mṛcch. 28,21; Mālav. 6,10), beside AMg. *puṭṭha* (Uttar. 31. 113); *Ś. niphuvīda* (Śak. 137,6); M. *pacchia*, *panaccia* from *nṛt* (H.); AMg. *paḍiyāikkhiya* (Kappas.; Ovav. § 86) beside *paccakkhā*=*pratyākhyāta* (Ovav. § 87); AMg. *buiya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; 1,8,2,1; Uttar. 509)=**bruvita*, *ahābuiya*=**yathābruvita* (Sūyag. 531) from the present stem *bruva*-(§494); *duhia*=*dugdha* (Deśin. 1,7); A. *haṇia*=*hata* (Piṅgala 1,85. 146^a) beside *hatta* (§ 194); *Ś. ācakkhida* (§ 499); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. ādhatta* (Pāiṇal. 240; Hc. 2,138; G. H.; R. s. v. *rabh*; Thāp. 511; Vivāhap. 34,433; Paṇḍav. 540; Rāyap. 78; Erz.; Dvār. 496,13; 498,14. 37; Sagara 4,5; 7,11; T. 6,20; 7,3. 15; Āv. 12,24; 44,2; Mallikāma. 223,12; 252,13); M. *samādhatta* (H.); M. JM. *Ś. viḍhatta* (Hc. 4,258; G.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch.2,23; Anarghar. 275,7;290,2), A. *viḍhattāu* (Hc. 4,422,4) from the stem *dadh-* from *dhā*=**dhatta* for *hita*, in case one does not like to drag it to the causative (§ 286). Cf. § 223. **dhatta* perhaps in AMg. sticks to *nidhatta* (v. l. *nihatta*; Thāp. 496, explained by the commentator with *nikācīta* [sic], *nīcīta*; *jadha* (relinquished; Hc. 4,258), AMg. *viḍadha* (Uttar. 1045. 1047. 1052. 1055. 1058. 1066. 1071. 1074. 1077. 1095; Jiv. 236 f.), *vippajadha* (Āyār. 1,6,6,6; Nirayāv. § 16; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. 435. 442. 1167. 1444; Vivāhap. 454; Anug. 50. 596 [text here **ddha*]) from a root *jah* for **jādha*, with a short vowel according to § 67, deduced from the present *jahāi* (§ 500); AMg. also *vippajahiya* (Nāyādh. 1448); AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistrīta* (Erz.); *Ś. vicinīda*=*vicīta* (Mālatīm. 297,5); A. *pāvīa* (Hc. 4,387,1); A. *bhañjia* (Piṅgala 1,120^a); AMg. JM. *viuvviya* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 30,18) and *veuvviya* (Āyār. p.127,14; Dvār.507,28) from *viuvvai* (§508); cf. *vikurvita*; M. *jānia* (Hc. 4,7), *jānida* (Mṛcch. 27,21;28. 17. 24;29,14;82,15;148,23;166,9; Mudrār. 184,4; Viddhaś. 29,2), *anabhijānida* (Mṛcch. 153,2), *paccabhiñnida* (Uttarar.61,7; 62,7); Mg. *yānida* (Lalitav. 566,8); A. *jāniū* (Hc. 4,377; 423,1; Vikr. 55,1 [so to be read]). M. has *nāa* (R.), JM. *nāya* (Erz.; Kk.), *Ś.* in compounds usual *nāda*=Skt. *jñāta*, as *abbhaṇṇapāda* (Śak. 84,11; Vikr. 12,14; 29,13; 39,20; 46,3; 84,2; Mudrār. 46,8), *vinṇāda* (Mṛcch. 37,21; Śak. 73,5; 168,15; Vikr. 29,21;80,4; Mālav. 46,16;47,3), *avinṇāda* (Mālav. 34,7), *paḍiṇṇāda* (Mālav. 13,9;85,2); *Ś. kiṇida*, *vikkiṇida* from *kṛi* (§511).—On *ṇia*=*nīta* and *composita* see § 81, on *khāa*, *dhāa* § 165, on *āa* § 167, on *chūḍha* and *composita* § 166, on *uvīḍha* § 126, on **vutta*, **vūḍha* and *composita* § 337, on the participle AMg. Mg. in *-ḍa* § 219, on *ūsadha*, *nisadha*, *visadha*, *samosadha* § 67; on causative, desiderative, intensive, denominative § 551-559. The feminine ends in *-ā*, only in A. sometimes also in *-ī*, as *ruddhī*=*ruddhā*, *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭā* (Hc. 4,422,14; 431,1).

§ 566. The suffix *-na* is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension¹: *khāṇṇa* (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. JM. *khatta* (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)², AMg. *ukkhatta* (Vivāgas. 214). M. *ukkhāa* (H.), *ukkhāa* (G. R.), *samukkhāa* (H.); cf. Vr. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JM. *khāya* (Erz.) and *khāṇiya* (Erz.), *ukkhāya* (Erz.); *Ś. ukkhaṇida* (Uttarar. 100,7; so to be read).—M. *Ś. cukka* from **cukna* (Pāiṇal. 191; H. R.; Viddhaś. 63,1) from *cukkaī* (Hc. 4,177), *Ś. cukkadi* (Viddhaś. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages³ and stands as *cukk* in Dhātupāṭha too⁴.—M. *chikka* (touched; Pāiṇal. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R])=**chikna* from **chik*, a guttural side-form from **chīp*, *chivai*⁵.—M. JM. AMg. *ḍakka* (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. *daś*; Erz.; Paṇḍav.65.537; Thāp.431)=**daḥṇa*, also in the sense of “sized

with teeth" Deśin. 4,6). — *diṇṇa*, JM. AMg. also *dinna*, from **didna* with the old reduplication vowel *i*⁸, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāiyāl. 184); M. (G.H.R.); JM. (KI. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. (Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.); JS. (Kattig. 402.363.364.366); Ś. (e.g. Mṛch. 37,8;44,3;51,23; Śak. 59,7;159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn.291,1); Mg. (Mṛch.113,20;117,7;126,7; Śak.113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. *dā*). Hc. 1,46 teaches also *datta*, that stands at PG. 7,48 as *dotā* = *dattā*, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as *dattajasa* (PG. 6,21), *devadatto* (Hc. 1,46), Ś. *somadatto* (Vikr. 7,2)⁷. — M. *budda*, *ābudda*, *ṇibudda* (H. 37; so to be read), *ṇibibudda* (G. 490) from *brud*, *vruḍ*, with the denominatives *buddāi*, *āuddāi*, *ṇiuddāi* (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68). — Ś. *bhulla* for **bhulna* (Karp. 113,1) from which *bhullai*, occurring in the new Indian languages⁸ (Hc.4,177). — M. *ummilla* (G. H. R.), *ṇimilla* (G. R.), *oṇimilla* (R.) = **milna* from *mil*. — *mukka* from **mukna* from *muc*, very frequent in the main dialects (Hc. 2,2); M. *mukka*, *ova*⁹, *ā*⁹, *ummukka*, *pa*⁹, *paḍi*⁹, *ṇari*⁹ (G. H. R.); JM. *mukka* (Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Kk.), *āmukka* (Āv. 38,12), *pa*⁹, *ṇari*⁹, (Erz.), *vi*⁹ (Erz.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *mukka* (Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas.), *ummukka* (Pāṇav. 136; Uttar. 1037), *ṇimukka* (Uttar. 755), *vippamukka* (Vivāhap. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [*a*⁹]; Uttar. 1; Pāṇav. 134. 483), *vimukka* (Pāṇav. 134. 136. 137. 848); Ś. *mukka* (Mṛch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9;202,16; 204,19 etc.), *ṭamukka* (Bālar. 246,13; Uttarar. 84,2), *vimukka* (Bālar. 170,14;203,14;210,2; Pras. 35,2; Venṣ. 62,7;63,11.12;65,8;66,9); Mg. *mukka* (Mṛch. 29,19. 20; 31,23. 25; 32,5; 136,16;168,4; Prab. 50,14; 56,10); Dh. *mukka* (Mṛch. 31,24;32,1); A. *mukkāhā* (Hc. 4,370,1). Hc. 2,12 mentions also *mutta*, that falsely occurs in Ś. *paṇmutta* (Uttarar.20,12). *muktā* (pearl) always becomes *muttā* and *mauktika* always *mōttia*⁹; cf. Ś. *mukka-mōttia* (Bālar. 195,9). — *ragga* (Hc. 2,10) = **ragga* = Skt. *rakta*; thereform *ragga* (dress coloured in saffron; Pāiyāl. 261; Deśin.7,3); found in the text is only *ratta*: M. JM. Ś. (H.; Erz.; Mṛch. 71,3; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11); M. *latta* (Mṛch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6). — M. *rikka* = **rikṇa* from *ric* (Pāiyāl. 218; Deśin. 7,6) = "a little" (H.), *āriikka* (H.), *paṇriikka*, *pavirikka* = *pravirikka* (G. H. R.); M. JM. *virikka* (G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz.), according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings "wide", "exclusive"; *aṇarikka*, *avarikka* (deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin.1,20); beside it M. *ritta* = *rikta* (Pāiyāl. 218; H.), *āritta* (R. 14,51; v. l. **rikka*). — M. *runṇa* (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H. R.), *oruṇṇa*, *ṇaruṇṇa* (R.), but Ś. *rudida* (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttarar. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrtas. 11,12). — M. JM. AMg. Ś. *lukka* (torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted; concealed) = **lukna*, from *luṇe*¹⁰ (Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viddhaś. 27,4); *ullukka* (Deśin. 1,92); M. Ś. *ṇilukka* (H. R.; Viddhaś. 51,7), JM. *nilukka* (Āv. 23,14) with the denominatives *lukkaṇi*, *ullukkaṇi*, *nilukkaṇi* (Hc. 4,55. 116), JM. *nilukkanteḥim*, *nilukkanto*, (Āv. 23,17. 19). — M. *lhikka* (concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G.) beside **likka* = **likna* (§ 210), form which the denominatives *lhikkaṇi*, *likkaṇi* (Hc. 4,55). — M. *sikka* = **sikna* from *sic* (Kappas. 14,4) beside the usual *sitta* = *sikta*. — *sakka* = **svaṣṭṭṇa*¹¹ "in *osakka* (gone away; Pāiyāl. 178; Deśin. 1,149) beside M. *ṇarisakkia* (H. 608). — AMg. *sōlla* = *sūd* + *na* = *sūḍita*, *sōllaya* (§ 244). — On *juṇṇa* and *composita* see § 58, on *ṇumaṇṇa* § 118, on *uṇvella* § 107, on *hūṇa* and *composita* § 120. The feminine ends in *-ā*, in A. only sometimes in *-i*, as *diṇṇi* (Hc. 4,401,3).

1. On further extension of the suffix *-na* in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 8, note 2; JOHANSSON, *Shāhībāzgarhi* 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by

JOHANSSON, all the etymologies of S. GOLDSCHMIDT, that come here into consideration, are false, likewise those of P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,520 ff. Cf. also FISCHEL, BB. 6, 85 f.—2. Falsely equated as = *khātra* by JACOBI, Erz. s. v; see § 90. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 4. WEBER on Hāla 465. — 5. Not correct—WEBER, on Hāla 481. — 6. FISCHEL, BB. 15,126. — 7. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,46. — 8. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 9. STENZLER on Mřech. 29,20; FISCHEL on Hc. 2,2. Cf. § 61^a. — 10. False WEBER on Hāla 49. — 11. WEBER on Hāla 608.

§ 567. *i* with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the 1. class: M. *palāaha* (R. 15,8; so to be read with C), *palāanta-* (G. H.), *palā-iaava* (R. 14,12; so to be read with the v.l.), *vivalāāi*, *vivalāanti*, *vivalāanta-*, *vivalāamāna* (G. H. R.); JM. *palāyāi* (Āv. 19,22; Erz.), *palāyamāna* (Āv. 18,1; Erz.), *palāyasa* (Erz. 9,37), *palāium* (Āv. 19,16); Ś. *palāidugāma* (Mallikām. 225,11); Mg. *palāsi* (Mřech. 9,23; 11,7; 132,3), imp. *palā mha* (Caṇḍak. 73,2), particip. pres. *palāanti* (Mřech. 16,22), absolutive *paalāia*, fut. *palāikām* (Mřech. 120,13; 171,15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in *-ai* and in *-ā* (§ 479. 487): Mg. *palāmi* (Mřech. 22,10), *palāsi* (Mřech. 11,21); Dh. *palāsi* (Mřech. 30,7); M. *vivalāi* (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. *palāia* (H. R.), Ś. *palāida* (Vikr. 46,5), Mg. *palāida* (Mřech. 12,19) = Skt. *palāyita* is formed, from a contracted stem *palā*, also a present past passive participle M. *palāa* = **palāta*, *vivalāa* = **vipalāta* (R.), JM. *palāya* (Āv. 23,15; 32,5; Erz.), to which belongs also *palāa* (thief; Deśin. 6,8). Cf. § 129. 243. In JM. the participle has also the suffix *-na*: *palāna* (Erz.), for *ā* of which there appears *i* in Dh. in *paḥaliṇu* = *praḥpalāyita* (Mřech. 29,15; 30,1), as in the pres. participle in *-miṇa*, *-iṇa* (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with *-ta*, which in Skt. have only *-na*: M. *khudā* (Hc. 1,53; G. H. R.), Ś. *khudāda* (Mřech. 162,7; Anarghar. 157,9; Uttarar. 11,10 [so to be read]) = **ksudita* = Skt. *ksuṇṇa*¹; M. *ukkhudā* (H. R.); also *khuffa* (broken into pieces; Deśin. 2,74), beside JM. *khunna*, M. *khunna* (Pāṭiyā. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong *khunna* (wrapped round; Deśin. 2,75) and Ā. *khudāda* (run away; Mřech. 100,12)². — *chaā* (covered; Hc. 2,17; Triv. 1,4,22) = **chadita*, equated by grammarians as = *sthaḡita*³, beside the usual *channa* = Skt. *channa*. — *viddā* (Hc. 1,107), JM. *viddāya* (Āv. 17,32) = **vidrāta* = Skt. *vidrāpa*. — AMg. *amilāya* (Kappas. § 102) = **amlāta* = Skt. *amlāna*. — M. *lua* (Hc. 4,258; Deśin. 7,23; R.) = **lāta* = Skt. *lāna*.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125 f.—2. STENZLER on Mřech. 100,12 p. 288.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125.

§ 569. A parasmaipada past participle is found in AMg. *puṭṭhavaṇ* = *sprṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: Ś. *kidavanto* [sic], *sudavandena* [sic], *bhuttavanteṇa*, *uttavanto* (Jivān. 40,26; 42,15; 53,11; 87,3); *bhapidavanto*, *gadidavanto*, *calidavanto* (Cait. 38,13; 128,5; 130,18); *peḥkkhidavanto* [text *peḥssi*], *āadavanto*, *adivāhidavando* [sic], *aṇubhādavando* [sic] (Mallikām. 155,18; 209,1; 222,12); *sampādāvanto* [sic], *pesidavanto* (Adbhutad. 58,10; 119,25); Mg. *gadidavanto* [sic], *gilavante* (Cait. 150,5. 6); femin. Ś. *paḍicchidavadi* (Viddhaś. 43,6); *ṇidavadi* (Mallikām. 259,3).

§ 570. The particip. necessitatis in *-tava* is not seldom built from the present stem: *hasevava*, *hasiava* = *hasitavya* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39); AMg. JM. *hojāva* = *bhavitavya* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *hodava*, JŚ. Ś. also *bhavidava*, Mg. also *huvidava* (§ 475. 476); JM. *acchiyava* (Dvār. 500,9; 501,8); Ś. *avagacchidava* (Mřech. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyava* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avagacchidava* (Mřech. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyava* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *anuciṭṭhidava* (Mudrār. 50,4); AMg. *pucchiyava* = *praṣṭavya* (Sūyag. 986. 989. 992), *puccheyava* (Kappas.), Ś. *pucchidava* (Śak. 50,5; Hāsy. 27,13); AMg.

vigiñciyavva from *vikrt* (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); *M. rūsiavva* (H.); *AMg. pāsiyavva* from *paś* (Paṇṇav. 667; Kappas.); *Ś. saṁtappidavva* (Mṛcch. 94,3), *ṇaccidavva* (Priyad. 19,11. 12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); *AMg. paritāveṇyavva* = *paritāpayitavya*, *uddaveṇyavva* = *uddrāvayitavya* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), *dameṇyavva* = *damayitavya* (Uttar. 19); *Ś. sumarāidavva* (Priyad. 14,7); *Ś. āsīdavva* (Priyad. 14,3); *JM. soṇyavva* = *soṇṭavya* (Āv. 39,16), *Ś. suvidavva* = *suidavva* (Mṛcch. 90,20; Śak. 29,7); *Ś. dāḍavva* (Cait. 84,6. 13; Jivān. 43,12. 15; Priyad. 10,23), *suṇidavva* (Mudrār. 227,6) beside *sodavva* (Śak. 121,10), *M. soavva* (R. 2,10), *JM. soṇyavva* (Āv. 33,19) from *śru*; *AMg. bhindiyavva* (Paṇḥav. 363. 537); *AMg. bhuñjiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), beside *bhoṭṭavva* (Hc. 4,212; Ki. 4,78); *AMg. jāñiyavva* (Paṇṇav. 666; Kappas.), *parijāñiyavva* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); *Ś. jāñidavva* (Priyad. 24,16); *Mg. yāñidavva* (Lalitav. 565,7); *JŚ. ṇāḍavva* (Kattig. 401,352; text °ja°); *JŚ. muṇḍavva* (Pav. 380,8; text °ja°); *Ś. geṇḍidavva* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst *ghēṭṭavva* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), *AMg. parighēṭṭavva* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699. 783. 789), *ogheṭṭavva* (Kappas.) belong to *ghṛp (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 *vac* forms the particip. nec. *voṭṭavva*, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never *voṭṭum*, but always *vattum* (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāviḍian recension 630,14 ed. PISCHEL = 39,4 ed. PAṆDIT, *vattavva*, as stands also at Mṛcch. 153,15 and JM. *AMg.* have (Erz.; Sūyag. 994. 996; Vivāhap. 139. 204; Kappas.; Ovav.). *voṭṭavva* is to be assigned to M. — From *rud* is built *roṭṭavva* according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. *M. roiaeva* is found in the text (H.). From *kr* are built the forms *M. kāavva* (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), *AMg. JM. kāyavva* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), *JŚ. Ś. kāḍavva* (Pav. 386,11 [text °ja°]; Lalitav. 554,6; Mṛcch. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). *Mg. kāḍavva* (Mṛcch. 161,7) = *kartavya* (§ 62). From *muc* Hc. 4,212 teaches *mōṭṭavva* = *mokṭavya*. — In A. the endings are -iēvvaū, -ēvvaū -evā; kariēvvaū = *kartavyam*; mariēvvaū = *martavyam*; saḥēvvaū = *soḍḥavyam*; soevā = *soṇṭavyam*; jaggeevā = *jāgartavyam* (Hc. 4,438; cf. Ki. 5,52). -ēvva is to be considered as the basic form, to which goes back -evā, from which the extended formation is -ēvvaū, with the suffix -ka, nom. acc. neut. -kam. -ēvva is = Skt. -eyya, with transition of *ya* into *va* certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic *stusēyya*, perhaps also *śapathēyyā*; cf. *didṛkṣēya*. According to Ki. 5,55 -evvaūm is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. -aniya appears in M. JM. *AMg.* as -añijja, in Ś. Mg. as -añia, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); *AMg. pūṇyāñijja* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *Ś. D. pūṇia* (Mṛcch. 28,7; 101,13); *AMg. vandañijja* (Uvās.; Kappas.), *Ś. vandañia* (Mṛcch. 66,17); *M. AMg. JM. karañijja* (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 2,4,2,5; Erz.), *Ś. karañia* (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false *karañijja* (Śak. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct *karañia* *JM. sārakkhañijja* (Āv. 28,16. 17) = *saṁrakṣaṇia*, *Ś. rakṣhañia* (Śak. 74,8); *AMg. darisañijja* (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), *daṁsañijja* (Uvās.; Ovav.), *Ś. daṁsañia* (Śak. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in *AMg.* in Āyār. 2,4,2,2 *darisañijjam*, immediately beside *darisāñie* (sic; ed. Calc. correct °sa°) and in § 4 *darisañijjam*, Sūyag. 565 *darisañijja* [sic], *JM. daṁsañio* (Erz. 60,17), *M. dūsaṇio* (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. Mg. very often the forms in -ijja, as *Mg. palihalañijja* (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly *palihalañia*, as in Ś. *pariharañia* (Śak. 52,15). In Mālav. the manuscripts waver (BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem

are built AMg. *vippajahañijja* (Nāyādh. § 138) and Ś. *pucchañia* (Mṛcch. 142,6).

§ 572. *-ya* is employed essentially as in Skt.: *kajja*, Mg. *kayya* = *kārya* in all the dialects very frequently; JM. *dullañgha* = *durlaṅghya* (Sagara 3,16); *dujjha* = *dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); JS. *neṇa*, JM. *neṇa* = *jñeya* (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. *peṇja* = *peya* (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), *kāyapijja* = *kākaṇḍiya* (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst *piḍḍha* (water; Deśin. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,1,30) = **piḍḍha* is derived from the present stem *piḍ-*; AMg. *bhava* = *bhānya* (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. *ānappa*, *vinnaṇḍa* = *ājñāpya*, *utjāṇḍa* (Sūyag. 253. 256); AMg. *vacca* = *vācya* (Sūyag. 553 ff.); AMg. *voṇḍha* from **vahya* = *vāhya* (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. Ś. *geṇḍha* (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. *hatthaggeṇḍha* = *hastagrāhya* (R. 10,43), M. *duggeṇḍha* (R. 1,3; Sāhityadarpaṇa 332,13 = Kāvyaaprakāśa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of *duḥkham jam* of the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatik. 155,3 [text °*jjam*]; Acyutaś. 62 [text °*gga*]), Ś. *anuggeṇḍha* (Mṛcch. 24,21), Mg. *duggeṇḍha* (Caṇḍak. 42,8; text *duggeṇḍha*, v. l. *duggea*), A. *duggeṇḍha* (Erz. 76,19) = **grhya* from the present stem *grha-* (§ 512).

b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in *-tum* is distinguished from that of Skt. inasmuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in *i*. So to the present stem: JM. *gāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *gāidum* = *gātum* (Mudrār. 43,2); Ś. *gacchidum* (Śak. 62,11), *anugacchidum* (Mudrār. 261,2) beside *gamidum* (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and *gantum*, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. *piṇitum* (Āv. 42,8) beside *pāitum* (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,3,7), M. (H. R.) and Ś. *pāidum* (Śak. 105, 14) have; Ś. *apucistidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19) beside *thāidum* (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. *utthidum* (Āv. 33,14); Mg. *khāidum* (Mṛcch. 123,7) from **khādi* from **khādi* = *khādati*, beside JM. *khāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *khāidum* (Vikr. 25,19); JM. *niḥāitum* = *nikhātum* from *khan* (Erz. 66,2); *hasitum* (Hc. 3,157) from the *e*-stem beside *hasitum*; M. *pucchidum* (Sarasvatik. 14,17), Ś. *pucchidum* (Mṛcch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4. 17), Mg. *puṣcidum* (Caṇḍak. 42,9) = *praṣtum*; M. *paḍimuttidum* (R. 14,2) beside *mōttum* = *mōktum* (Hc. 4,212) = *pacitum* (H.); M. *rūseum* (H.), at the same time according to the *e*-conjugation. On the inf. of *bhū* see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10. class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add *-tum* to the present stem in *-e*, *-ve*: M. *jāṇāveum*, *niṇvāheum* = *nirvāhayitum*, *pasāceum* = *prasādayitum*, *laṅgheum* = *laṅghayitum* (H.); AMg. *vāreum* = *vārayitum* (Sūyag. 178); *parikaheum* = *parikāhayitum* (Ovav. § 183); *paribhāeum* = *paribhājayitum* (Nāyādh. § 124); JS. *cāledum* = *cālayitum* (Kattig. 400,322); Ś. *kāmedum* = *kāmayitum* (Mālav. 235,3), *kāredum* (Mudrār. 46,9), *dhāredum* (Mṛcch. 166,14; 326,12), *daṇṇsedum* = *daṇṇsayitum* (Mudrār. 81,4); Mg. *aṅgikalāvedum*, *soṭāvedum*, *soḍhāvedum*, *poṭṭāvedum*, *luṇāvedum* (Mṛcch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: Ś. *niattāidum* = *nivartayitum* (Vikr. 46,17), *tāḍāidum* (Mālav. 44,16), *sabbhājāidum* (Śak. 98,8), *sussāsaīdum* (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. *mālaīdum* (Mṛcch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the *a*-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. *dhārium* (H.), Ś. *dhāridum* (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); Ś. *māridum* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 146,8), Mg. *mālidum* (Mṛcch. 170,2) beside *māledum* (Mṛcch. 158,24), JM. *māreum* (Erz. 1,25); M. *vaṇṇium* = *varṇayitum*, *veārium* = *vitārayitum* (H.); AMg. *saṇḍoedum* (Āyār. p. 137,18); JM. *cintium*, *paḍibohium*, *vāhium* (Erz.); Ś. *kadhidum* (Śak. 101,

9; 144,12), *avatthāvidum* = *avasthāpayitum* (Uttarar. 112,9), *nivedidum* (Śak. 51,3); *Mg. paṣṭidum* = *prārthayitum* (Lalitav. 566,8).

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are : *pacceācakkhidum* = **pratyācāṣṭum* (Śak. 104,8); *Ś. avaciṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8) beside *M. ucceum* (H.); *JM. pāveum* = *prāptum* (Erz.); *Ś. suṇidum* (Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venis. 99,6; Anarghar. 61,6; 110,4), beside *M. AMg. JM. soum* (H. ; Āyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576); *Ś. bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21) beside *M. AMg. bhōttum* = *bhoktum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Kī. 4,78; Nāyādh. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16); *AMg. ubbhindum* (Dasav. 620,15) beside *bhēttum* (Dasav. 634,9); *Ś. jāṇidum* (Lalitav. 567,18; Śak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22) beside *JM. nām* (Erz. ; as absol. § 576), *Ś. viñṇādum* (Vikr. 24,13); *AMg. giñhiūm* (Nirayāv. § 20; as absol. § 576), *JM. geñhiūm* (Erz.), *Ś. geñhidum* (Mṛcch. 94,12) beside *M. gahiūm* (H.), whilst *M. ghēttum* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210; R.) belongs to **ghṛp* (§ 212); *Ś. aṇubandhidum* (Mālav. 6,18) beside *M. bandheum* (citation under Hc. 1,181).—From *rud* the inf. is *M. rōttum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Kī. 4,78; H.), but *Ś. rodidum* (Śak. 80,8); from *vid* according to Vr. 8,55 *vēttum*; from *vac* in *M. JM. AMg. vōttum* (Hc. 4,211; H. ; Erz. ; Dasav. N. 646,21), but in *Ś. vattum* (Śak. 22,2; 50,9; Vikr. 30,2; 47,1); *soap* forms in *M. sōttum*=*soaptum* (H.), in *JM. soum* (Dvār. 501,7) from **sotum* of *sovaī* (§ 497); *kṛ* has in *M. JM. AMg. kāum*=*kartum* (§ 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R. ; Erz. ; Āv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28), *M. paḍikūm* (H.); *Ś. kādum* (Lalitav. 561,13; Mṛcch. 59,25; Śak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venis. 12,6) and *karidum* (Śak. 144,12); *Mg. kādum* (Mṛcch. 123,7).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the *i*-stem are formed : *M. JM. marium* = *martum* (H. ; Erz.), *Ś. maridum* (Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9); *JM. parihariūm* (Erz. 58,24), *Ś. viharidum* (Vikr. 52,6), beside *M. vāhattum* = *vyāhartum* (R. 11,116); *JM. samākarisiūm* = *samākraṣṭum* (Dvār. 498,31); *M. ukkhivium* = *utkṣeptum* (H.), *Ś. khividum* (Vikr. 25,16), *nikkhiividum* (Mṛcch. 24,22); *M. JM. dahiūm* (R. ; Erz.), *Ś. dahidum* (Śak. 72,12) = *dagdhum*; *JM. saṁdhiūm* = *saṁdhātum* from the present **saṁdhai* (§ 500), *Ś. aṇusaṁdhidum* (Mṛcch. 5,4); *Ś. ramidum* = *rantum*, *ahiramidum* = *abhirantum* (Mṛcch. 28,4; 75,2).

§ 576. In *AMg.* the form in *-tum* is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned : *jivium* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1); *adaṭṭhum*, *agghaum*, *aṇāsāum* (Āyār. p. 136,22,31; p. 137,7); *aṇusāsium* (Sūyag. 59); *dām* = *dātum* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyādh. § 124); *anuppadām*=*anupradātum* (Uvās. § 58) = *JŚ. dādum* (Kattig. 403,380; text *dām*); *bhāsium* = *bhāsitum*, *pavium* = *plavitum* (Sūyag. 476. 531. 508). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive : *ujjhium* in the sense of *ujjhitoā* (Sūyag. 676); *tariūm* (Sūyag. 950); *gantum* (Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11,12; Kappas. S. § 10); *daṭṭhum*=*draṣṭum* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150); *niddēṭṭhum* = *nirdeṣṭum* (Dasav. N. 643,38); *laddhum* = *labdhum* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289,550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26; 636,20); *bhittum* = *bhēttum* (Kappas. § 40); *kāum* = *kartum* (Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34), *puraokāum* (Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46. 48; Ovav. § 25,126); *āhantum* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); *parigheṭtum* (Paṇḍāv. 489. 495), *gaheum* (Sūyag. 296). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to *AMg.*, but is used frequently in *JM.* too, more seldom in *M.* as absol.¹. Hc. teaches thus *daṭṭhum*, *mōttum* (2,146), *ramium* (3,136), *ghēttum* (4,210). Examples from *JM.* are: *gantum* (Āv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;

Kk. II, 508,18); *daṭṭhum* (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); *jñiurū* = *jetum* (Āv. 36,42); *kahiurū* = *kathayitum* (Erz. 7,11); *kaḍḍheurū* (Erz. 74,30); *ṭhaviurū* = *sthāpayitum* (Erz. 7,5); *viheurū* = *vidhātum* (Kk. s. v.); *sourū* = *śrotum* (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); *kāurū* (Āv. 7,17); *nāurū* = *jñātum* (Erz. 12,11); *gheṭṭurū* = **ghṛptum* (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: *palivurū* = *pradīpayitum*; *bhaṇurū*; *bharurū*, *moṭṭurū*; *valurū*; *lahurū*; *pāvurū* (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); *jāṇurū* = *jñātum* (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in *-ūna* (§ 586), therefore, *kāurū* can be traced back to *kāṇa*, with dropping off of the *a*, as in A. *puttem* = *putreṇa*. The similar change of meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolute, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433; H.¹ p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in *-tu* before *kāma* and *manas*: AMg. *akkhivukāma* = *ākṣeptukāma*; *giṇhiukāma* = *grahitukāma*, *uddāleukāma* = *uddālayitukāma* (Nirayāv. § 19), *jivukāma* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), *vāsiukāma* = *varṣitukāma* (Thāp. 155), *pāukāma* (from *pā* "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), *jāṇiukāma*, *pāsiukāma* (Paṇṇav. 666. 667), *samṭāvukāma* (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. *padibohiukāma* = *pratibodhayitukāma* (Erz. 3,37), *kaḍḍhiukāma* (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. *jividukāma* (Mudrār. 233,3), *vattukāma*, *ālikhidukāma* (Śak. 130,11; 133,11), *viṇṇavidukāma* (Mahāv. 103,9), *sikkhidukāma* (Mrcch. 51,24), *paṃajjidukāma* = *pramārṣṭukāma* (Vikr. 38,18), *daṭṭhukāma* (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); *tāḍiṃmaṇā* = *tāḍayitumandh* (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix *-ka*: *ālēddhuam* = **ālegdhukam* = *ālegdhum* (§ 303; Hc. 1,24; 2,164); AMg. *aladdhuyam* = **alabdhukam*, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in *-ṭṭu*, *-ittu*, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. *-tvā*, which regularly appears as *-itā* (§ 582). So AMg.: *kaṭṭu* = *kartu*^o in the sense of *kṛtvā* (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2. 11,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21. 3,15. 16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.¹; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); *puraokaṭṭu* (Ovav.); *anakaṭṭu* = *apahartu*^o (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); *abhihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), *āhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; 1,7,2,1. 2. 3; 1,7,2,2; 1,8,2,12; 2,1,1,11; 2,1,2,4; 2,1,5,5. 6,4), *samāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 410), *appāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 582), *nīhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,6,2,2), *uddhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222. 243), *sāhaṭṭu* = *samhartu*^o (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhap. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. etc.); *adaṭṭhu* = *adraṣṭu*^o (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); *vandittu* (Kappas.); *caittu* = *tyaktu*^o (Uttar. 45. 411); *sahēttu* (Dasav. 614,27); *pavisittu* = *praveṣṭu*^o (Dasav. 631,5); *āittu* from *ādiṛiyate* (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = *ādāya*, *grhītvā*); *tarittu* = *toritu*^o, **khavittu* = *kṣapayitu*^o (Dasav. 636,3.4); *paṃajjittu* = *pramārṣṭu*^o (Dasav. 630,20); *viṇaṣṭu* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); *uvasaṃkamittu* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 3; 1,7,3,3); *viṇaṣṭu* from *viṇaṣai* from *kā* (§ 500; Āyār. 1,1,3,2); *suṇittu* = *śrotu*^o (Dasav. 642, 16); *durūhittu* (Sūyag. 293); *chindittu*, *bhuñjittu* (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); *jāṇittu* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 1,2,4,2; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34). — JM. *gantū* (Kk. II, 506,34); *kaḍḍhittu* (Erz. 10,38); *paṇamittu*, *ṭhavitū* = *sthāpayitu*^o, *vandittu* (Kk. 260,11; 268,4; 276,7); *uttarittu* (Kk. 506,25; 511,7); *jāṇittu*, *paṇadittu* = *prakaṭayitu*^o, *thunittu* = *stotu*^o (Kk. III, 514,16. 17. 20), *vinihittu* = *vinidhātu*^o (Erz. 72,23), almost exclusively in verses. The duplication of *t*, since in the inf. it goes back to AMg. *-ttae* = *-tave* (§ 478), can hardly be explained from dependence upon the absol. in *-itā*

= *-tvā*. Earlier the forms, in which reduplication must enter on phonetic grounds, such as *kaṣṭu*, *sāhaṣṭu*, had been of influence or there occurred a shifting of the accent. Cf. § 578.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433 f.

§ 578. In AMg. the most usual form of the inf. is that in *-itae*, *-ittae*. Infinitive like *pāyae* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1. 2; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovav. § 96) = Vedic *pātave* beside *pivittae* (Ovav. § 80. 98), *bho'ttae* (Āyār.; Nāyādh. l. c.; Ovav. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic **bho'ktave* beside *bhuñjittae* (Ovav. § 86), *vatthae* (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic *vdstave* [in AMg. however, from *vas* "to live"] make it certain that one has not to think with WEBER¹ about the Vedic absolutive in *-tvā*, but rather with E. MÜLLER² about the Vedic inf. in *-tave* occurring in Pāli and in the Lepa-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the *i-* and *i-* stems: *dvītave*, *cdritave*, *srāvītave*, *hdvītave*³. The duplication of *t* points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on *-tavi*, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMg. *itae* (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic *e'tavat*, likewise *pāyave* = *pātavat*; with *gamittae* is compared Vedic *yāmitavat*, with *piñidhattae* (Ovav. § 79) Vedic *dātavat*. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: *ho'ttae* (Kappas. S. § 53) beside *pāubbhavitae* (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from *bhū*; *viharittae* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); *sumarittae*, *sarittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 17. 20); *tarittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); *uttarittae* (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovav. § 96; *paricacāittae* (Uvās. § 95); *gacchittae* (Ovav. § 79), *āgacchittae* (Thāp. 155), *woāgacchittae* (Kappas.), beside *gamittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag.); *ciṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas.); beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1ff.; Kappas.); *nisiittae* from *sad* with *ni* (Vivāhap. 513); *anulimpittae* (Ovav. § 79); *pucchittae* (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); *pāsittae* (Nāyādh.); *kahāittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 6); *dāijjittae* from *dātaya-* (Kappas.; Thāp. 365); *pariṭṭhāvitae* (Kappas.); *abhisicāvitae* (Nirayāv.); *pūraittae* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *āghavitae* from *ākhyāpaya-* (Nāyādh.); *dhāritae* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 2,5,2,5); *dhāre'ttae* (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); *esittae* (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); *āsāittae*, *saittae* from *si* (Vivāhap. 513); *paḍisunē'ttae* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dhuñittae* (Sūyag. 139); *bhañjittae* (Uvās.); *bhindittae* (Vivāhap. 1228); *viuvittae* from *ky* with *vi* (Bhag.), beside *karittae*, *karē'ttae* (Ovav. § 79. 85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); *giñhittae*, *ge*^o (Bhag.; Nirayāv.; Ovav. § 86); *jāgarittae* (Kappas.).

1. Bhag. 1,434; *pavāittae* is a false reading. — 2. Beitrage p. 61. — 3. DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum § 203.

§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings *-ana*, *-anahā*, *-anahī*, *-vā*. Kī. 5,55 teaches *-vi*, *-ēppi*, *-ēppigu*, *-anam*, *-aūm*, *-ēvauūm*. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in *-ana* are clearly infinitively used nouns in *-ana*, from which *-anahā*, according to the form is the genitive plural, and *-anahī* the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: *ē'cchana* = *eṣṭum* from *iṣ* (to wish; Hc. 4,353); *karaṇa* = *kartum* (Hc. 4,441,1); also with the suffix *-ka* in *akkhaṇaū* = *ākhyātum*, properly = *ākhyānakam* (Hc. 4,350,1); *bhuñjanahā* and *bhuñjanahī* (Hc. 4,441,1); *lahanaṁ* (Kī. 5,55). — *evam* is found in *devam* = *dātum* (Hc. 4,441,1). It is clearly derived from the present stem *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474) with the ending *-vam*, which goes back to *-vana* = Vedic *-vane*, so that *devam* may correspond to Vedic *dāvāne*. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in *-tu* is *bhajjiu* (Hc. 4,395,5), which is derived from the present stem of *bhañj* in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case *bhañjiu* = *bhañjiu* is not read with one of the Pūṇā manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),

as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). KI. 5,55 has *lahaūm* [text *lahatūm*].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive¹: M. *disiūm* from *disai* = *dr̥syate* (R. 4,51; 8,30), *ghēppīūm* from *ghēppai* = **gh̥r̥pyate* (R. 7, 71), *āhammīūm* from *hammaī* from *han* (§ 540; R. 12,45); JM. *dijjiūm* from *dijjai* = *diyate* (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. *marijjiūm* from *mriyate* (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual *marīūm*, Ś. *maridūm* (§ 575). On A. *bhājjiū* see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

ABSOLUTE.

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in *-tvā*, and *-ya*, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. *-tvā* is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg. Dh. it is limited to the two absolutives *kadua* from *kṛ* and *gadua* from *gam*, which according to Vr. 12,10; KI. 5,74. 75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord¹. So Ś. *kadua* (Mṛcch. 72,6; 74,6. 9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11. 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18; 30,3). Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. *karia* and *karidūna*, *gacchia* and *gacchidūna* from which also *karia* and *gacchia* are found in bad texts², *karidūna*, which will belong to JŚ. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether *gacchia* and *karia* are not emended in composita: *āacchia* (Ratn. 308,30); *āgacchia* (Venīś. 35,21); *samāgacchia* (Mudrār. 44,5); *alamkaria* (Mṛcch. 150,13). However, we find also *āadua* (Cait. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); *āgadua* (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); *niggadua* (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15. 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So *kadua* (Mṛcch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dh. (Mṛcch. 36,22). At Mṛcch. 132,25 stands in Mg. *gacchia*, for which we should in any case read *gac̐cia* with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. *gaḍia*, which is to be equated as = **gatya*. All the MSS. of Hc. too have cerebralisation in 4,272. 302, according to which *kaḍua*, *gaḍua* would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach *kadua* and *gadua* it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to **kadduvā*, **gadduvā* with a separation vowel and weakening of the final *ā* (§ 113. 139). On *kāūna*, *āacchiūna*, *āgantūna* and others see § 584.

1. FISCHEL, KB. 6,140. — 2. FISCHEL, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has *gadua*.

§ 582. The suffix *-tvā*, Pkt. *-ttā*, after nasals *-iā*, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JŚ. too this form is frequent and in JM. not seldom¹. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. *vandittā* (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); *vasittā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); *caittā* = **tyajitvā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); *avakkamittā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); *gantā* = Pāli *gantvā* (Ovav. § 153) beside *āgamettā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), *anugacchittā* (Kappas.), *uvāgacchittā* (Vivāhap. 236²; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *niggacchittā*, *paḍiniggacchittā* (Nirayāv.); *vantā* = *vāntvā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); *bhavitā* (Vivāhap. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *jñittā* (Sūyag. 929); *uwanettā* = **upanitvā* (Suyag. 896); *pivittā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); *uṣhittā* (Nirayāv.), *abbhuṣhittā* (Kappas.);

pāsītā (Rāyap. 21; Sūyag. 734; Ovav. § 54, p. 59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); *nijjhāitā* = **nidhyātā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 2); *mujiitā* (Vivāhap. 508), *omuyiitā* (Kappas.) from *muc*; *āpucehittā* (Uvās.), *apāpucehittā* (Kappas.) from *pracch*; *lumpittā*, *vilumpittā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; cf. Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *anulimpittā* (Jiv. 610); *mantā* = *matvā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 3, 1, 3; Sūyag. 403. 493 [so to be read throughout]); *uttāsaitā* = **uttrāsaitā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3); *vicchaddāitā*, *vigovāitā*, *japañitā* (Ovav.); *āmante'ttā* (Sūyag. 578); *āphālittā* = **āspālayitvā* (Sūyag. 728); *pagappae'ttā* = **prakalpayitvā* (Sūyag. 935); *thave'ttā* = *sthāpayitvā* (Āyār. 2, 7, 1, 5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); *sikkhāve'ttā*, *seha-ve'ttā* = **śikṣāpayitvā*, **śaikṣā*; *saddāvittā* = *śabdāpayitvā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *anupālittā*, *nivesittā* (Kappas.); *ahittā* = **adhittā* = *adhitya* (Sūyag. 463); *vidittā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 2, 6, 2); *saṃthupittā* from *stu* (Jiv. 612); *hanā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6; Sūyag. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); *parihittā* (Sūyag. 239), *paripihē'ttā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 27), **hittā* (Kappas.), *padipihittā* (Sūyag. 728; text **pe*) from *dhā* with *pari*, and *pari*, *prati* + *pi*; *jahittā* (Uttar. 753); *vippajahittā* (Āyār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from *hā*; *hunittā* (Vivāhap. 910) from *hu* (to offer); *pāunittā* from *āp* with *pra* (Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235. 968. 969; Pannav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *suñittā* (Uvās.), *paḍisuñittā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *avidhūñittā* (Sūyag. 859); *che'ttā*, *bhe'ttā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *viuvoittā* (Bhag.; Kappas.) beside *karē'ttā*, *karittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *jāñittā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 1. 3, 1. 4, 2; 1, 6, 5, 2; Dasav. 630, 40), *aparijāñittā* (Thān. 42), *viyāñittā* (Dasav. N. 653, 14; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *jā*; *kiñittā* (Sūyag. 609) from *kri*; *abhiñittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 24), *ogiñittā* (Ovav.), *pagiñittā* (Nāyādh.) from *grah*. Examples from JM. are: *gantā* (Āv. 42, 7); *cañittā* (Āv. 29, 1); *karisittā* = *krṣṭvā* (Āv. 28, 2); *lañhittā* (Erz.); *vandittā* (Kk.; Erz.); *melittā* (Kk.); *utthē'ttā* (Āv. 10, 41); *phāittā* (Āv. 38, 2); *ussā-ritā*, *ulle'ttā* = *ārdayitvā*, *thavittā*, *bhuñjāvittā*, *māre'ttā*, *ve'dhē'ttā* (Erz.); *paḍigāhe'ttā*, *pāē'ttā* = *pāyayitvā*, *vāhittā* (Āv. 9, 3; 30, 9; 38, 6); *vinnavittā* (Kk.); *nevaccē'ttā* = **nepathayayitvā* (Āv. 26, 27); *āhañittā* (Āv. 29, 5); *paccakkhāittā* = **pratyākhyāyitvā* (Erz.); *supē'ttā* (Āv. 7, 33; Erz.); *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); *jāñittā* (Kk.); *giñittā* (Sagara 2, 17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4, 271 in Ś. the forms in -ittā too would be permissible, as *bho'ttā* = *bhuktvā*, *ho'ttā* = *bhūtvā*, *pañhittā* = *pañhitvā*, *rañtā* = *ratvā*. But they are altogether strange to the common Ś. On the other hand they are frequent in JŚ., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: *cattā* = *tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *namamāsittā* = *namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6); *ālocittā* = **ālocayitvā* (Pav. 386, 11); *niruhñittā* = *nirudhya* (Pav. 386, 70); *nihañittā* = *nihatya* (Kattig. 401, 339); *jāñittā* = *jñātvā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāñittā* = *viññāy* (Pav. 387, 21); *bandhittā* = *baddhvā* (Kattig. 402, 355). On AMg. *dissā*, *dissam*, *dissa* = *drṣṭvā*, *paḍissā* = **pradrṣṭvā* see § 334.

1. The statement of JACOBI (Erz. § 61), that this absol. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMg., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolute very frequently only through *ñittā* behind the verbum finitum (WIEGER, Bhag. 1, 382). So here *uṣāgacchanti* *ñittā*, which is to be read as *uṣāgacchantā*. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as *uṣāgacchantittā*, *nigacchantittā*, *bandhantittā*, *āgantittā* (236), *sampehittā* (152), *pāsāittā* (156), *duruhittā* (172), yet *vippajahāmittā* behind *vippajahāmi* (1231. 1242 ff.), *anupapavāṣāmittā* behind *anupapavāṣāmi* (1242 ff.) etc. So also *pāuñantittā* (Sūyag. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogous forms in Āyār. and Sūyag. often nomina agentis in -r. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. PUSCHEL on Hc. 4, 271.

§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in *-ttā* AMg. has an absol. in *-ttānam*, which presupposes one Vedic **-tvānam*¹: *bhavittānam* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.), *pāubbhavittānam* (Uvās.); *vasittānam* (Kappas. § 227); *anupariyāstittānam* = **anupariyastitvānam* (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.), *abhinivāstittānam* (Sūyag. 593 ff.); *duruhittānam* (Ovav. § 79, II. III); *caittānam* = **tyajitvānam* (Ovav. § 169; Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); *pāsittānam* from *paśya-* (Vivāhap. 942. 1322; Nirayāv. § 7; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 32. 47. 70. 74 ff. 87. p. 96; Nandis. 169); *ciṣṭittāna*, metrically for *°nam* (Dasav. 622,28); *āpucchittānam* (Kappas. S. § 48); *phusittānam* from *spṛś* (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); *sampajjittānam* (Bhag.), *uvāsampajjittānam* (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); *jhūsittānam* (Thāp. 56); *paḍivajjittānam* (Āyār. 2,1,11,11); *āyāmēttānam* (Sūyag. 681); *vidittānam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,2); *sampihittānam* = **sāmpidhitvānam* = *sāmpidhāya* (Samav. 81; text *°pa°*); *sānoidhūnittānam* (Ovav. § 23); *karēttānam* (Dasav. 614,27); *ogiphittānam* (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.), *paḍiphiṭṭānam*, *samgiṇhiṭṭānam* (Nāyādh.) *caittānam* in JM. (Kk. 272,11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AMg.

1. The form *pītvānam* referred to by the European grammarians (BENFEY, Vollst. Gr. § 914, VI, 3; WEBER, Bhag. 1,423; WHITNEY¹, § 993c) rests, as already noted by WACKERNAEGL, Altind. Gr. p. XXIV, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7,1,48. The Kāśikā rightly has *pītvānam*. That *nam* is not an appended particle, as meant by WEBER l. c., Hāla¹ p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AMg. texts published by JACOMI, and partly in those published by LEUMANN too, therefore, the *nam* printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by STEVENSON, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143).

§ 584. Instead of *-ttānam* is found according to the grammarians also *-tuānam* from **-tvānam* = **-tvānam* (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal *-tuāna*: *kāuānam* (Hc. 1,27); *haseuānam*, *hasiūānam*, *ghēttuānam* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *kāuāna* (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); *souāna*, *bhēttuāna* (Hc. 2,146); *haseuāna*, *hasiūāna*, *voittuāna*, *moittuāna*, *roittuāna*, *bhoittuāna*, *daṭṭhuāna* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *ghēttuāna* (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms *-tūnam*, *-ūnam* and particularly in *-tūna*, *-ūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, P. *-tūna* builds the most usual absol. in M. JM. JŚ. P., that is found in AMg. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272 *-dūna* would be existing in Ś. too: *bhodūna*, *hodūna*, *padhidūna*, *randūna*, *karidūna*, *gacchidūna*. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in *-tūna*, *-ūna* (seldom in *-dūna*, as would be expected for *-ūna*). So Ś. *āccahiūna*, *peṅkhiūna*, *kāriūna* (Lalitav. 568,1.2. 5), *kāūna* (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatim. 236,2 [*°u°*]; ed. Madras *kādūna*), *āgantūna* (Mālatim. 363,7; text *°attu°* ed. Madras *°ndū°*), *ghēttūna* (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text *ghakkūna*]; 177,21; 191,16 [text *ghēkkūna*]; 219,13 [text *ghakkūna*]; 229,8 [text *ghēkkūna*]) and *gheūna* (Mālatim. 149,4; v. l. *ghēttūna*; ed. Madras *ghattūna*), *daṭṭhūna* (Cait. 38,7), *dāūna* (Jivān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. *paviṣiūna* (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait.; Mallikām.; Kāleyak.; Jivān., such forms are met with at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. *ghēttūna* (Mṛcch. 22,8) and certainly in Ā. D. *bhēttūna* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5), D. *hantūna* (Mṛcch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatim. 236,2 B rightly has *kādūna*. Somadeva and Rājasekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11. 22). JŚ. has the absol. in *-dūna*: *kādūna*, *nedūna*, *jāidūna*, *gamidūna*, *gahidūna*, *bhūnjāvidūna*, for which the texts mostly falsely have *-ūna* instead of *-dūna* (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.

§ 585. The ending *-tūṇaṃ*, *-ūṇaṃ* is found pro ex in PG. *kātūṇaṃ* = **kartvāṇaṃ* (6,10. 29) = AMg. JM. *kāūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 645,25; Āv. 9,18; 27,18; 31,14,15; Erz. 72,4; 78,3) beside JM. *viuvūṇaṃ* (Āv. 31,13); PG. *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātūṇaṃ* (G. 260), *roṭtūṇaṃ* (H. 869); *gheṭtūṇaṃ* (Vajjalagga 324,25); AMg. *uvātūṇiṇaṃ*, *hoūṇaṃ* (Viṇāhap. 550. 1281); *namīūṇaṃ*, *pannavēūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 643,33.35), *bandhiūṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 274. 292); JM. *gantūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,24; 75,31; 76,10; 77,32; 78,9,11; Dvār. 506,16); *bhareūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,13), *hoūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,14), *phaviūṇaṃ*, *dāūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,30), *daṭṭhūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,11; 13,3; 25,17. 39; Erz. 79,6. 21; 82,18), *paribhamīūṇaṃ* (Erz. 74,34), *jampiūṇaṃ*, *pa jampiūṇaṃ* = **prajalpītvāṇaṃ* (Erz. 83,2; 79,15; 85,28), *viheūṇaṃ* = **vidhayītvāṇaṃ* = *vidhāya* (Kk. 267,16), *nisunīūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,18) beside *soūṇaṃ* (Kk. 260,17), *chindiūṇaṃ* (Āv. 37,40), *bhuñjiūṇaṃ* (Dvār. 500,36). The form in *-ūṇaṃ*, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in *-āṇa*, in prose before *ca*, as JM. *bhañiūṇa āpucchiūṇa ... gantūṇaṃ ca* (Dvār. 496,18), *bhañjiūṇaṃ ca...* *giñhiūṇa* (Dvār. 500,29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. *nimantiūṇaṃ gantūṇa* (Erz. 80,23), *pe'cchiūṇa kumaro hasiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 82,8). In the sense of the inf. stands *mañiūṇaṃ* = **mradītvāṇaṃ* (Āv. 12,8); the prose order at 11,2 for it has *maddiūṃ* = *marditum*.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in *-āṇa*. It is found in AMg. and JŚ. too, where it is spelt as *-dūṇa* (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. *jeūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; G. 1197; R. 8,74) beside JM. *jiniūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; Erz. 22,16), *nijjiṇiūṇa* (Erz. 82,13); M. JM. *hoūṇa* (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495,30), according to Hc. 4,240 also *hoūṇa*; AMg. JM. *caiūṇa* = **tyajītvāṇa* (Uttar. 30.277.303.552; Erz.); *hasēūṇa* (Hc. 3,157; Kī. 4,39) beside M. JM. *hasiūṇa* (Kī. 4,39; H. R.; Sarasvatik. 135,12; Erz.), M. *vihasiūṇa* (G.); M. JM. AMg. *gantūṇa* (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19,3; Ovav. § 168. 169); M. AMg. JM. *daṭṭhūṇa* (Hc. 4,213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74,7; Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Āv. 24,11; Dvār. 498,28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *vajjiūṇa* (Paṇṇav. 104); M. JM. *pāūṇa* from *pā* (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83,2; Dvār. 496,28); M. *voḍhūṇa* (R.); AMg. JM. *vandīūṇa* (Kappas. Th. 13,9; Sagara 2,8; 11,12; Kk.); AMg. *laddhūṇa* = **labdhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 846. 848); JM. *āpucchiūṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 496,18); M. JM. *mōṭtūṇa* = **muktvāṇa* (Hc. 4,212. 237; G. H. R.; Viddhaś. 11,8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497,18; 498,38; Sagara 7,13; JM. *marīūṇa* (Sagara 11,7. 9); AMg. *viddhūṇa* = **viddhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 928); M. *paḍivajjiūṇa* = **pratīpadyītvāṇa* = *pratīpadya* (H.); M. *uḍḍēūṇa* (G.); *avahatthiūṇa*, *pajjāliūṇa*, *āphāliūṇa* (H.), *uāḍheūṇa* = *upagūhya*, *ṇiameūṇa* = *niyama* (R.); JM. *sammāṇēūṇa* (Erz.); *ḍhakkeūṇa* (Dvār. 499,8), *rañjiūṇa* (Kī. 11); *bhesēūṇa* = **bhesayītvāṇa* (Kk.), *ṭhaviūṇa* (Sagara 1,10; Erz.); *thāiūṇa* = **sthāgayītvāṇa* (Āv. 30,4); M. D. JM. *haniūṇa* (Hc. 4,244; R.; Mṛcch. 105,22 [so to be read]; Erz.) beside M. *dhaniūṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,16), JM. *haniūṇa* (Āv. 17,31); M. *roṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; R.), M. also *roūṇa* (H.), whilst JM. *roviūṇa* (Sagara 7,11) belongs to *ru* (§ 473); *veṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55); M. *voṭtūṇa* to *vac* (Hc. 4,211; R.); JM. *piheūṇa* (Sagara 10,17); M. JM. AMg. *dāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; G.; Kāvyaaprakāśa 343,3; Dvār. 500,19; Erz. 78,1; Paṇḍāv. 367); M. *dhuxiūṇa* (R. 6,20); JM. *pāviūṇa* (Erz.); M. JM. *soūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Hc. 3,157; 4,237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7,8; 11,12; Āv. 18,20; 31,23) beside *suñiūṇa* (Hc. 3,157); JM. *cheṭtūṇa* (Erz.) and *chediūṇa* (Kk. II, 507,11); JM. *bhañjiūṇa* and **je*° (Erz.); Ā. D. JM. *bhēṭtūṇa* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5; Erz.), JM. also *bhindiūṇa* (Sagara 3,1.6.18); AMg. *bhōṭtūṇa* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; Ovav. § 185); JM. also *uvabhuñjiūṇa* (Erz.); VG. *kātūṇa* (101,9), JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§ 21. 584),

M. JM. *kāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; 8,17; Hc. 2,146; 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 499,39 etc.), falsely also in Ś. (§ 584), JM. also *viuoviūṇa* (Dvār. 507,40; Erz.); M. JM. *gahiūṇa* (G. 282; Vajjalagga 326,9; Erz.; Dvār. 503,1; KI. 17; Kk. II, 505,29) beside JM. *gēṇhiūṇa* (Āv. 43,7; Erz.); M. JM. AMg. *ghēttūṇa* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 2,146; 4,210; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 5,14; Nāyādh. 960; Paṇhāv. 367), which is found in the verse in Mg. too (Mṛech. 22,8) and falsely in Ś. too (§ 584), AMg. *parighēttūṇa* (Paṇhāv. 487) and M. *ghetūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Sarasvatīk. 180,4 as v. l. to H. 130, but *ghēttūṇa* 347,9; Priyad. 33,15; falsely in Ś. § 584) belong to **ghr̥p*; M. *nāūṇa*, JM. *nāūṇa* (Hc. 4,7; R. 11,21; Dvār. 496,16; Erz.; Kk.) beside M. JM. AMg. *jāṇiūṇa* (H.; Kk.; Āv. 8,23; Paṇhāv. 394), JM. *vi jāṇiūṇa* (Erz.); M. *ābandhiūṇa* (R. 12,60); AMg. *bandhiūṇa* (Sūyag. 285).—In P. the absol. ends, according to Hc., in *-tūna*; *samappetūṇa* = **samarpayitvāna* (2,164), *gantūṇa*, *rantūṇa*, *hasitūṇa*, *padhitūṇa*, *kadhitūṇa* (4,312), *natthūṇa*, *natthūṇa*, *datthūṇa* from *naś* and *dṛś* (4,313), according to Vr. 10,13; Mk. fol. 87 in *-tūnaṃ* : *dātūnaṃ*, *kātūnaṃ*, *ghēttūnaṃ*, *hasitūnaṃ*, *patitūnaṃ*; Sr. fol. 64,65 permits both the forms : *hasitūnaṃ*, *hasitūna*, *datthūṇa*, *datthūna*; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 p. 14,11 has *āgantūna*, Amaracandra in Kāvyaśālikāpalatāvṛtti p. 9 *gantūna*.

§ 587. Beside *-ttā* = *-tvā* is found in AMg. JŚ., very seldom in JM. too, also *-ccā*, beside *-ttānaṃ* in AMg. also *-ccānaṃ*, *-ccāṇa*. Since Vedic *-tyā* stands just metrically for *-tya*, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst *-ccā* always has *-ā* in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace *-ccā* back directly to Vedic *-tyā*. There occurs the change of *-tvā* into *-*tyā*, of *-*tvānaṃ* into *-*tyānaṃ*, that is found otherwise too in AMg. (§ 281. 299). So : AMg. *hōccā* = **bhūtyā* = *bhūtvā* (Sūyag. 859); AMg. JŚ. *thiccā* = **sthityā* (Sūyag. 565; Vivāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402,355); AMg. *suthiccā* (Sūyag. 938. 941. 950); AMg. *ciccā* (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and *cēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from **tiyakyā* (§ 280) = *tyaktvā*, *pēccā* = *pītvā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5), *apiccā* = *apītvā* (Sūyag. 994).—AMg. *pēccā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *piccā* (Sūyag. 28) is also = **pretyā* = *pretya*.—AMg. *abhisamēccā* = **abhisametyā* = *abhisametya* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,7,1); *vaccā* (Sūyag. 565 ff.), probably more correctly *vuccā* (Sūyag. 783) = **vakyā* = *uktvā*; *daccā* from *dā* (Vivāhap. 227); *hiccā* from *hā* (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1. 4,1), also *hēccā* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and metrical *hēcca* (Sūyag. 144); *sōccā* from *śru* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1; 1,6,4,1; 1,7,2,3; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154. 181. 298. 322 etc.; Dasav. 631,18; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386,6) and JM. (Kk.; where also *succā*), also *sōccānaṃ* in AMg. *sōccānaṃ idam* (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1); *bhōccā* from *bhuj* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1,4,5. 9,4. 10,3; Sūyag. 194. 202. 203. 226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); *abhōccā* (Sūyag. 994), metrically also *abhōcca* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMg. JŚ. *kiccā* from *kr̥* (Āyār. 2,3,1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Dasav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,4; Kattig. 402,356 ff. 375 f.); AMg. *naccā*, *naccā* from *jñā* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1,3. 4; 1,7,8,1. 25; 1,8,1,11. 14. 15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155. 228. 237; Dasav. 629,5; 631,35; 633,35). The ending *-ccāṇa* and *-ccānaṃ* occurs in AMg. *hiccāṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 86), *hēccāṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 433), *naccāṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 43); metrically also *hēccāṇa* (Sūyag. 551), *naccāṇa* (Sūyag. 188), *sōccāṇa* (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), *ciccāṇa* (Sūyag. 378. 408). In prose *cēccāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has *cēccā*.—On AMg. *bujjhā* = *buddho* see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in *-toi* (DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum. § 221)

and *-tvīnam*, as *iṣṭvīnam*, *pītvīnam* (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above § 583 note) have been retained in A. *-tvī* became *-ppi*, after nasals *-pi* (§ 300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became *-vi*: *-tvīnam*, corresponding to it, has become *-ppiṇu*, *-piṇu*, *-viṇu* (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Kī. 5,53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: *jiṇēppi* (Hc. 4,442,2) and *jēppi* (Hc. 4,440) from *ji*; *jhāvi* from *dhyai* (Hc. 4,331); *dēppiṇu* = **detvīnam* from *daya-* (Hc. 4,440); *gampi* = **gantvī* = Vedic *gātvi*, *gomēppi*, *gampiṇu*, *gamēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,442; Kī. 5,59); *pekkhevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *pekkhivi* (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), *pekkheviṇu* (Hc. 4, 444,4); *dekkhivi* (Hc. 4,354); *chaddeviṇu* from *chard* (Hc. 4,422,3); *mēllavi* (Hc. 4,353), *mēlleppiṇu* (Hc. 4,341,1) from *mēllai* (gives up; Hc. 4,91, 430,3); *melavi* from *mil* (Hc. 4,429,1); *cumbivi*, *vicheḍavi* (Hc. 4,439,3, 4); *bhaṇivi* (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); *piavi* fr. m. **pibatvi* = Vedic *pītvī* (Hc. 4,401,3); *marēppi* (Kī. 5,60); *laggivi* (Hc. 4,339); *buddavi* (Hc. 4,415); *lāivi* = **lāgayitvi* (Hc. 4,331, 376,2); *levi* (Hc. 4,395,1, 440), *lēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,370,3, 404), *leviṇu* (Hc. 4,441,2) from *lā*; *brōppi*, *brōppiṇu* from *brū* (Hc. 4,391; Kī. 5,58); *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20); *karēppi*, *kṛppi* (Kī. 5,59), *karevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *karēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,396,3); *ramevi*, *ramēppi*, *ramēppiṇu* from *ram* (Kī. 5,53); *luṇēppi* (Kī. 5,57); *vuṇēppi*, *vuṇēppiṇu* from *vraj* (§ 488; Hc. 4,392); *geṇheppiṇu* (Hc. 4,394, 438,1), *geṇheppi*, *geṇheppiṇu* (Kī. 5,62). Forms in *-ūṇa*, as *soṭūṇa*, *hasiūṇa* (Piṅgala 1,61^a, 62^a) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as *lanḡhevi*, *pe'echavi*, *nisuṇevi*, *vajjevi*, *jālevi*, that are found in JM. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19, 24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutes are used in the sense of the infinitive too: *samvarevi* (Hc. 4,422,6); *jēppi*, *caeppiṇu* = **tyajitvīnam*, *leviṇu*, *pālevi* (Hc. 4,441,2); *lahevi*, *lahēppi*, *lahēppiṇu* (Kī. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. *bhajjiu* stands in the sense of the absol. (§ 579). On the absolutely used inf. in *-tum*, *-tu* see § 576, 577.

§ 589. The absolute in *-ia* = *-ya* are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending *-ūṇa*. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be *sammīlia* (137); hence we should write *sammīliadāhiṇa-am* = *sammīlitadakṣiṇakam* and take it as an adverb, parallel to *suiram* and *aviapham*, standing beside it. *pādīa* (880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise *anuṇīa* (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, *anuṇīopio*. At Kāvyaaprakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of *balāmodīa*, with the best manuscripts we should read *balāmodīi* (§ 238), as also Rājānakānanda has in his Kāvyaaprakāśanidarśana; the second best manuscript of Kāvyaapr. reads *balāmodheṇa*. H. 879, where WEBER, earlier (H.¹ Anhang No. 44) read *pekkhiūṇa* with Kāvyaapr. 68,5 and Sāhityad. 102,20, now correctly he has *pekkhiūṇa*, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvyaapr. have and stands at Sarasvatik. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika at Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read *ṇijjhāṇeṇamuddhaṇ*, therefore, *ṇijjhā* = *nirdhyāta*. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H¹ p. 67, according to him *gahīa* (Kāvyaapr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read *lahīa* according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes *vinijjīa* = *vinirjitya* (Karp. 8,6) and *rajjīa* = *varjya* (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 *ō'ttharīa*, which the editor translates with *avastīya*, is = *avastīta*, whilst *ō'ttharīarāhu* stands for *rāhuō'ttharīa*, as elsewhere too (§ 603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate *bhamīa*, *ramīa* in Hc. 2,146 and *geṇhīa* at 4,210. Vr. 4,23; 8,16 does not mention for M. the ending *-ya*. Therefore, here too particularly Rājasekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§ 590. The absol. in *-ya* is rare in the old Āv. -texts in JM. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it

enters again the endings *-āṇa* and *-ttā*, as in AMg. against *-ttā*, *-ttāṇam*. In AMg. a number of absol. in *-ya*, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. *kadua* and *gadua* (§ 581) *-ya* is the only prevalent ending in Ś.Mg.Dh. (Vr. 12,9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in *-i*. In AMg. JM. in verses the ending is often *-yā* (§ 73). In JŚ. too *-yā* is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: Ś. *ṇāṇa* = **ṇayiya* = *nītoā* (Mṛcch. 155,4), but *āṇā* (Mālatīm. 236,3; Pras. 41,2), *avaṇā* = *apaṇiya* (Venṣ. 66,21); Ś. *samassaṇa* = **samāśrayiya* = *samāśritya* (Śak. 2,8); Ś. *daṇa* from *daya-* (Mṛcch. 51,12), and *deṇa* from *de-* (Mudrār. 203,7); Ś. Mg. *bhaviya*, JŚ. *bhaviyā* (§ 475); AMg. *vinikkassa* = *vinikṣya* (Sūyag. 280); Ś. *odaria* = *avātīrya* (Vikr. 23,17), Mg. *odalīa* (Mṛcch. 122, 11); Mg. *anūsalīa* = *anusrīya-* (Prab. 51,12), *ośalīa* = *apasrīya* (Mṛcch. 129, 8); Ś. *pariharia* (Mṛcch. 136,8), Mg. *palihaliā* (Prab. 28,16; 51,12) = *parihṛīya*; JM. *sumariyā* (Erz.), Ś. *sumariā* (Mṛcch. 8,15; Śak. 63,14); JM. *peṇchiyā* (Sagara 4,2. 11; Erz.), *pikkhiyā* (Kk.), Ś. *peṇkhiā* (Mṛcch. 41,6. 10,22; 73,2; 78,25; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 15,16), Mg. *peṇskīa* (Mṛcch. 96,23), AMg. *pehiyā*, *sāpehiyā*, *samupehiyā* (§ 323); AMg. *uvalabbha* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *labhiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2), but Ś. *lambhiā* (§ 484. 525. 541; Cait. 125,10; 132,17; 134,9), AMg. *nikkhamma* = *niṣkrāmya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), but Ś. *nikkamīa* (Priyad. 34,3); AMg. *viukkamma* = *vyutkrāmya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2), but Ś. *adikkamīa* = *atīkrāmya* (Ratn. 295,9); AMg. *pakkhippa* = *prakṣīpya* (Sūyag. 280. 282); AMg. *pāsiyā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); metrically (§ 73) also AMg. JM. *pāsiyā* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38,36), and AMg. *passa* (Uttar. 222. 239. 240), *anupassiyā* (Sūyag. 122), *sāmpassiyā* (Dasav. 642,11); AMg. JM. *pariccajja* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Uttar. 561; Erz.), JM. also *pariccaiyā* (Erz.), Ś. *pariccaīa* (Mṛcch. 28,10; Ratn. 298,12) = *parityajya*¹; AMg. *samārabbbha* (Samav. 81), JM. *ārabbbha* (Erz.), but Ś. *ārambbhiā* (Śak. 50,2); AMg. *abhikaṇkha* = *abhikaṇṅkya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6 ff.); AMg. *abhirujja* = *abhiruhyā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2), but Ā. D. Ś. *ahiruhīa* (Mṛcch. 99,19; 103,15; Vikr. 15,5), Mg. *ahiluhīa* (Mṛcch. 99,4; 121,11; 164,3); AMg. *pavissa* = *praviṣya* (Āyār. 1,8,4,9), but Ś. *pavisiā* (Mṛcch. 18,10; 27,3; 93,2; Śak. 70,7; 115,6; 125,13; Vikr. 75,4), Mg. *paviṣīa* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 29,24; 37,10; 112,11; 125,22; 131,18); JŚ. *āpiccha* (Pav. 386,1), JM. *āpucchiyā* (Dvār. 495,31 between *cintīṇa* and *paṇamīṇam*), *anāpucchiyā* (Āv. 11,23); Ś. *siṇciā* (Mṛcch. 41,6); AMg. *nisamma* from *śam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.); *vissamīa* from *śram* (Mālatīm. 34,1); JM. *paḍivajjiyā* = *pratipadya* (Erz.); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *paḍivaccaī* (§ 163. 202; Vivāhap. 29. 35. 99. 111. 127. 128. 136. 272 etc.; Thāp. 185. 186; Āyār. 1,5,5,5; Sūyag. 332. 776; Uttar. 1019. 1044. 1047. 1051 ff.; Nandis. 395 ff.; Jiv. 33. 118 ff.; Aquog. 14. 15. 154 ff.; 235 ff.; Dasav. N. 644,17; 649,9 etc.), in verses also *paḍuccā* (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644,13); Ś. *paṭṭhāviā*, *ṭhāviā* (Mṛcch. 24,2; 59,7); JM. *āroviyā* (Erz.), *samāroviyā* (Dvār. 503,33); Ś. *vajjiā* = *varjayitoā* (Śak. 52,11 [so to be read]); Mālatīm. 98,6; Ratn. 316,16; Nāgaṇ. 24,4), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,5); Ś. *coriā*, *vāvādiā* (Mṛcch. 37,14; 40,22); Mg. *pavesīa* (Mṛcch. 140, 14 [so to be read with Gopabole]; 158,22), *ohāliā* = *apahārya* (Mṛcch. 96,24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. *anupāliyā* = *anupālyā* (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from *tyaj* the attested absol. are: JŚ. *cattā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittā* (§ 58a), AMg. *caittāṇam* (§ 581), AMg. JM. *caittā* (§ 586), AMg. *cicā*, *cēcā*, *ciccāṇa*, *cēcāṇa*. (§ 587); Ā. *caṇṇīyā* (§ 588), AMg. JM. *cajja*, JM. *caīyā*, Ś. *caīa* (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. *caittu*.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. *samēcca* = *satetya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15); JM. *thunīyā* (Kk. II. 508,26) from *stu*; Ś. *ṇisasia* from *śvas*

with *nis* (Mṛcch. 41,22); AMg. *āhacca* = *āhatya* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6. 7,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. *āhaṇia* (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JŚ. *ādāya* (Pav. 386,6), AMg. *saṃādāya* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), *paḍisaṃdhāya* (Sūyag. 720), *paṇihāya* = *praṇidhāya* (Uvās. § 192); AMg. *jahāya* (Uttar. 635. 914), *vippajahāya* from *hā* with *vi* and *pra* (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhap. 146); falsely Ś. *ṇim-māya* (Lalitav. 554,13), for which **ṇimmāia* would be correct; AMg. *dhunīya* (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), *vihūṇiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), *viḥunīya* (Sūyag. 113), *saṃvidhūṇiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5); Ś. *edhūṇie* (Adbhutad. 52,12; so to be read), *ovadhūṇia* (Mālatim. 351,6; Venis. 61,5 [so to be read]; 63,9); JM. *suṇiya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 148,10; Śak. 62,11; 70,11; Vikr. 26,1; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mṛ. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 37,10; 38,20). Dh. *paḍissudā* = *pratiśrutya* (Mṛcch. 35,5) must in any case be spelt as *paḍisudā* (cf. v. l.); it is wanting in most of the MSS. in GODABOLE too. AMg. JŚ. *pappā* = *prāpya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thān. 188; Uttar. 1017. 1019; Paṇnav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5. 8. 11 [°ā]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JŚ. also *pāviya* (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. *saṃāvia* (Ratn. 323,2); Ś. *bhaṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23; Śak. 31,13; Cair. 134,12); AMg. *chindīyo* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *chindīyachindīyā*, *bhindiyaḥbhindiya* (Vivāhap. 1192); Ś. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. *palicchindīya* (§ 257); Ś. *bhindia* (Vikr. 16,1) and *bhedā* (Mṛcch. 97,24; cf. § 586), Mg. *bhīndia* (Mṛcch. 112,17); AMg. *bhuṇṇīya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. *bhuṇṇia* (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. *abhijūṇṇīya* (Sūyag. 293 [°ya]; Thān. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhap. 178); JM. *niūṇṇīya* (Erz.); AMg. *parinnāya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2.5; Sūyag. 214) [°ṇṇā°], and *parijāṇīyā* (Sūyag. 380. 381), *jāṇīya* (Dasav. 641,24), *viḷḷāṇīyā* (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. *jāṇia* (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛṣabh. 46,7), *aāṇia* (Śak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. *yāṇia* (Mṛcch. 36,12); Ś. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read with P. M.]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Rato. 315,28; Candak. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 163,16); JM. *geṇṇīya* (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. *geṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [Ā.]; 107,10; Śak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20; Mālatim. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. *geṇṇia* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 20,3. 10; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Śak. 116,2; Candak. 64,8), JŚ. JM. *gahīya* (Kattig. 403,373; Erz.), but in AMg. JM. mostly *gahāya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2,2. 3. 16; 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136. 491. 783. 1017; Vivāhap. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. *grahāya* (BÖHTLINGK s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since *gahāya* is an absol. from a denominative **gahāai*, **gahāi* (§ 558) = **grahāyati*; in compounds also AMg. *abhinigijjha* = *abhinigrhya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), *parigijjha* = *parigrhya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3. 5) and the double forms AMg. *avagijjhiya*, *nigijjhiya* (Kappas.), *pagijjhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1—3; Ovav.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in *-ttāṇam*, *-ttāṇa* beside *-ttā* and *-ccāṇam*, *-ccāṇa* beside *-ccā* AMg. has an absol. in *-yāṇam*, *-yāṇa* too, beside that in *-ya*, metrically *-yā¹*: *avilīyāṇa*, *paripiliyāṇa*, *parissāvīyāṇa* from *piḍ* and *ru* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *ussinīciyāṇam* from *sic* with *ud* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *saṃsiṇciyāṇam* from *sic* with *saṃ²* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *saṃupehiyāṇam* metrically for *°ppe^o* from *ikṣ* with *saṃutpra* as *saṃupehiyā* (§ 323. 590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Āvaśyakaniryukti 17,41)³; *lahiyāṇa* = *labdhvā* (Uttar. 627); *ārusiyāṇam* = *āruya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *takkīyāṇam* = *tarkayitvā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); *parivajjiyāṇa* = *parivarīya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12. 18); *oattiyāṇam* = *apavartya* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *palicchindīyāṇam* = *paricchidya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); *palibhindiyaṇam* = *paribhidya* (Sūyag. 243); *abhijūṇṇiyāṇam* = *abhiyujya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *akīyāṇam* = *akṛtvā* (Ovav. § 142).

1. There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of *-yāṇam* from

-*ttāṇam*. JACOBI, in his edition of the *Āyār*, throughout, separates *nam* here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in -*ṣṇa*.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as *samṣiṣya* of the scholiasts. Cf. *samṣiccamāṇā* 1.3,2,1.—3. JACOBI, *Erz.* p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in -*āe*, that are used absolutely: *āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1 2; 2,1,3,6 ff.; 2,1,9,2; Vivāhap. 136; Nirayāv. § 17. 19) = *ādāya*; *samāyāe* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5); *nīsāe* (Bhag.; Kappas.), *nissāe* (Bhag.) = Pāli *nissāya* = Skt. **nīṣṭāya* from *śri* (cf. *gahāya* § 591); *samkhāe* = *samkhyāya* beside *utthāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1); *samutthāe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1. 6,1); *pehāe* from *ikṣ* with *pra* (§ 323); *anupehāe* (§ 323); *uehāe* (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), *sampehāe* (§ 323)¹. Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in *egam appāṇam sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), *auram logam āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent *utthāe*, *utthēi*, *utthāe utthittā* (Uvās. § 193; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 58.60; Vivāhap. 161. 1246), *utthāe utthēnti* (Ovav. § 61). The scholiasts see in *utthāe* an ins. sing. of a fem. **utthā*², what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words³. Likewise e. g. in *anāṇāe puṭṭhā* = *anāṇāyā* (in the sense of *anāṇānena*) *sprṣṭāh* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like *aṣṭam ejaṁ tu pehāe aparinnāe kandaḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that *aparinnāe* is = *aparijñāyā*, and not *aparijñāya*, as the scholiasts will⁴, whilst *pehāe*, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = *prekṣayā*. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in -*ā*, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like *annamannavitigimchāe paḍilehāe* too (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum *annam*⁵ points to the nominal nature of *vitigimchāe*, whilst a verbal meaning to *paḍilehāe*, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like *niggarthā paḍilehāe buddhavuttam ahitthagā* (Dasav. 626,23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense "to cleanse", "to wipe off" the absolute is *paḍilehittā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or *paḍilehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,2 [*ya*]); but *paḍilehittā* also in the transferred sense "to discuss", "to consider" (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). *pehāe*, *sampehāe* are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like *āyāe*, *nīsāe* may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can -*e* be equated as = -*ya*⁶. AMg. *anuṣi* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3. 2,19; 2,7,1,2. 2,1. 8; p. 133,8.10; 134,5 ff.; Sūyag. 474. 531; Dasav. 629,15; 630,1; Dasav. N. 661,3 [*anuṣi*]), with privative *a* *anuṣi* (Āyār. p. 133,9.10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as *anucintya*, *anuvicintya*, *vicārya* by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. *anuṣiṣi*, *anuṣiṣi*, *anuṣiṣi*, *anuṣiṣi* show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. *anuṣi* is an adverb = **anuṣi* "deeply" "attentively" and belongs to Vedic *ṣi*⁶.

1. JACOBI writes sometimes *sampehāe*, sometimes *sapehāe*, sometimes *sa pehāe*, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 *sampehāe*, in line 14 *sa pehāe*. The manuscripts are not consistent: cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read *sampehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *sāpehāe*.—2. WEBER, Bhag. 1,435, note.—3. HOERNLE on Uvās. Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. *uttha*.—4. The ed. Calc. reads *aparinnāya*, but the scholiasts, as JACOBI, *aparinnāe*.—5. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 63 have. — 6. Cf. PSCHKE, Ved. Stud. 1,295 ff.; GELONER, 2,156 ff. *ṣi*, requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. -*ya* becomes -*i* (Hc. 4,439), that has originated from Pkt. -*ia*, through the dropping off of *a*: *daī* = Ś. *daīa* from *daya-* (Piṅgala 1,5^a [cf. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 530]. 38. 39. 86^a. 122), also contracted (§ 166) *de*

(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), *thorattapilla*, *kandalilla* (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in Ś. too, as *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168,3); *lacchiilla*, *kivāilla* (Kāleṃyak. 2,8; 9,7); *tattilla* (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mṛcch. 101,21). As in *tattilla* (Deśin. 5,3), *-illa* occurs also in other provincialisms like *kapailla* (parrot; Pāiyāl. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from *kapa*; *goilla* = *gomat* (Deśin. 2,98); M. Ś. *chailla* (wise; cunning; Pāiyāl. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [Ś.]; 76,10 [Ś.]; Kāleṃyak. (3,7), which is probably rightly connected to *ṽchad* by WEBER¹, and is to be completely separated from A. *chailla* (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. languages show², stands for **chavilla*, therefore, belongs to *chavi* (beauty; Pāiyāl. 113) = Skt. *chavi*, *chavi*, whilst *chailla* (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from *chāyā*, as Triv. 2,1,30 teaches falsely from *chailla*. *-illa* stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (*tatrabhave*; *bhave*; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37); *gāmilla* (a villager; C.), *gāmilla* (a village woman; Hc.), AMg. *gāmēllaga* (Vivāgas. 31); M. *gharillaa* (master of the house; H.); *gharilli* (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M.JM. and particularly in AMg. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (*svārthe*; Hc. 2,164). So M. *mūillaa* = *mūka* (H.); AMg. *bāhirilla* = *bāhira* (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thān. 261 f.), M. *abāhirilla* (H.); AMg. *andhillaga* = *andha* (Paṇhāv. 79); *pallavilla* = *pallava* (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMg. *ādilla* = *ādi* (Vivāhap. 463. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Paṇnav. 642. 646), *ādillaga* (Vivāhap. 1547); AMg. *padhomilla* = *prathama* (Vivāhap. 108. 177), *padhomillaga* (Nāyādh. 624); AMg. *uvarilla* (Thān. 341; Aṇuog. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Paṇnav. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning "upper garment" M. *avarilla*, *varilla* (§ 123), *savvaivarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879), AMg. *uttarilla* (Thān. 264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452. 1518. 1521; Paṇnav. 103 ff. 478; Rāyap. 68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.), *dāhiṇilla* and *dakkhiṇilla* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), *puratthimilla*³ from *purastāt* (Thān. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Paṇnav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 f.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331ff.), *paccatthimilla*⁴ from **pratyastam* (Thān. 264ff.; Jiv. 227ff.; Paṇnav. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331 ff. 1869), *uttarepaccatthimilla* (Thān. 268); AMg. JM. *majjhilla* = *madhya* (Thān. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Av. 46,29; Erz.); AMg. *majjhimilla* = *madhyama* (Aṇuog. 383); AMg. *heṭṭhiilla* (§ 107); AMg. JM. *puvulla* (Uttar. 764. 770; Av. 8,46); *purilla* (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163. 164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from *purā* and *puras*, *purilladeva* (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB. 13,12), *purillapahāṇā* (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate ramment probably is *praghāṇa*; AMg. *pacchilla* (Vivāhap. 1118. 1520), *pacchillaya* (Vivāhap. 1593f.). In AMg. *raṭṭhiilla* = *rajoyukta* (Vivāhap. 387)⁵, dialectical *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of *rajas*, *stena*⁶. AMg. *āṇilla* = *āṇita* (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that *āṇa* = *āṇita* is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before *-illa*, partly it is retained. — *-ulla* stands in the same meaning as *-illa*, but is much more seldom: *viārulla* = *vikāravat* (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); *māmsulla* = *māmsavat*, *dappulla* = *darpin* (Hc. 2, 159); *uvahārulla* from *upahāra* (Kl. 2,140; text *uvahāruraṇam*); *oppulla* from *ātman* (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. *aṇulla*]); *piullaa* = *priya*, *muhulla* = *mukha*, *haithullā* = *hastau* (Hc. 2,164); M. *chailla* (H.) beside *chailla*, *thaṇullaa* = *stana* (G.); AMg. *pāullāim* = *pāduke*

(Sūyag. 253); AMg. JM. *kacchulla* = *kacchura* (Vivāgas 177; Erz.); *cūḍulla* = *cūḍaka* (Hc. 4,395,2. 430,2), *kuḍulī* = *kuḍi* (Hc. 4,422,14. 429,3. 431,2); *vāulla* = *vācāla* (Deśin. 7.56). — *-alla* occurs for *-ala* in M. *ēkkalla* = *eka* (Hc. 2,165; H.), JM. *ēkkallaṃ* (Erz.), also *ekalla* (Hc.); cf. Māla-tīm. 348,1; A. also *ekala* (Prabandhac. 121,10); M. AMg. *mahalla* = *mahat* (G.); Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11. 12), AMg. *mahallaṃ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10), femin. *mahalliyā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *sumahalla* (Vivāhap. 246); AMg. *andhalla* = *andha* (Paṇḍāv. 523), beside *andhala* (Hc. 2,173); M. *pāsalla*, *pāsallia* from *pārśva* (G.); *navalla* = *nava* (Hc. 2,165); *mūalla* beside *mūala* = *mūka* (Deśin. 6,137), from which M. *mūal'iaa* (R. 5,41; so to be read), is a denominative. Also M. *pisalla* = *piśāca* is perhaps explained more correctly from **piśālla* = *piśāca* + *alla* than from *piśācālaya* (§ 232). On *suhalli*, *suhēlli* see § 107. In Mg. *gāmelua* (Mr̥cch. 97,1) = *grāmya*, *grāmiṇa* occurs the suffix *-elua*, that is to say *-elu + ka*.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also *chaulla*, mentioned below. — 2. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,412. — 3. The texts often have false *puracchimilla*, as in the case of its basis *puratthima*, also *puracchima* — 4. The texts often have *pavattthinilla* and *pacacchimilla*. The word perhaps does not belong to *paścāt*, from which originates *pacchilla*. Cf. § 149 and HOERNLE Uvās. s. v. *pacacchimilla*. — 5. *maḷliya* = *kāṭhinamālayukta*, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. *maḷinti*, M. *maḷei* (§ 559). — 6. Cf. e.g. Skt. *tundilīta* with *tundila* and AMg. *tundilla* (Uttar. 229). That the reduplication of *l* is associated with accent makes the cases like *kuḍilla* = *kuṭila* (Pāyāl. 155), *kuḍilla*, *koḍilla* (Deśin. 2,40), *tundilla* = *tundila*, *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* (Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1308) certain.

§ 596. As a krt- suffix dialectically very frequent is *-ira* (Vr. 4,24; Hc. 2,145; Kī. 2,138; Mk fol. 36), which expresses the notion of the root as a "characteristicum" a "duty" or "noble" doing¹. So M. *agg'hāiri* (femin.) from *ghrā* with *ā* (H.), *andolira* (G.), femin. *andoliri* (H.), *alajjira* (H.), *avalambiri* (femin.), *ullaviri*, *ullāviri* (femin.; H.); *āsasira* from *śas* with *ud* (Hc.); *gamira* (Hc. ; Kī.); M. *gholira* (G. H. R.), in later-day writers also in Ś. (Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12), M. *parigholira* (G.); M. A. *jampira*, AMg. *ayampira* from *jalp* (§ 296); AMg. *jhusira*, *ajhusira* (§ 211); M. *naeciri* (femin.) from *naeca* = *nytyati* (H.); *namira* (Hc.); AMg. *parisakkira* from *śaśk* with *pari* (Nāyādh. ; cf. § 302), M. *pe'echira* from *ikṣ* with *pra*, femin. *pe'echiri* (H. ; so to be read throughout); M. A. *bhamira* from *bhram* (Bh. ; Hc. ; Mk. G. H. R. ; Hc. 4,422,15); *rovira* (Hc.), M. *roiri*, *ruiri* from *ru* (H.); M. *lambira* (G.), *lasira* (R.); *lajjira* (Hc.), M. femin. *lajjiri* (H.); M. A., in Rājasekhara also in Ś. *ve'llira*, *uvē'llira* (§ 107); M. JM. *vevira* from *vepate* (Hc. ; G. H. R. ; Erz.), in later day writers in Ś. too (Mallikām. 119,2; 123,15); *sahira* (Mk), M. femin. *sahiri* (H.); *hasira* (Bh. ; Hc.); M. femin. *hasiri* (G. H.); *apaḍicchira* (stupid; Deśin. 1,43) from *iṣ* with *prati*. Seldom is *-ira* used as a taddhita- suffix too, as in M. *gavvira*, femin. *ōri* from *garva* (H.). On *-uka* for *-ika* see § 118. 162 [ūsuga]. 326 [jharua].

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,145. Cf. WEBER, H¹. p. 68.

§ 597. *-iva* = Pkt. *-ita* (§ 298) can be used in AMg. JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative *-itāe* (§ 361. 364); *piṇatta*, *pupphatta* = *puspatva* (Hc. 2, 154); AMg. *mūlatta*, *kandatta*, *khandatta*, *tayatta*, *sālatta*, *pavālatta*, *pattatta*, *pupphatta*, *phalatta*, *biṇatta* (Sūyag. 806); *āṇugāmiyatta* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162); *devatta* (Uttar. 235; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *nerāyatta* = *nairayikatoa* (Vivāgas. 244; Uvās.; Ovav.); *māṇusatta* (Uttar. 234 f.); *pumatta* = *pumstva* (§ 412); *rukhatta* = **rukṣatoa* (Sūyag. 812; cf. 811); *sāmitta*, *bhaṭṭitta*, *mahattaragatta* = *svāmitta*, *bharitva*, *mahattarakatva* (Paṇṇav. 98. 100. 102. 112); JM. *ujjugatta*, *vaṇṇkatta* = *ṛjukatva*, *vakratva* (Āv. 46,31. 32), **maṇuyatta* = *manujatva*, *micchatta* = *mithyātva*, *siṇatta* = *śitatva* (Kk.), *asoṇatta* = *asaukatva* (Erz.). To *-toa* has further been added the suffix *-tā* in *māuttaṇḍā* = **mr̥dukatvatā* (Hc. 2,172). Very

frequent, particularly in M.Ś. in Vedic *-tvana* = Pkt. *-ttaṇa*, A. also *-ppaṇa* (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Kk. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. *amara-ttaṇa* (R.), *alasattaṇa*, *asahattaṇa*, *āḷattaṇa*, *garuattaṇa*, *cirajivittaṇa*, *ṇiṇṇattaṇa* (H.); *niddattaṇa*, *tucchattaṇa*, *dāruṇattaṇa*, *dihattaṇa* (G.); *piattaṇa* (H.); *piṇattaṇa* (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); *mahurattaṇa* (G. H.); from *ā*-stems: *mahilattaṇa* (G. H.); *vesattaṇa* = **veṣyātvana* (H.); from *i*-, *i*-stems: *asaṭṭaṇa* (H.); *juaṭṭaṇa* (G); *maṭṭaṇa* = **matitvāna* (G.); *dūṭṭaṇa* = **dūtītvāna* (H.); from *u*-stems: *taruṭṭaṇa* (G.); AMg. *takkarattaṇa* = **taskaratvāna* (Panbhāv. 147); *tirikkhattaṇa* = **tirakṣatvāna* (Uttar. 234); *āyariyattaṇa* = **ācāryatvāna* beside *āyariyatta* (Uttar. 316); JM. *pādiherattaṇa* = **prātihāryatvāna* (Āv. 13,25), *dharmattaṇa* = **dharmatvāna* (Kk. 259,12), *sāvayattaṇa* = **śrāvakatvāna* (Dvār. 506,28), *turiyattaṇa* = **toaritatvāna* (Āv. 42,21; 43,3), *para-vasattaṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *apṇahiaattaṇa* = **anyahdayatvāna* (Viddhaś. 41,8. 9; Nāgān. 33,6), *pajjāḷahiaattaṇa* = **paryākula*° (Kārṇas. 19,10), *sunṇahiaattaṇa* = **sūnya*° (Mṛcch. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); *ahirāmatṭaṇa* (Vikr. 21,1); *ṇisamsattaṇa* = **ṇisamsatvāna* (Ratn. 327,18); *ṇiṇṇattaṇa* = **nibṇātvaṇa* (Lalitav. 561,1); *dūdattaṇa* = **dūtātvaṇa* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālattaṇa* (Lalitav. 561,2 [vā]); Uttar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); *bamhattaṇa* (Ratn. 308,5), *bamhaṇattaṇa* (Pras. 46,12); *sahāattaṇa* = **sahāyatvāna* (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); *aṇujivittaṇa* (Mahāv. 54,19); *ucidakāritṭaṇa* (Bālar. 54,17), *gharaṇittāṇa* (Anarghar. 315,10); *bhaavadittāṇa* (Mālatīm. 74,3); *medhāvittāṇa* (Ratn. 303,32); *lajjāvittāṇa* (Mahāv. 29,6 [PICH. 1° lui]); *sarasakāṭṭaṇa* (Kārṇas. 31,1); *paḥuttaṇa* = **prabhutvāna* (Mālav. 14,3; 30,5); *bhiruttaṇa* (Pras. 45,5); Mg. *aniccattaṇa* = **anityatvāna* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *mahulattaṇa*, *śulāhittāṇa* = **madhuratvāna*, **surabhītvaṇa* (Prab. 60,12.13); *savvaṇṇattaṇa* = **sarvajñatvāna* (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); *śughāṇittāṇa* = **sugrhiṇītvāna* (Venṇis. 35,1); *paṭṭattaṇa* = **paṭratvāna* (Hc. 4,370,1); *vaddattaṇa* and *vaddappaṇa* = **vaḍratvāna* (Hc. 4,366); *suhaddattaṇa* = **subhaṣatvāna* (Kk. 260,44); *gahilattaṇa* = **grahilatvāna* (Piṅgala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word *-ka* enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains *-ka*, in AMg. JM. JŚ. it becomes *-ga*, *-ya*, in the other dialects *-a*. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as *bahuaṇa* (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as *ihayaṇa* (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as *ālēddhuam* (§ 303. 577), AMg. *aladdhujaṇa* (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside *-ka*, we find dialectically also *-kha*, *-ha* (§ 206) and *-ika*, AMg. *-i ya*, as in PG. *vaḍhanika* = *vaḍhanaka* (6,9); AMg. *macciya* = **mariyika* = *mariyaka* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 351); AMg. *tumba-ṇiṇi ya* = *tumbaṇiṇika* (Ovav.); Mg. *bhālīka* = **bhārika* = *bhāravat* (Mṛcch. 97,19. 20); M. *savvaṇṇi ya* = *savvaṇṇiṇa* (Hc. 2,152; R.). — *-kya* occurs in *pārakka* (Hc. 2,148), *-ikya* in *rāikka* = *rājakiya* (Hc. 2,148); *gonikka* (herd of cattle; Deśin. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105)¹; *cacciikka* from *carcā* (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Deśin. 3,4 also adjective in the meaning “decorated”²; *mahisikka* (herd of buffaloes; Deśin. 6,124)³.

1. PICH. 1, BB. 3,243.—2. PICH. 1, BB. 13,12.—3. PICH. 1, GGA. 1881, p. 1320f.

§ 599. Like *-ka*, in A. *-ḍa*=Skt. *-ḍa* too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, *-a* = *-ka* enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429. 430). So: *kappaḍa* = *kappa* (Hc. 4,432); *davvaḍa* = *dravya* (Śukas. 32,3); *diḥaḍa* = *divasa* (Hc. 4,333. 387,2); *dūaḍa* = *dūta* (Hc. 4,419,1); *desaḍa* (Hc. 4,418,6) *desaḍa* (Hc. 4,419,3) = *deśa*; *dosaḍa* =

doṣa (Hc. 4,379,1); *māṇuṣaḍa* = *mānuṣa* (Prabandhac. 112,8); *māriḍa* = *mārita* (Hc. 4,379,2); *mittaḍa* = *mitra* (Hc. 4,422,1); *raṇṇaḍa* = *araṇya* (Hc. 4,368); *rūḍaḍa* = *rūpaka* (Hc. 4,419,1); *hatthaḍa*, *hatthaḍa* = *hasta* (Hc. 4,439,1. 445,3); *hiḍa* = **hṛda* = *hṛd* (Ki. 5,15. 17; Hc. 4,422,12), *hiḍaḍa* (Hc. 4,350,2). In *maṇiḍa* = *maṇi* (Hc. 4,414,2) probably *ka+ṭa* = **maṇikoṣa* is to be assumed, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix *-aḍa*. The femin. ends in *-ḍi* (Hc. 4,431): *ṇiddaḍi* = *nidrā* (Hc. 4, 418,1); *suavattaḍi* = *śrutavārtā* (Hc. 4,432). The ending *-aḍi* is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. *-i*, *-ī*: *goraḍi* = *gauri* (Hc. s. v. and s. v. *gori*); *buddhaḍi* = *buddhi* (Hc. 4,424); *bhumhaḍi* = *bhūmi* (§ 210); *mabbhisaḍi* from *mā bhaisiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,22); *rattaḍi* = *rātri* (Hc. 4,330,2); *vibhantaḍi* = *vibhrānti* (Hc. 4,414,2); with *-ka*: *dhūlaḍiā* = **dhūlaṭikā* = *dhūli* (Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix *-aḍ-* makes its appearance, and not the suffix. *-ḍa*, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as *-ka*. So with *-ulla* (§ 595) in *bāhabalullaḍa* = *bāhābala* and *bāhabalullaḍa* (Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example *-ulla+ḍa+ka*.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt. *-itta* too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes *-mat*, *-vat* (Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for *-inta*]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36); *kavvaṭta*, *māṇaṭta* from *kāvya*, *māna* (C.; Hc.); *roṣaṭta* from *roṣa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Ki.); *pāṇaṭta* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]) from *pāṇa*. With insertion of *kaḥ* *svārtha* (Kālidāsa used this suffix in Ś. *-itta*, femin. *-ittā*: *paoharavithāraṭta* = *payodharavistārayukta* (cf. Candrasekhara); *unmādaṭta* = *unmādin*, *unmādakārin* (*ittakāśabdo matubarthah*; Candras.); *ucchāhaṭta* = *utsāhasālin* (*matubārtha ittakāśabdo*; Candras.); *āśaṭtiā* = *āśakāriṇi* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivāṇaṭtiā* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇakāriṇi* (Candras.); *bahumāṇasuhaṭta* = *bahumānasukhayukta* (cf. Candras.); *pīṇiveaṇaṭta* = *pīṇivedoka* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivāṇaṭta* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇa* (Candras.) (Śak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); *icchidasampādaṭta* = *iṣṭasampādayiā* (Raṅganātha; Vikr. 20,19); *juvādivesaḷajjāvaṭta* = *yuvādivesaḷajjayiṭka* (Katayavarma (Mālav. 33,17); *ahilāsapūraṭta* = *abhilāsapūrayiṭka* (Kāt.; Mālav. 34,14), *asoaviāsaṭta* = *asakavikāśayitka* (Kāt. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGK¹ from *-yitra*, *-yitraka*, and not with the Indians and BENFEY² from *-yitr*, *-yitrka*. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One *viithāraṭta* is = **vistārayitraka* from *vistāraya*.

1. On Śak. 9,20 p. 161. Cf. BOLLESEN on Vikr. 20,19, p. 244; FISCHER, De Kālidāsa Śak. rec. p. 33 f.—2. GGA. 1856 p. 1246. LASSEN, Inst. p. 134, note has already assumed that the explanation with the help of, *hetuka* that rests on the false reading *-itua*, is wrong. Cf. Chandrasekhara on Śak. 36,12 (p. 180) *utsāhahetev iti saṁskārasyañjānam*.

§ 601. According to § 397 *-mat* and *-vat* become *-manta*, *-vanta* from the strong stems *-manti*, *-vanti* (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2, 140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMg. *ājāramanta* (Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. *ācāravanti*; AMg. *cittamanta* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3) = Skt. *cittavanti*; AMg. *vaṇṇamanta*, *gandhamanta*, *rasamanta*, *phāsamanta* = *varṇavanti*, *gandhavanti*, *rasavanti*, *spāśavanti* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhap. 144); AMg. *vijjāmanta* = *vidyāvanti* (Uttar. 620); *silāmanta*, *guṇamanta*, *vaimanta* = *śilavanti*, *guṇavanti*, *vāgavanti* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *pupphamanta* = *puṣpavanti*, *bijāmanta* = *bijavanti*, *mūlamanta* = *mūlavanti*, *sālamanta* = *sālavanti* (Ovav); A. *guṇamanta* (Piṅgala 1,132^a; 2,118), *dhaṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,45.118), *puṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for *pupphamanta* (C.; Hc.) = *punyaṇvanti*. As regards others, the

corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. *paññānamanta-* = **prajñānamant-* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,6,4,1), *pañnamanta-* = **pañnamant-*, *hariyamanta-* = **haritamant-* (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix *-maṇa* in *dhaṇamaṇa* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159) = *dhaṇamant*, **dhaṇaman* goes back to *-mant*. — *bhaṭṭicanta-* = *bhaṭṭimant-* (Hc. 2,159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the *kṛt*-suffix *ima*¹, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in *-bar*. So: *ganthima*, *veḍhima*, *pūrima*, *saṅghāima* from *granth*, *veṣṭi*, *pūraya*, *saṅghātaya* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); *ubbheima* = *udbhida* (Dasav. 625,13); *khāima*, *sāima* from *khād*, *svādaya* (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhap. 184; Dasav. 639,14; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *pāima* from *pācaya* (Āyār. 2,4,2,7); *pūima*, *apūima*, *māima*, *amāima* from *pūjaya*, *mānaya* (Dasav. 641,14. 15); *bahukhejima* from *khāḍya* from *khād* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15) *bahuniṇvaṣṭima* from *varṭaya* with *nir* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14 [so to be read]; Dasav. 628,31); *lāima*, *bhajima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15; Dasav. 628,34); *vandima*, *avandima* (Dasav. 641,12); *vāhima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *vasima* from *vaṣaya* (Sūyag. 511); *vehima* (Dasav. 628,30); *saṅhārima*, *saṅghāima* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13. 14). From the adverbs *purastāt* and **pratyastam* are derived AMg. *puratthima* = **purastima* (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and *paccatthima* = **pratyastima* (Bhag.; Uvās.). *puratthima* also in JM. *uttarapuratthima* (Āv. 14, 10). From it is again derived *puratthimilla*, *paccatthimilla* (§ 595). — In A., according to Hc. 4,443, there enters the suffix *-aṇa* for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: *māraṇa*, *boḷlaṇa*, *vajjaṇa*, *bhaṣaṇa* = *māraṇaṣiṭa*, *bhāṣaṇaṣiṭa*, *vādanaṣiṭa* [oajja- = *vāḍya*-], *bhāṣaṇaṣiṭa*². They correspond to the adjectives in *-ana* in Skt. (WHITNEY § 1150) + *kaḥ svārthe*.

1. HOERNLE, JACOBI, LEUMANN and STEINTHAL posit wrongly the substantive in *-iman*. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used. — 2. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65)¹. They enter particularly into M., where the metre is often the cause. So M. *dhaṇalakaovavā* for *kaadhavalovavā* = *kṛtadhavalopavā* (G. 1); *kāsāraviralakumuā* = *viralakumudakāsārāḥ* (G. 271); *virahakaravattadūsaḥaphālijjantammi* = *duḥsahavirahakaraḥapatrasphālyamāne* (H. 153); *daralambigōcchakaikacchusacchaham* = *daralambikapikacchugucchasadṛśam* (H. 533); *kañcūābharaṇamēttāo* = *kañcukamātrābharaṇāḥ* (H. 546); *muhalaghaṇapaavijjantammi* = *mukharaghanaḥpiyamānapayasam* (R. 2,24); *saṅkikhohuvattapintaraṇamaūham* = *saṅksoḥhodvṛttaratnaniṛyanmayūkham* (R. 5,40); *kaṇṇibbharadasadisam* = *nirbhariḥkṛtadaśadisam* (R. 8,27)²; AMg. *pacchannapalāsa* = *palāśapracchanna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); AMg. *lohāgaradhammamāṇadhamantaghoṣam* = *dhmāyamānalohākaraḍhamadhamāyamānaghoṣam* (Uvās. § 108)³; AMg. *taḍdivimalasarisa* = *vimalataḍṭisaḍṭisa* (Kappas. § 35); AMg. *uduvaipadipunṇasomavaṇaṇe* = *pratipūrṇoḍupatisaumyaavadanaḥ* (Ovav. p. 29,13).

1. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 35, p. 104; BHĀNDĀRKAR, Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, London 1876 p. 319, note 6; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 206, note 7. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 201. The scholiasts explain this with *prākṛte pūraṇaṇipātāṇiyamaḥ*, a rule that is wrongly assigned to Vr. by a scholion on H. 546, and which is employed by scholiasts, often without necessity, as can be proved by the collection of instances in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 329 s. v. *pūraṇaṇipātāṇiyama*. — 2. So rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 251, note 3. — 3. Cf. Abhayadeva there up on p. 40.

*ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

- § 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.
- § 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.
- § 34, p. 39,6 read *ten'* for *ten**.
- § 40, p. 47. Mṛcchakāṭikā is mentioned as Mṛcchakāṭam by Mk.(fol.82) and Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name Kāṭayaveṃa is written also as Kāṭa and Kāṭama and the second also as Veṃaya in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly Kāṭaveṃa perhaps may not be wrong.
- § 53, p. 55,44 read Ś. *bahappadi* for *bahappai*.
- § 64, p. 64,3 read JS. *visarida* for *visarija*.

* These corrections were in the original workitself. Through in advertance they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.

ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

- A. = Apabhramśa.
 Ā. = Āvanti (§ 26).
 Acyutaś. = Acyutaśataka. Madras 1872.
 Adbhutad. = Adbhutadarpaṇa ed. PARAB. Bombay 1896 = Kāvya-mālā. 55.
 AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī.
 Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvya-mālā. 59.
 Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURGA-PRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvya-mālā. 5.
 Antag. = Antagaḍadasāo. Calcutta saṁvat 1931.
 Anuog. = Anuogadārasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.
 Anuttar. = Anuttarovavāiṇyasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1931.
 Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.
 Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.
 Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig. 1897.
 Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of saṁvat 1936 too has been used.
 Bālar. = Bālarāmāyaṇa ed. GOVINDA DEVA ŚĀ'TRI, Benares 1869.
 BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.
 Bh. = Bhāmaha.
 Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati. Berlin 1866. 1867.
 Bhartṛharinirveda ed. DURGA-PRASĀD and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvya-mālā. 29.
 BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
 BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.
 C. = Caṇḍa.
 Cait. = Caitanyacandrodaya ed. RA'JENDRALA'L MITTRA. Calcutta 1854.
 Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakaśikam ed. JAGANMOHANAŚARMAN. Calcutta Saṁvat 1924.
 Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogorum.
 CP. = Cūlikāpaiśāci.
 D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.
 Dasav. = Dasaveyāliyasutta ed. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 46, 581 ff.
 Dasav. N. = Dasaveyāliyanijjuttī see Dasav.
 De gr. Pr. = De grammaticis Prācriticis. Vratislaviae 1874.
 Deśin. = Hemacandra, Deśināmamālā ed. FISCHER. Bombay 1880.
 Dh. = Dhakki.
 Dhanamajav. = Dhanamjayavijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvya-mālā. 54.
 Dhūrtas. = Dhūrtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER O. O. u. J.
 Dhvanyāloka ed. DURGA-PRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā; 25.
 Dūtāṅga ed. DURGA-PRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā. 28.
 Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatis ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42, 493 ff.

EI. = Epigraphia Indica.

Erz. = Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī by H. JACOBI, Leipzig. 1886.

G. = Gaṇḍavaho ed. Sh. P. PANDIT, Bombay 1887.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN. = Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapaśatakam of—. Published by A. WEBER, Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 2, too has been used.

Hāsy. = Hāsyārṇava ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracriticae.

IS. = Indische Studien.

IStr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiatique.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBoAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jiv. = Jivābhigamasutta. Ahmedābād sarīvat 1939.

Jivān. = Jivānandana ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 27.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasēnī.

Kāleyak. = Kāleyakutūhalam. o. O. 1882.

Kalpal. = Pkl.

Kalpasūtra ed. JACOBI, LEIPZIG 1879; see Kappas.

Kaṃsav. = Kaṃsavadhā ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 6.

Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.

Karṇas. = Karṇasundarī ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 7.

Karp. = Karpūramañjarī ed. KONOW (cf. § 22, note 7). The edition of DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyaṃālā. 4 too has been used.

Kattig. = Kattigēyānupe'kkhā (§ 21).

KB. = KUHN's, Beiträge.

KI. = Kakkuka Inscription (§ 10).

Kl. = Kramadīśvara.

Kk. = Kālakācāryakathānakam. By H. JACOBI ZDMG. 34, 247ff. Kk. II. III. By E. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 37, 493 ff.

KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lalitav. = Lalitavigraharājanāṭika ed. KIELHORN, GN. 1893, p. 552 ff.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 20.

M. = Māhārāṣṭri.

Mahāv. = Mahāvīracarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAR and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatīm. = Mālatīmādhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLENSEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Second edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR. Calcutta 1878.

Mg. = Māgadhi.

Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakaṭikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnæ 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamayaśarmatarkaratna, Calcutta śakābdāh 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRĀYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GODABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Mudrārākṣasa ed. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1884. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta saṁvat 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṁālā. 16.

Nāgān. = Nāgānanda ed. GOVIND BAHIRAV BRAHME and SHIVARAM MAHADEO PARANJPE. Poona 1893. Beside it the edition of JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta 1873.

Nandis. = Nandisutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Nāyādh. = Nāyādharmakāhā. Calcutta saṁvat 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādharmakāhā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirayāv. = Nirayāvaliṣāo. Benares saṁvat 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirayāvalisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.

Ovav. = Ovavāiyasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Paisāci.

Pāiṣal. = Pāiṣalacchī ed. BÜHLER. Göttingen 1878.

Paṇhāv. = Paṇhāvāgarāṇām. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Paṇṇav. = Paṇṇavapā. Benares saṁvat 1940.

Pārvatip. = Pārvatiparinaya ed. MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG. Bombay 1892. Beside it the edition of GLASER, Wien 1883.

Pav. = Pavayaṇasāra (§ 21).

PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).

Piṅgala = The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvyaṁālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH

SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prākṛit.

Prab. = Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūṇā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMA, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKATĀCĀRYA, Madras 1884 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.

Pracandap. = Pracandapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER. Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition : The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURGA PRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887. = Kāvya-mālā 4.

Pras. = Prasannarāghava ed. GOVINDADEVAŚA'STRĪ. Benares 1868.

Pratāp. = Pratāparudriya. Madras 1868. Telugu print.

Priyad. = Priyadarśikā ed. VĠSHNU DĀJĠ GADRE. Bombay 1884. The edition of JIVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta saṁvat 1931 too has been used.

Proc. ASB. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

R. = Rāvaṇavaha or Setubandha... published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Strassburg 1880. The edition of ŚIVADĀTTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvya-mālā. 47 too has been used.

Ratn. = Ratnāvalī ed. CAPPELLER in : Sanskrit-Chrestomathie published by OTTO BÖHTLINGK. Second edition. St. Petersburg 1877, p. 290 ff.

Rāyap. = Rāyapaṣenāīyasutta [Calcutta saṁvat 1936].

Rṣabhap. = Rishabhapañcāṇikā. By JOH. KLATT in ZDMG. 33, 445 ff. Beside it the edition of DURGA PRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1890 = Kāvya-mālā. Part VII, p. 124 ff.

Rukmiṇīp. = Rukmiṇīpariṇaya ed. ŚIVADĀTTA and PARAB. Bombay 1894 Kāvya-mālā. 40.

Rv. = Rāmatarāvāgīśa.

Ś. = Śaurasenī.

Sagara = A jainistische Bearbeitung der Sagara-sage. Inaugural-Dissertation ... of RICHĀRD FICK. Kiel 1888.

Sāhityad. = Sāhityadarpaṇa ed. RÖER. Calcutta 1853.

Śak. = Śakuntalā ed. FISCHER. Kiel 1877.

Samav. = Samavāyaṅgasutta. Benares 1880.

Sarasvatik. = Sarasvatikanṭhābharṇa ed. BOROOAH. Calcutta 1883.

SAW. = Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.

SBE. = Sacred Books of East.

Skt. = Sanskrit.

Sr. = Śimharāja.

Subhad. = Subhadrābharṇa ed. DURGA PRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvya-mālā. 9.

Śukas. = Śukasaptatī. Textus simplicior. Published by RICHARD SCHMIDT. Leipzig. 1893.

Sūyag. = Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta. Bombay saṁvat 1936.

T. = Tirthakalpa = BÜHLER, A Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā. Wien 1897 = SAW. Vol. CXXXVII.

Thāp. = Thāṇaṅgasutta. Benares saṁvat 1937.

Triv. = Trivikrama.

Unmattar. = Unmattarāghava ed. DURGA PRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā. 17.

Uttar. = Uttarajjhayāṇasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Uttarar. = Uttararāmacarita ed. TA'RA' KUMA'RA CHACKRAVARTI. Calcutta 1870. The edition Calcutta 1831 and that of PREMACHANDRA TARKABA'GIŚA [sic], Calcutta 1862 too have been used.

Uvās. = Uvāsagadasāo ed. HOERNLE. Calcutta 1890.

Ved. Stud. = FISCHER und GELDNER, Vedische Studien.

Veṇīs. = Veṇīsāmhāra. Published by JULIUS GRILL, Leipzig. 1871. Beside it the edition of KEDARA NATHA TARKARATNA, Calcutta 1870.

VG. = Vijayabuddhavarman Grant (§ 10).

Viddhaś. = Viddhaśālabhañjikā ed. BHĀSKAR RĀMACHANDRA ĀTRE. Poona 1886. Beside it the edition of JIVĀNANDA VIDYĀ-SĀGĀRA, Calcutta 1873.

Vidyāp. = Vidyāpariṇaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1893 = Kāvyaṁālā. 39.

Vikr. = Vikramorvaśī ... published by F. BOLLESEN. St. Petersburg 1846.

Vivāgas. = Vivāgasuṇa. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Vivāhap. = Vivāhapannatti. Benares saṁvat 1938.

Vr. = Vararuci.

Vṛṣabh. = Vṛṣabhānujā ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1893 = Kāvyaṁālā. 46.

WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenlandes Gesellschaft.

ZWS. = Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache.

I. GENERAL INDEX.

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